

# A HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

BY

**Rajasevasakta**

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**VOLUME I**  
**(Second Edition)**

PUBLISHED BY

**Sri C. ANNA RAO, B.A.,**

**Executive Officer**

*T. T. Devasthanams on behalf of the Board of Trustees*

**1952**



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A  
HISTORY OF THE  
HOLY SHRINE OF SRI VENKATESA  
IN  
TIRUPATI



VOLUME I  
(SECOND EDITION)



श्री वेङ्कटाद्विष्टुङ्गासङ्गलाभरणाङ्गये ।  
सङ्गलानां निवासाय श्रीनिवासाय सङ्गलय ॥

தேனோக்கு சோலைத் திருவேல் கடமென்றும்  
வானோக்கு சோலைமலை யென்றும்—நானோக்கு  
தென்னரங்க மென்றும் திருவத்தி யூரென்றும்  
சொன்னவர்க்கு முண்டோ தாயர்.





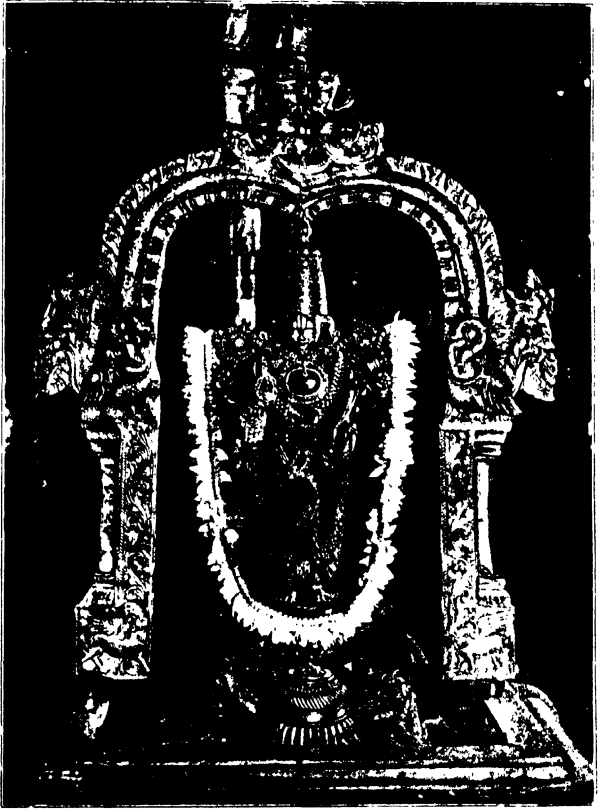
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THE PROCESSION IMAGE OF SRI VENKATESW



## PREFACE

THE cluster of hills which goes by the name Vēnkaṭāchalam hills, and the small group in it called the Tirupati hills, have long been the most famous pilgrim spots in South India and the latter has enjoyed an eminence equalled but by a few even up to the present time. It is in the fitness of things that the management, recently constituted for carrying on the administration of the affairs of the temple on the hill and its large properties and income, should have thought of getting a history of the shrine written for the information of the public. The first Committee had this question before them for consideration. Śrī Dewan Bahadur T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar's suggestion that I be invited to write the history was readily accepted by the Committee. The Committee's invitation was quite acceptable to me, as it has long been my wish to bring to a conclusion the enquiry, in regard to the history of the temple, which I started so long ago as 1904 in writing a life-history of Rāmānuja, which publication came in for important public consideration in connection with the Gōvindarāja shrine in Chidambaram. The time was rather propitious also, as the large number of inscriptions collected by the Dēvastānam Department of epigraphy during the last decade had at last been printed and was likely to become available to the public. The history of the shrine in the following pages is based upon these inscriptional records for the latter period, as they furnish an amount of information for that period, not inferior to that of any other important shrine for the corresponding period. This period has reference to that following the life activity of the Vaishnava teacher, Rāmānuja, whose connection with the temple and his actual services to it had long been a fruitful subject of controversy.

For the period relating to Rāmānuja himself and his active work of reorganising the temple worship and ritual and putting these on a footing of permanence, we are driven to such information as the material for his life-history would provide. That material is hardly ample enough to give us any detailed information in regard to the details of his organisation. But luckily for us, we have a Sanskrit work composed just a few generations after Rāmānuja which bears specifically upon this work. The Committee was so good as to sanction the republication in good form of a

critical edition of this work, of which there was an unsatisfactory Telugu edition, and even that had for some time been out of print. The then Commissioner, Śrī A. Ranganatha Mudaliar, deserves all thanks for having enabled me to bring out the edition, in ✓ Devanagari characters, of the work, *Sri Venkatāchala Itihāsamāla*, which gives a detailed account of what took place under Rāmānuja and how that arrangement was allowed to continue since then.

For the period anterior to Rāmānuja, the sources of information are not as ample as for the period following. For about three centuries preceding Rāmānuja's activity in Tirupati, we have some inscriptions, not many, though some of them do throw much light upon the history of the shrine and the locality surrounding it. For the period before the 8th century, we have to depend entirely upon other sources of information, of which the dominant sources are literature, Tamil and Sanskrit, bearing upon the temple. The classical literature of the Tamils, the so-called Śāṅgam works, have just a few references to Vēṅgadam, which formed the northern boundary of the Tamil land according to them, and just a few which would support the existence of the temple at the time, and even of the establishment of the annual festivals for worship in the temple. Proceeding therefrom we have the work of the twelve Vaishṇava Ālvārs, whose age and active work occupied the period from the most brilliant period of the Śāṅgam age on to the last years of the 8th century. These works necessarily have a great deal to say about the temple, as it was one of their holy of holies and came in for elaborate description from their point of view.

While these last sources do have but oblique references in regard to the origin of the temple, they do not supply us with a satisfactorily detailed account. We have to go to the *Paurāṇic* sources for this, and these are all brought together in a Sanskrit work, *Vēṅkatāchala Māhātmyam*, of which there are numbers of editions, several of them not quite satisfactory. A recent edition brought out for the Dēvastānam and not published, I have been enabled to look through along with the other editions. This work is mainly a collection of what is said in celebration of this holy place in the various *Purāṇās*, of which eleven have extensive passages connected with the temple. In their own way, they give us a full exposition of how the self-existing shrine had come to notice, and what services it received from various people from time to time. This account, partaking as it does of the character of all the *Paurāṇic* accounts, still seems to let us into the secret of its



origin, and the time when it actually came to be recognised as a human institution.

I have made use of all these sources of information with the care that a work like this deserves, and have adopted deliberately the method of letting the sources speak as far as they could, as in a controversial matter like this, it is much the best thing to set out the facts clearly and place them upon an indubitable footing, quite distinct from such inferences, etc., that one may have to deduce from these facts. I have done so, and the facts are there quite distinctly stated followed by such inferences I have been enabled to draw therefrom. I need hardly add that the responsibility for these inferences and such views as are expressed in the book is entirely my own. The account presented therefore is more or less the bare facts of the history of the holy shrine interspersed with such necessary explanation and clear statement of what the sources by themselves do not make quite clear. It is for readers to judge how well or ill it has been done, and to what extent it carries conviction in regard to the whole history of the shrine.

I have been able to carry the history of the shrine from its probable date of foundation about the beginning of the Christian era down to practically the end of the 18th century. The account given for the period beginning with the Carnatic Wars right on is not quite as full as it should be owing to the absence of sources of information directly bearing on the period. The records of the British Government may contain information of an important character bearing upon the period; but the records are not as yet made open to the public. What is more, the Government have declined to give me access to the records for the purpose. In the circumstances, I could do no more than to leave it as it is.

I must in the first instance acknowledge my obligation to my friend, Śrī T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar and the other Members of the first Dēvastānam Committee, as also the succeeding Dēvastānam Committee with its Chairman Śrī Venkata Ranga Rayaningaru. The two Commissioners, Messrs. Sitarama Reddiyar and Ranganatha Mudaliar were no less helpful in regard to the matter, as also the staff of the Dēvastānam Office on the occasion of my visit to Tirupati in the course of the work. I acknowledge with particular pleasure the assistance rendered in the course of my writing the book to *Sāhitya Śirōmaṇi* Pandit S. Rajagopalacharya and Dr. P. Srinivasacharya, M.A., Ph.D., in the earlier stages of the work. The index to the book is the work of Śrī T. V. Mahalingam, M.A.

till recently University Research Student, who offered to do the work with alacrity. My grateful thanks are due to all of them for the assistance. The printing work has been entrusted to the Ananda Press. I am very much obliged to its Proprietor, Śrī B. Madhava Rau, M.A., for much accommodating assistance in the course of printing the work, which, as will be seen, has been excellently done. The illustrations are taken, about one half from the Dēvastānam Archæological photo negatives, and the other from photographs taken by Messrs. G. K. Vale for the Dēvastānam Committee.

I am really gratified that I have been able to carry the work to completion without break through the grace of Śrī Venkaṭēśa, to whom I dedicate this in token of my devotion.

THE DASARA 1939, }  
*Mylapore, Madras.* }

S. KRISHNASVAMI AIYANGAR.

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# A HISTORY OF THE HOLY SHRINE OF SRI VENKATESA AT TIRUPATI

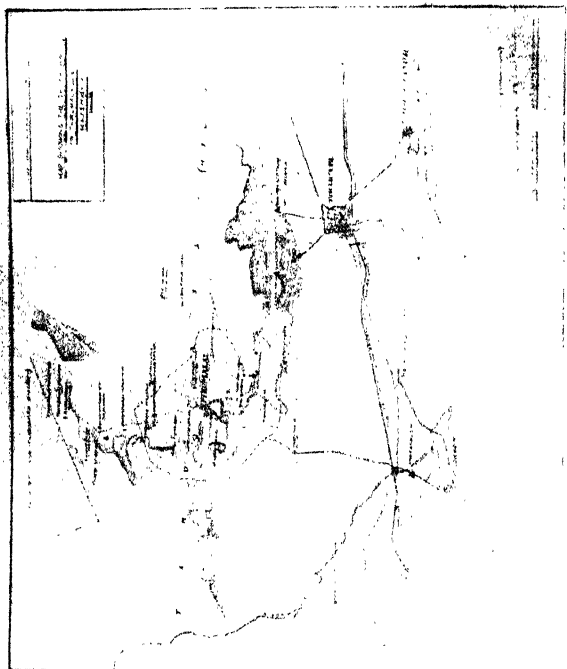
## CHAPTER I

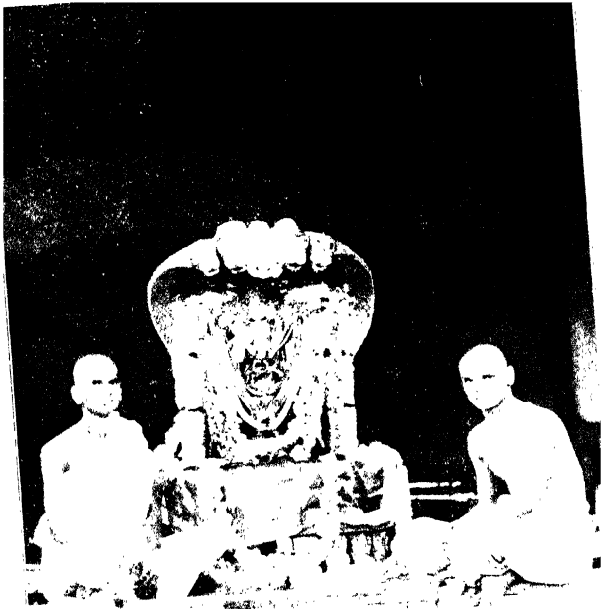
### GENERAL GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES

**T**irupati, or far rather the group of hills lying in a confused coil called the Tirumalai hills, forms a feature of the region of South India between the 13th and 14th degrees of north latitude. The Eastern Ghats which, from the northern extremity of the Presidency, run close to the coast, turn into the interior after passing the river Krishna, and then break up into a number of parallel ranges of hills of which, in the region south of the Krishna and extending southwards to the latitude of Madras, say roughly 13th degree of north latitude, three parallel ranges are distinguishable. The range nearest the coast runs more or less straight in one single range. The second range is an irregular group starting similarly from the Krishna well below Kurnool, and runs down in a semicircle into the Cuddapah District scattering about in a cluster, one group of which is called Śeshāchalam hills; the main range however runs southwards till it makes a further approach to the coast, coming down as far as Ponneri a few miles north of Madras. Another range more irregular and much lower in point of height, proceeds northwards from the foot of the Mysore plateau and scatters itself through Anantapur and Kurnool districts. The central group is what is called Nallamalais in the Kurnool District, and, as it proceeds southwards from there, it becomes more definitely something like a single range, and meets the Eastern range round about the group of hills at Tirupati, Kālahasti, etc. These hills therefore form a feature of the frontier half a degree to the north of Madras, extending the whole length from the Mysore plateau and stretching eastwards to almost near the coast at Ponneri, and thus constitute a prominent feature of the northern extremity of the Tamil land. Hence it is that, in defining the boundaries of the Tamil country, they mark Vēngadam, a prominent feature of this cluster of hills, as the northern boundary, the eastern and western boundaries being formed by the sea, and the southern boundary marked by the promontory of the Western

Ghats, ending in Cape Comorin. The earliest Tamil grammar Tolkāppiyam defines the boundary of the provenance of Tamil as such. Some of the Purāṇas dealing with the holy shrine at Tirupati liken the range of hills, the Nallamalais and their continuation, to a huge cobra lying about at ease, of which almost the end of the tail is marked by the great Śiva shrine of Śrīśailam not far from the Krishna river, beyond the 16th degree of north latitude and a considerable way down the river from Kurnool. Coming up on the back of this huge snake one next strikes the Vishṇu shrine of Ahōbalam which is at the beginning of the trunk of the snake. At the back of the hood stands the hill of Tirupati, and almost at the opening of the mouth again the great Śiva shrine of Kālahasti. This Paurāṇic description is rather graphic and accurate, although the features marked happen to be only the four holy places of Kālahasti, Tirupati, Ahōbalam and Śrīśailam. We mentioned already the cluster to the west being called Śeshachalam hills, probably the name is given from this feature of the whole group lying about like a snake, or rather a cobra lying at ease in the sun. This curious feature probably had its own share in creating the peculiar impression upon people journeying from a distance, and is probably responsible for the names given which, at first sight, may seem fanciful.

**The Actual Name of the Hill.** Tirupati which is a Vaishṇava sacerdotal name for the shrine there, is generally known to Tamil literature by the name Vēṅgaḍam, which is one of the alternative names in holy parlance as well. Vēṅgaḍam is generally referred to as a hill, though often the reference is as much to the territory surrounding it, and, when it happened to be the capital, the territory dependent upon it. In Tamil secular literature it figures as the northern borderland of the Tamil speaking country of the south. Tolkāppiyam, the classical grammar of the Tamils, popularly believed to be one of the oldest pieces of Tamil literature extant, defines the boundary of Tamil provenance as between the hill Vēṅgaḍam and the southern Comerin (Kumāri) as marking the northern and southern boundaries. In those days the seas marked the extent and the prevalence of Tamil on the other two sides. Therefore northern Vēṅgaḍam (Vada Vēṅgaḍam) is the style in which it is most referred to. To make the position clear, it is possible to quote references in which it is stated quite unmistakably that when one passed Vēṅgaḍam from the south, he passed the bounds of Tamil on the one side and gets into a region where the language actually is different. That is usually referred





to as 'Vēngadam passing which the language changes.' Numbers of instances could be quoted for that from Tamil classical literature. So we might take it that Vēngadam for Tirupati, is the name of the hill, so familiarly known to the Tamils, more or less as a landmark which characterised the northern border of the Tamil land passing across which one got into a region where the Tamil language was not spoken.

**Vengadam, Boundary Marking off Tamil from Vadukar.** The language that was spoken beyond Tirupati was known to the Tamils as Vaduku, and the chieftains who ruled even over Tirupati and the regions to the west of it, were generally known as princes of the Vadukas (*Vadukar Perumakan*) in classical Tamil. This *Perumakan* evolves into *Perumān* in later Tamil which, in the sense of the great one, prince or king according to circumstances, is used as a title of dignity. Accordingly the language which they spoke is known as Vaduku which, in modern parlance, means Telugu. But, in the early centuries of the Christian era, the term *Vaḍuku* for the language, and *Vaḍukar* for the people, applied to all the people along the northern borders of the Tamil land extending from the east coast far into the peninsula, perhaps reaching even to the west coast. At least there is one chieftain in the interior, the ruler of *Ērumai*, who is referred to as *Vaḍukar Perumakan*, and the indication is that he held rule in a part of the country which is northern Mysore now, and the territory adjoining it. Certain points in this long boundary, in fact the points on the highway of communication between the north and the south, seem marked off as *Vaḍukar-munai*, the frontier posts of the *Vaḍukar* land, that is, the outposts of the Tamil country, where one came into contact with the *Vaḍukar*, the contact in respect of *Vaḍukar-munai* being generally contact hostile. This term *Vaḍukar* seems merely to represent the linguistically analogous *Baḍagas* of the Nilgiris of to-day, and it is possible that that happened to be the common name, at least so far as the Tamils were concerned, for Telugu and Kanarese together, before perhaps the two languages differentiated. We have to go to the 11th or the 12th century for a distinctive reference describing the prevalent language in these regions as *Vaḍuku*, and locating both the Telugu and the Kanarese behind this *Vaḍuku* land. That distinction obtained in the days of *Nacchinārkiniyar*, the great commentator. So then, the whole northern borderland of the Tamils was *Vaḍuku*, and hence the road leading there to the north was described as *Vaḍukavaḷi*, which may mean only one great trunk road leading into the *Vaḍuka-*

land, although from some of the expressions used in the inscriptions of a later date, it may be possible to infer more than one road, as had sometimes been done. Hence the Tamil land was bounded on the north, across almost the whole length of the peninsula, by the land of the *Vaḍukar*. A prominent landmark in this northern boundary was undoubtedly Vēṅgaḍam, and Vēṅgaḍam, according to references in classical Tamil literature, should have lain on the highway leading north from the Tamil land, as it happens to be even now.

**Tirupati in early Classical Tamil Literature.** The body of literature generally known as the *Śaṅgam* literature consists of a number of collections of poems which at one time must have been more generally current in the Tamil land. These seem, from their nature, poems composed on occasions, exhibiting various modes of composition as a mere exhibition of poetic skill by their respective authors. Some time later it was apparently felt that these fugitive pieces of composition were in danger of being lost, and, as a practicable effort, some one was set to collect the most excellent of such pieces to provide typical illustrations of the various modes of composition. Presumably therefore the collections which have come down to us are composed of pieces considered the most excellent at the time that the collections happened to be made. There is one particular author who is reputed in Tamil literature as one who wrote the *Bhārata* in Tamil, and therefore was generally distinguished as *Perundēvanār* who composed the Tamil poem *Bhāratam*. *Perundēvanār* being a common name in Tamil literature, this distinction was considered necessary as, even in this comparatively narrow field of literature, there were a number of *Perundēvans*. But this *Perundēvan* who made the *Bhāratam* must be distinguished from the *Perundēvan*, the author of the *Bhāratam* in *Veṅbā* verses, whose time we know precisely. This *Perundēvan* must have been an earlier author. To the well-known eight collections he composed the verses in invocation, and these poems in invocation relate to all the well-known deities of the Tamil land at the time, and not confined to one or the other of these exclusively. A late copper-plate charter datable in the tenth century ascribes the "doing of the *Mahābhārata* in Tamil" to the *Pāṇḍyan* ruler well-known in this class of literature as the *Pāṇḍyan* "who won the victory at *Talaiyālangānam*." In this famous battle the young *Pāṇḍya* is said, in this literature itself, to have won a victory against his two rival contemporaries, the *Chōla* and the *Chēra*, assisted by a number of chieftains of the Tamil land, seven of whom are mentioned by name. It is probably therefore



that, it was in his reign or immediately after that, the collections of these poems were made, and the poems in invocation to these collections composed by Perundēvanār, the author of the poem, the Mahābhārata. The collections which have been made therefore must all relate to a period anterior to this Pāṇḍyan, victor at Talaiyalangānam. References in this literature therefore must be regarded as having relation to the period before the date of Perundēvanār or the Pāṇḍya, victor at Talaiyalangānam

**The character of these references.** These references collected from various pieces in two or three of these collections refer to Tirupati by the name Vēngadam, and generally to Tirupati as being on the northern borderland of the Tamils, as is made in the Tolkāppiyam. In the actual circumstances in which the references do occur, Tirupati is indicated as in a region passing across which one passes from the land of the Tamils into a land where the language spoken was different from Tamil. Among the authors referring to Tirupati we can distinguish two authors contemporary with the Pāṇḍyan of Talaiyalangānam, Kallādanar and Nakkīrar. Poem 83 of the Ahanānūru refers to the chieftain Pulli of the region surrounding Vēngadam. He is described in this poem as Ṇaiṅṅār Perumakan; the latter word *Perumakan* is a Tamil equivalent of prince which later became Peruman, meaning king. The whole expression therefore would mean the prince of Ṇaiṅṅār, and this latter term is generally used to indicate hunters by profession. Another attribute which he uses is the Tamil term kallā which would mean uncultivated; in other words, in a comparatively savage state of civilisation. In another poem 209 of the Ahanānūru, this same author describes the same Pulli and his Vēngadam, and mentions the peculiar feature that there was a narrow passage across the hills, described as a tunnel, through which one had to pass to emerge from the territory of the chieftain Pulli into the land to the northward of the region. Nakkīrar does not refer to Vēngadam as such. But he is undoubtedly referring to the territory dominated by Vēngadam, where he speaks of Tiraiyan and his capital Pavattiri, Reddipālem in the Gūḍūr Taluk of the Nellore District. In another poem of the same collection, namely, poem 253, Nakkīrar speaks of Vaḍukar Perumakan, Ērumai. This Ērumai comes under reference in a number of other poems, and by various authors, as the chieftain of the Vaḍukar; but, in this poem, Nakkīrar indicates clearly that the territory of this Vaḍukar chieftain lay in the region of the river which he calls Ayiri, and, passing that river, one passes from the Tamil land into

the land of the Vaḍukar. Ayiri seems to be the Tamil equivalent of the well-known Mysore river, Hagari, passing near Kadūr and through the Chitlédruḡ District, falling into the Tungabadrā, a well-known frontier region in later history between the Tamils and powers to the north of them. Another poet by name Kaṇak-kāyanār, probably the father of Nakkīrar, as he is often described as Nakkīrar son of Kaṇakkāyanār, refers to the northern Vēṅgaḍam in Aham 27, and of the breed of elephants infesting its forests in the course of a description of a Pāṇḍya and his famous port, the pearl-producing Korkai. Other authors referring to Vēṅgaḍam are Tāyām Kaṇṇan, otherwise Tayangannan, who refers to Vēṅgaḍam as belonging to Toṇḍaiyār, and refers to the country of the Vaḍukar across the region. Similarly another poet Kannan son of Kāṭṭūr Kīlār, refers to Vēṅgaḍam as belonging to Tiraiyan, and gives a peculiar feature that the elephants there were being fed with the tender shoots of the bamboo. The last but the most important poet of them all, and, perhaps even the oldest among them, Māmūlanār, has seven poems in this collection in which he might be held to refer to Vēṅgaḍam directly or indirectly. In poem 61 he refers to Vēṅgaḍam as belonging to Pulli, the chieftain of the Kaḷvar, and another feature of Vēṅgaḍam which he notes, and which is noteworthy, is that Vēṅgaḍam was famous for its festivals. In two other poems 115 and 281, he does not refer to Tirupati. In the first he refers to Ērumai of Kuḍanāḍu, the chief Ērumai being the ruler of the western country (Kuḍanāḍu). The other piece refers to the Vaḍukar, and to a hill where there was a tunnel for passing in and out, and these features come under reference in the course of a statement that the Mauryas invaded the south, pressing the Vaḍukar forward before them, passed this tunnel in the hill. In poem 295 however he refers undoubtedly to Tirupati as Pullikunram, the hill of the chieftain Pulli, and refers to the country across as the region of the Vaḍukar entering which the language changes. In other words passing into the region of the Vaḍukar, the language changes from Tamil into another language, obviously Vaḍuku. In poem 311 he refers to the good country of Pulli and the desert past it, and describes the feature that the people were accustomed to eating the rice prepared with amarind, on teak leaves. In poem 359 he refers to Pulli liberal in gifts. In poem (393) Pulli comes under reference again, and Vēṅgaḍam, and here Pulli is described as one the words of whose speech are long, that is, the words are drawn out, as is the characteristic of some of these languages. There are other

references by other authors which would confirm one or other of these features, though they do not specifically refer to Vēṅgaḍam as such.

**Tirupati, not referred to as a Holy Shrine as it is.** It will be noticed that although a number of authors of eminence in this collection actually refer to Vēṅgaḍam, and give some details of features which in those days were regarded as characteristic of the hill and the region of which it was a prominent feature, there is no reference to the great shrine which now-a-days is almost synonymous with the place name. Tirupati now-a-days means first and foremost, perhaps even almost exclusively, the shrine at Tirupati. The change of word to Vēṅgaḍam, a synonym, does not make much of a difference. That prominence of the shrine does not appear to be given to Vēṅgaḍam in the references quoted above. There is however one reference in poem 61 of the Māmūlanar which seems unmistakable in regard to this. Speaking of Vēṅgaḍam in this poem, Māmūlanar refers to it as Vēṅgaḍam of great prosperity, prosperous because of its having festivals. This may be regarded as an unmistakable reference at least to the celebration of festivals there during the year, and of the place being much resorted to on that account, thereby contributing to its prosperity. This may justify our presuming the existence of the temple there, and the series of festivals which had early been inaugurated in connection with it. But it falls short however of the actual mention of the temple as such. The more so as it gives no indication even inferentially of the character of the temple or of its deity. During the period of the Śāṅgam literature therefore we may take it that the temple may have existed, but it had not quite attained to the importance or the prominence that it attained to in the period following.

#### **Noteworthy features of the place from this class of literature.**

There are certain points however in connection with the region which are worth noting with a view to the position of the territory in the age of the Śāṅgam literature. The first point to note is that it is the borderland separating Tamil from a northern language which goes by the name *Vaḍuku*. The modern equivalent of this *Vaḍuku* would be Telugu. The people who are on the northern borderland of the Tamil country, almost the whole way across the peninsula are referred to as *Vaḍukar*, and their rulers as *Vaḍukar Perumakan*, prince or chief of the *Vaḍukar*. The region here referred to would answer to the modern division called Rāyalu-

Sīma to distinguish it from the Āndhra country proper, so far as the eastern half of it is concerned. In the earlier period, however, it is not merely the eastern but perhaps even the western half is equally distinguishable, the region of the *Vaḍukar* having behind it the block of territory which, early in South Indian History, went by the name *Karṇāṭaka* (Tam. *Karu-naḍu* for the land, and *Karunaḍam* for the language), that is, in the period following the age of the Śāngam, and judging from the information so far available to us. The distinction is made by certain commentators, at least by one commentator of the *Tolkappiyam*. Expounding one of the sūtras of the *Tolkappiyam* itself, the commentary notes that the region we are concerned with was the region of the *Vaḍukar*; and behind it were the territories where the languages current were Telugu in the east and *Kannāḍa* in the west. The next point that comes out from the references is that the people across the border spoke a language different from Tamil. It was, in the judgment of the Tamils at any rate, a language as yet not much cultivated, and, according to them again, the pronunciation of words was drawling at least to the Tamil ear, which, from the point of view of the Tamil, would be true of the Telugu spoken in the Āndhra country as distinct from the more southern region. The next point is that the natural character of the region, which was a forest country more or less, made the profession of the inhabitant hunting and cattle rearing. Elephants seem to have been abundant in the forest region, and had been tamed and brought into service. The next point is that the region was under the government of a chieftain by name *Pulli* ruling over a people who are described as *Kaḷvar*, possibly with the variant from *Kaḷvar*. Subsequently to him it seems to have come under the authority of a chieftain called *Tiraiyan* with a capital at *Vēngadam*, and perhaps an alternative capital at *Pavattiri*, a little further north. The next point again is that the territory was included in the region of the *Tondaiyar*; in other words, it was regarded as a part of what was called in brief *Tondaimandalam*, or popularly *Tonḍamaṇḍalam* in Tamil. The last point of importance to note from these references is that, at one time, the *Chōlas* extended their conquests northwards to bring these *Vaḍukar* under their authority. A defeat of the *Vaḍukar* in the north and of the *Paradavaḷ*, the fisher-folk, in the south happened to be mentioned in connection with a *Chōla* ruler; in another poem he is said to have inflicted a defeat on the *Vaḍukar* at a place called *Pāli*. It becomes clear therefore that the region dependent upon *Vēngadam* was inhabited by a people called

Vadukar who were under their own chieftains, and became subsequently subjected to the authority of the Tiraiyan chieftains perhaps after the defeat inflicted upon them by the Chōla, and the Tiraiyan chieftain referred to here is called Tiraiyan without a qualifying attribute, who had his capital at Pavattiri, and not Ilam Tiraiyan associated with Kānchi as his capital, a famous character in the Śāngam literature itself perhaps of a subsequent generation.

**Celebration of Festivals, a Feature of Tirupati in early times even.** Before passing from these texts, there is one particular passage in the poems of Mamūlanār which calls for a few remarks. The passage actually occurs in poem 61 of the Abananuru.\* Freely rendered the passage means that "the chieftain of the Kalvar who are in the habit of handing over elephant tusks, bartering them for liquor prepared from paddy, and who wore anklets characteristic of warriors, was Pulli famed for the conquest of the land of the Maḷavar, and for great gifts to those who went to him. (Your lover) it is rarely possible will reconcile himself to stay away even if he got thereby Vēngadam, the capital of that Pulli which is prosperous because of the festivals celebrated in it." The actual sense of the passage is that an imaginary lover who had departed from his sweetheart and travelled away in quest of wealth to distant parts, has tarried a little longer than he promised, and the consolation is offered to the heartbroken damsel that he might have delayed, but that he would not stay away under any circumstances. To add emphasis to this statement, it is set down that even if, in his desire for the acquisition of wealth, he got possession of such a prosperous city as Vēngadam, he would not stay behind. The point for notice here is that the fame of Vēngadam in the estimation of Mamūlar was due, at least in part, to the great festivals which were celebrated in the place from time to time, meaning obviously the annual festivals which are now a feature of the great temple-city. The casual statement of this feature has its own tale to tell. According to almost all the Purāṇas which make references to this shrine at Tirupati, it was a Tondaman ruler who unearthed the shrine, built a temple for the God thus discovered by digging up an ant-hill, housed the God in a shrine and instituted a certain number of festivals to that God. The evidence of the Purāṇas therefore is that Tirupati became a human institution

\* கழல்புனை திருந்தழிக் கள்வா கோமான்  
மழபுலம் வணக்கிய மாவன் புல்வி  
வீழவுடை விழுச்சீர் வேங்கடம் பெற்றினும்  
பழகு வராதலோ வரிதே.

with a shrine and all its appurtenances only from the days of the Tondamān. The identification of this Tondamān would give us the clue to the actual period in which the temple came into being as a human institution. As a matter of fact, the Purāṇas state it that the shrine itself was not a human creation, but is regarded as the divine abode itself come on to the earth by the will of the God abiding there, that is, Viṣṇu. We noted already that, in these poems alone, we note a change of rulers of the locality, the chieftain whose territory it was, is Pulli, the chieftain of the Kalvar, a section of the Vaḍukar, and from him it becomes included in the territory of the Tondaiyar. Three poets, Tāyam Kannaṅṅam in Aham 213, Kattūr Kilār Maṅṅam Kannaṅṅam in Aham 85, Nakkirar in Aham 340 speak of the ruler as Tiraiyan instead of Pulli. If these poets were later than Māmūlar we could take it that the territory dominated by Vēṅṅaḍam passed from the Kalvar chieftain Pulli of the Vaḍukar people to the Tiraiyan chieftain. This Tiraiyan is referred to as having for his capital Pavattiri, identified with the village Reddipalem in the Gudur Taluk. The extent of the territory is further indicated by Māmūlar himself who refers in poem 11 included in the *Kuṛum-togai* to the territory as on the borderland of the Vaḍukar (*Vaḍukar-munai*), and the district is referred to as Vērkkādu Nādu where language changes. This Vērkkādu is no other than the latter part of the name Pala-vērkkādu, now anglicised into Pulicat. The territory therefore forming part of the modern Chingleput, North Arcot and Nellore Districts, constituted the hilly country dominated by Vēṅṅaḍam and contained other cities like Pavattiri and Vērkkādu; it was in the territory of the people Vaḍukar ruled first by the Kalvar-chieftain Pulli, and then passing from him under the authority of the Tiraiyan chieftain, who at one time had his capital at Pavattiri. The question now would arise as to who this Tiraiyan is and whether he is the same as Ilām Tiraiyan of Kānchi, or different from him. Literary evidence is not quite decisive. The *Ahanānūru* contains a number of poems relating to a Tiraiyan, and the fact that the more famous person associated with Kānchi and the hero of the Tamil classic *Perumbāṅṅarupadai* is always referred to as Ilām Tiraiyan would support the view that the Tiraiyan was an older chieftain; and because of his existence the more famous chieftain coming after him has been called Ilām Tiraiyan, so that the two personages may have to be regarded as distinct from one another. That they were distinct seems to be the view of the venerable scholar M.M. Dr. Swaminatha Aiyar. The fact that

Kānchi is referred to as Tonḍamān Kānchi in an old quotation, and that, in another similar passage, the chieftain addressed is called Tiraiyan held to be Ḥam Tiraiyan, would support this latter view. It is rather strange, however, that in a poem composed to celebrate Ḥam Tiraiyan in particular and his capital Kānchi, such as the Perumbān-ārrupadai is, there is no reference to his northern territory or to any one of the cities which seem to be special features of that territory. This omission would perhaps be held to go against the identification. However, for our present purpose we may take it that the various literary references are all of them to one and only one Tiraiyan, Ḥam Tiraiyan of Kānchi. That the organisation of festivals in connection with temples we see in his time is in evidence in lines 410 and 411 of the Perumbān-ārrupadai, which, in substance, states, that Kānchi attained to greater fame than the old cities comparable with it, because of various festivals celebrated there for the spiritual benefit of many peoples, rendered by the commentator, people of various communities in religion. In the days of Tonḍamān Ḥam Tiraiyan therefore festivals associated with temples had become an ordinary feature in towns like Kānchi. When the Purāṇas state, as they do, that it was a Tonḍamān who inaugurated festivals in Tirupati, one could very well take it that probably the Tonḍamān of Tirupati fame is no other than the Tonḍamān associated with Kānchi. Tirumalīśai Ālvār has a similar reference in verse 41 of his Nān-Mukhaṇ Tiruvandādi where he has a specific reference to the festival of Ḍṇam called Ḍṇa Viḷavu. This festival of Ḍṇam (Sans. Śravaṇa) was the earliest festival inaugurated in Tirupati by no less a person than Brahmā himself and is as yet the principal festival, the Brahmōtsava in Tirupati. The advent of the Tonḍamān to power therefore, we may take it, marks the beginning of temple festivals, and we could well believe the Purāṇas when they state it that it is a Tonḍamān chieftain, generally called Tonḍamān Chakravarti in Vaiṣṇava parlance, that instituted these festivals in Tirupati in his time.

**Tonḍaman Ḥam Tiraiyan.** Tonḍamān Ḥam Tiraiyan is a great celebrity in Tamil literature, and is celebrated in the poem Perumbānārrupadai, forming one of the collection called "the Ten poems" (Pattuppāṭṭu). The author of this poem is described as Kadiyalūr Rudran Kaṇṇan, which would mean Kaṇṇan, the son of Rudran of Kadiyalūr. From what is known of him, he seems to have been a Brahman, but the place from which he came has not so far been satisfactorily located. Though Ḥam Tiraiyan is described as a ruler

of great influence and importance, he is still not regarded as a crowned monarch, and is placed in a rank inferior to that of the three crowned kings of the south, Chōla, Paṇḍya and Chēra. Such rulers are called *Kuṟunilamannar*, which literally translated would mean kings or rulers who ruled over land of a smaller extent or of inferior character. In other words it would simply mean kings or rulers of a smaller degree. The *Tolkāppiyam*, the authoritative work on matters like this, classes them as of royal descent, but not of monarchical standing. As described in the poem of Rudran *Kaṇṇan*, he was the ancient ruler of Kānchi ruling over what, in Tamil literature, is generally described as *Toṇḍamaṇḍalam*, which included the vast region between the Telugu frontier, the 14th degree of north latitude on the eastern side, extending southwards to the river Pālār, sometimes extending as far south as the northern Vellār. We may take it roughly that the northern Peṇṇār and the northern Vellār constituted its boundaries north and south. It extended westwards from the coast to take into it all the territory down to the foot of the hills bordering the plateau of Mysore, and from there going across through the middle of the present-day district of Salem. He is regarded as the son of a Chōla ruler, generally described as *Kiḷi Vaḷavan*, which is more or less a generic name for the Chōla, but is probably identifiable with *Neṇḍu-Muḍi-Kiḷi* whose name figures in the *Śilappadikāram* and *Maṇimēkhalai*. The *Perumbāṇ-āṟrupaḍai* describes him as descended of the royal family of Ayōdhyā, in fact specifically mentioning *Tirumāl*, generally taken to be Rāma; but it carefully distinguishes him at the same time as coming of a younger branch of the family, because the Chōlas claim to belong to the family of *Ikṣvāku*, and, among their warrior ancestors, figure names like *Śibi*, etc. The actual passage under reference is "descended from one, the brother who came after him, who has the colour of the sea, who carries on his chest the goddess of prosperity, and who measured out the great earth.\*" This would mean that the prince was descended of a younger brother of Viṣṇu, and therefore equated with the family of the Chōlas who made a similar claim. He bore the name *Tiraiyan* (belonging to the sea), because he was brought over by the sea and lashed ashore on the Chōla coast, to

நீய்ரு

மிரு நிலங்கடந்த திருமழ மார்பின்

முனைர் வண்ணன் புறக்கடை யநீர்க்

திரைதரு மரபினூ லோணும்பல்.

*Perumbāṇ-āṟrupaḍai ll. 29-31.*



be taken and brought up by the Chōla ruler as his son. The story in connection with this is that the Chōla ruler in one of his solitary meanderings along the banks of the backwaters of the sea in Kāverippūmpattinam saw an extraordinarily beautiful damsel, and fell in love with her at sight. The damsel responded in her turn, and they carried on a love affair which extended to his visiting her in her underground residence as the commentators call it. This was because she was a Nāga princess, and the Nāgas usually live in the underworld. We shall see that it perhaps means no more than her parents were living in a place access to which could be obtained only by passing through a cavern or a tunnel across the hills. When she became *enceinte* as a result of this liaison, she expressed her concern in regard to the child to be born. The Chōla king advised her to put the baby carefully in a box and send it afloat on the sea with a twig of the creeper of the *Toṇḍai* (*coccinia indica*) tied round his ankle. If the baby should reach him safe, he would bring him up as a prince and make him king as becoming a prince. Some time after, the baby was born, she did as she was directed, and the baby meeting with an accident on the sea somehow reached the shore, and was brought to the Chōla monarch. The king brought him up as his own child and appointed him to the viceroyalty of Kānchi when the time came. This story figures of course in a Buddhist setting in the *Maṇimēkhalai*. We shall come to that detail a little later. He was ruling over the whole of *Toṇḍamaṇḍalam* with his capital at Kānchi. The poem *Perumbāṇāṟruppaḍai* describes him in the conventional style which demands the description of the four classes of land of which one's territory must be composed, the seashore, the forest land, hilly country and agricultural land; and a fifth class has also to be marked in this, as some of these lands had a tendency to become desert land by frequent droughts and by the heat of the sun. This is described as desert land transformed into such either from forest land or from agricultural land. A part is described under the name *Nīr-Peyartu* from which the *Pāṇ* or musician, expert in playing on the greater musical instruments, such as the Tamil *Yāl*, and hence called *Perum-Pāṇ* as opposed to *Śīru-Pāṇ*, one who played on the smaller musical instruments, passes through various classes of land till he reached the town of Kānchi, the headquarters of *Iḷam Tiraiyan*. This particular poet describes the Vishṇu shrine in Kānchi called *Veḷ-Kā* or *Yadōkta-kāri*, and that is the only shrine, of all the multitudinous shrines that one finds now in Kānchi, which finds mention in this poem

actually. Kānchi is described in this poem as having attained to reputation as already an ancient city where religious festivals were celebrated for various classes of people, to each according to its own conviction. Since the author of this poem Rudran Kaṇṇan has also celebrated the great Karikāla in another poem of the same collection called *Paṭṭinappālai*, describing particularly the city of Kaverippūmpaṭṭinam, the capital of the Chōlas, and is said to have received a very liberal reward from the great Chōla ruler Karikāla, and since this poem is of almost the same character and must have been presented to the ruler whom it celebrates, we have to take it that Iḷam Tiraiyan came in the same generation as the great Chōla Karikāla. As a matter of fact we have reason to regard him as coming in the second generation after Karikāla and may possibly be even in the third. He was contemporary with the Adiyamān chieftain specifically known by the name Adikan, and the poetess Avvai is said to have gone from him, who was her patron, to the court of Iḷam Tiraiyan on an ambassadorial mission and persuaded the monarch into peaceful ways. This would bring him into contemporaneity with the Adiyamān of Tagaḍūr, another celebrity in the Sangam literature. There are a number of fugitive pieces of poetry in which he comes under reference either as merely Tiraiyan, or as Toṇḍamān, neither of which could be described as a specific name. But these have been held to refer to Iḷam Tiraiyan generally, particularly one stanza which is quoted as composed by a Poygaiyār, identifiable with Poygai Ālvār as we shall see later. He was himself an author, and a few poems are ascribable to him in the collections which have come down to us. He is supposed to have been the founder of a town or city which went by the name Tiraiyanūr. There is a tank which goes by the name Tiraiyanēri to the south of Kānchi; and the locality where the Mission Hospital and the adjacent buildings are now, is pointed out as the place where the Tiraiyan's palace and other buildings were found in ruins. This locality may be considered distinct from the fortress of Kānchi, the part now-a-days called Big Conjeevaram. It may be that this suburb of Kānchi was called Tiraiyanūr. We shall see therefore that he is identifiable through and through with Kānchi, and we do not come upon any reference to Vēngāḍam, or Pavattiri, or even Vērkkādu which we find referred to as in the territory of Pulli first and the Toṇḍamān chieftains afterwards, as we have already stated before. There is however the fact that the whole of the territory under reference in these poems is included in the Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, or as it is sometimes called Toṇḍainādu.

## CHAPTER II

### FOUNDER OF TIRUPATI—A TONDAMAN.

**The Tondaman and the early Alvars.** From what has been stated above, it is clear that the Tondaman Ilam Tiraiyan was undoubtedly ruling over the Tondamaṇḍalam so-called which included the territory dependent upon Vēṅgaḍam, and therefore we may take it that he came after the chieftain Pulli referred to in the Śāṅgam literature, particularly in the poems of Māmūlar. This should be quite in keeping with the trend of evidence in the Śāṅgam literature itself which would bring Ilam Tiraiyan into some kind of a chronological connection with the famous Pāṇḍyan, victor at Talaiyālangānam, and the contemporary of Nakkīrar. The names of both this Pāṇḍyan and the poet Nakkīrar are intimately associated in tradition with the third Śāṅgam at Madura. Ilam Tiraiyan therefore comes in at a time when we should expect him from his relationship, again chronologically, with Karikāla, and this is confirmed by Nakkīrar's poem Aham 340 where he associates Tiraiyan with Pavattiri, the capital of that part of Tondamaṇḍalam dependent upon Vēṅgaḍam. It thus becomes clear that Ilam Tiraiyan of Kānchi was probably the Tiraiyan who is referred to in the other poems of the Śāṅgam collections by various authors, and he came in the generation, not very remote from that of the Pāṇḍyan victor at Talaiyālangānam. The importance of this position consists in this, that the Vishṇu shrine at Vehkā finds prominent mention in the poem actually dedicated to him. This is among the oldest shrines of Kānchi, if not actually the oldest. It is mentioned frequently along with Vēṅgaḍam or Tirupati in the poems of the earlier Ālvārs, and is regarded as a shrine of the greatest importance. What is more, the names of two Ālvārs get associated with the place, namely, Poygai Alvar and Tirumaḷisai Alvar. In the Vaiṣṇava tradition Poygai Alvar is said to have come and worshipped at Kānchi, which is made just possible by the fact that this Ālvār is taken to refer to Tiraiyan in one of the fugitive stanzas already referred to. That particular stanza is quoted as the work of Poygaiyār, not Poygai Ālvār. But a contemporary commentary on a work of the eleventh or twelfth century, Yāpparungalakārikai, quotes a few stanzas from Poygai Ālvār including the one already referred to. Two of these stanzas are identifiable in the first Tiruvandādi ascribed to Poygai

Ālvār in the Prabandha collection of 4,000. It therefore seems to leave no doubt that the Poygaiyār referred to is the same as the Poygai Ālvār. Poygai Ālvār's poems so far known to us are all of them in the *Veṇbā* metre, and he is quoted along with a number of others who excelled in composing poems in this metre. Poygai Ālvār is said to have come to Vehkā at Kānchi in the course of his pilgrimage along with his two companions Bhūtattu Ālvār and Pēy Ālvār, in the course of which they are said to have met Ālvār Tirumaḷisai. This last Ālvār is closely associated with Vehkā, where he is said to have resided habitually. In the course of his long residence there, he came into contact with a more or less secular disciple by name Kaṇikaṇṇan through whom he came into contact with the ruler of Kānchi, a Tiraiyan himself, probably Iḷam Tiraiyan. The story is merely this. That Kaṇikaṇṇan was serving the Ālvār with devotion, and, in connection with his service, he brought in a woman to assist him. She earned, by faithful service, the favour of the Ālvār so much that she was granted by the grace of God perpetual youth and unfading beauty, with which she was able soon to attract the attention of the ruler of the locality to become ultimately his sweetheart. In the course of his long dalliance he was able to learn from her how she came by the unfading youth and beauty which proved to be such an attraction to him, and, having heard that it was due to the favour of Kaṇikaṇṇan, who served alike the Ālvār and the God at Vehkā, he sent for Kaṇikaṇṇan to see him. Finding out from him that he had not so much part in the matter as the Ālvār, the king commanded the presence of the Ālvār through Kaṇikaṇṇan. Kaṇikaṇṇan protested that the Ālvār was not likely to go to see him even at the summons of the king. Wild with rage at what he thought was impertinent disobedience, he asked Kaṇikaṇṇan to take himself away from Kānchi. Kaṇikaṇṇan in due course went and reported the matter to his master, the Ālvār, and, through him, wanted to obtain the leave of the God at Vehkā to go away from Kānchi. Sooner than let him go, the Ālvār told him that he would himself follow, and that, if he followed, the God himself was not likely to stay in the place. Saying so, he addressed God in a verse which has come down to us and begged him to follow him as he had decided to leave the place and go along with Kaṇikaṇṇan who had been exiled by royal command. The God complied and hence the name for the God *Yadōktakāri*, the God who did as he was directed (by his devotee). The miracle in the story apart, the story itself is

evidence of some kind of the contemporaneity which may be accepted as evidence of the contemporary character of Tirumaliśai Ālvār with Ilam Tiraiyan on the one side, and of his contemporaneity with Poygai Ālvār and his reference to Tiraiyan on the other. Ilam Tiraiyan is therefore thus brought into connection with the first Ālvārs, namely, the three who are known as such and the fourth, Tirumaliśai. That marks the starting point of the history of Tirupati. We shall have to examine the other side of the tradition namely, what the Purāṇas have to say about the Tondamān chieftains who were responsible for the unearthing of the God at Tirupati, the building of a temple for him and the organisation of worship and festivals in connection with it.

**The Puranic origin of Tirupati.** The Purāṇa tradition concerning the origin of the temple at Tirupati is varied in character and voluminous. As many as eleven different Purāṇas refer to this subject and give the account in circumstantial detail which would strike the ordinary reader as quite legendary in character. Having regard to the character of the subject, and the purpose of edification for which these are severally written, the legendary colour certainly would dominate. It would be surprising if it were otherwise. But, through all this legend, one can still find certain facts standing clear, which may be regarded as not belonging to the realm of pure legend, and may perhaps be regarded as historical, though perhaps in a legendary garb owing to association. The basal fact is that God Vishṇu had, by his choice, come to live in Tirupati for which an occasion and a stimulating cause alike seem called for. These makers of legend provide both by taking the story of the great Rishi Bhrigu's investigation to find the Supreme in actual fact. Once upon a time there was a discussion among the Rishis, the most devoted to God and nearest in service to him, as to which of the three manifestations of the Supreme, Brahma, Vishṇu, Śiva, was really the Supreme. It must be remembered that the Supreme is One, but manifests himself in three forms, with one of the three qualities, *Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*, dominating in each case and discharging functions suitable in consequence, which must and necessarily be discharged by the Supreme by his very nature, the three essential functions of creation, protection and destruction. Each one of these functions is allotted to one of the three: Brahma, has the charge of all creation, as a result of his dominating quality *Rajas*, energy or activity. Vishṇu is given the function of looking after all creation with the dominating quality

of *Sattva*, serene strength. Similarly Rudra or Śiva is allotted the function of destruction, his dominating quality being *Tamas*, generally regarded as involving unthinking irascibility. But at the back of all this division, there certainly is the notion which makes all the three but manifestations of the One, and, as such, each one of the three being regarded as the Supreme itself. In this notion of unity, there is the possibility of two classes, those who make Rudra the Supreme, and those who make Vishṇu the Supreme, Brahma often not coming in for that claim to the same extent. It is this unity in variety that formed the topic of discussion of these wise ones; but they found good reasons for regarding each one of these as the Supreme, and undecided, they induced Bhrigu, the most favoured among the Rishis and the wisest among them, to make a pilgrimage to the various abodes of the trinity and find out by himself and directly by experiment. Naturally he went first to the palace of Brahma in *Satyalōka*—heaven. He found Brahma seated in full durbar, and treated the guest who entered the durbar after due salutation, somewhat familiarly and without the due forms of welcome to which the great sage was entitled, in the belief that Bhrigu was after all Brahma's own son. Bhrigu noted the dominance of self in the mind of Brahma in thus regarding himself as the progenitor of Bhrigu, notwithstanding the height to which that progeny had risen by penance. Having noted that, he passed on next to Kailāsa, the abode of Śiva, and found the Lord God disporting himself with Umā, his consort. Resenting the freedom with which Bhrigu entered so familiarly, even into the secret conclave of his own sportive dalliance, and, taking to heart particularly that the Goddess felt very delicate about the matter, he chased Bhrigu out of the palace in anger. Bhrigu noted this incident, and passed on the purpose of his mission to the palace of Vaikunṭha, where the other member of the trinity, Vishṇu-Nārāyaṇa was in his Yoga-sleep, Lakshmi in his chest, the other attendants, ladies and others, each in the appointed place. Affecting disappointment that the God, whose function was protection, should have thus gone to sleep, consulting his own comfort to the neglect of his duties, the Rishi went upon to the sleeping God and kicked him on the chest to wake him up. Vishṇu woke up from his wakeful sleep, and apologised to the Rishi for having shown himself so careless and wished to know whether his foot suffered by coming in contact with His own hardened chest. So naturally, Bhrigu reported what took place in the three places to the

assembled wise people, and they all voted in favour of Vishṇu as the really supreme One, the other two being more or less slaves of their dominating qualities or passions. But for the purpose of the Tirupati story, this gave the occasion for Lakshmi to pick a quarrel with her husband. Bhrigu's kick on the chest of Vishṇu fell on her. She therefore was naturally wild that he should have been allowed the freedom to do such a thing, which did her the double insult, of the personal insulting treatment to her, and of the disregard of proprieties which the Rishi should have showed to her Lord. Vishṇu pleaded that the sage was justifiably beside himself with anger at Vishṇu's apparent neglect of duties, and that it would not do to deal with such people, as otherwise than he did. In a fit of rage Lakshmi declined any more to remain on his chest, which had ceased to give her the protection that it should have, and that she thought she was entitled to have. Lakshmi having gone away from heaven, Vishṇu could not go on for long thus bereft of his consort, and wanted to go away somewhere else to spend his time pleasantly and get on alone. After making due enquiries, he discovered that the hill Śeṣhāchalam provided a spot which would be quite an ideal place for his residence, pleasant to live in with surroundings which supplied everything that he would want for diverting himself in his serious and light-hearted moods, and so he arranged to come and live there. Knowing this the Rishis went there to perform penance. The Gods and Goddesses each one contributed what he or she could to make the place pleasant, and thus fitted out, God Vishṇu came into residence there abandoning Vaikunṭha itself. He had been there æons of time, and when we come to the particular Manvantara (Cycle of Manu) with which we are concerned, he showed himself there in the form of the primeval boar carrying the Goddess of the Earth, redeemed from the deep. This is indicated as the Varāha shrine on the west bank of the tank on the hill at Tirupat. called Vishṇu Tirtha now, and after a considerable length of time, and, for the purpose of showing himself to a devotee who had long been performing penance to him, he assumed the form of Śrīnivāsa, (God bearing Lakshmi on his chest, for his benefit, and thereafter lay buried in the earth. Ultimately some cowherds discovered the cows that they brought to graze over the hills, going up an ant-hill and milking of their own motion, and returning home dry. The king of the locality whose cows they happened to be, got informed of this phenomenon, and went down to investigate. Digging up the ant-hill, he discovered the God in

a small shrine, well within the bowels of the earth. He got the spot dug up, and, unearthing the simple shrine, built a brick temple round it, and provided it with all that would make a temple of it. That is the famous Śrīnivāsa shrine at Tirupati, and with this temple we emerge from legend perhaps into history.

**The Tondaman Raja of the Puranas.** The first question that would arise is, who is this Tondamān who laid the foundations of Vishṇu worship in Tirupati, in proper form, with the temple and all its appurtenances. We shall have to go a little further into the Purāṇic story itself to gain the clue to an identification, if an identification for him is at all possible. A Tondamān who was a great devotee of Vishṇu at Tirupati and one in whom the God was deeply interested, interested to the extent of lending him his own characteristic weapons of the disc and the conch to bring him success in war, was given by him solemnly the highest teaching that a Vaishṇava could desire, directly. We come upon references to a Tondamān who had earned the favour of the Supreme deity so far, as to have had these acts of grace in his favour directly from God himself, in the Prabandha literature. These therefore must have been based upon well accredited tradition, if they do not have a really historical basis. The Purāṇa stories however, continue that, after the foundation of the temple in the manner described above, and providing for worship therein, the God, having been deprived of the company of Lakshmi in the manner previously described, and, having elected to come down and live in Tirupati in consequence, was accustomed to diverting himself by hunting and such other engagements, habitual to him. In the course of one of these hunting expeditions, he happened to come upon a beautiful damsel in one of the deep glades of the forests round Tirupati. He discovered on enquiry, that the beautiful damsel was no other than the princess, the only daughter, and that, one not born to him, but bestowed on him by divine favour having been discovered by him in the forests. The ruler is known to Purāṇic tradition as Ākāśa Rāja, otherwise described by the synonyms of the word Ākāśa, whose queen bore a name synonymous with the earth, as if to give away the secret that the young lady concerned was the daughter, even as the foster-daughter, of the earth and sky, as if to take her away altogether from the human category. We may infer that this Raja belonged to the family of the Tondamān chiefs, as he is said to have had a younger brother who went by the name Tondamān who assisted the elder brother in sundry acts of administration and seems to



have been more or less directly entrusted with the government of the region round about Tirupati itself. The Purāṇas certainly display all their resources in describing the marriage that was brought about between this foster-daughter of the "sky-king" and the God himself, accounting for this strange alliance by the story that when Sita threw herself into the fire to prove her innocence, at the end of the Rāmāyaṇa, she prayed to be restored to her husband the great God Viṣṇu himself, and the restoration was brought about in the human fashion in the marriage of Padmāvathī to God Venkaṭēśa at Tirupati. This is what is generally described as the marriage of Venkaṭēśa or the marriage of Śrinivāsa, a story much affected by the professional story-tellers who perform *Harikathas* for purposes of edification. We may pass over these details as of no particular importance to the unravelling of the history of the temple. After the marriage was over and Padmāvathī returned to her original place, Ākāśa Rāja ruled for a short while and passed away, along with his queen, leaving only a young son who was born some time after the discovery of the baby Padmāvathī herself. Since Ākāśa Rāja associated with himself in his administration his younger brother, Tondamān, the uncle and the nephew who was a young prince, went to war to decide who was to succeed Ākāśa Rāja as ruler. Both of them being, each in his own way, a superman, the war proved undecisive; but, in the course of it, the uncle Tondamān felt his physical resources ebbing away and prayed to God for help. It was on that occasion that Venkaṭēśa is said to have parted with his disc and conch for the use of this ruler. The war terminated however, without being clearly and decisively in favour of either. So ultimately they came to a compromise, and arranged to rule the vast territories of Ākāśa Rāja in two parts, the parts nearer Tirupati being given to the uncle, and the rest of it farther away to the nephew. The prince built for himself a capital lower down the river and ruled his kingdom in great prosperity, while the Tondamān ruled from the original capital Nārāyaṇavaram, and did far more service to the temple, and in fact laid the foundations of the organisation and worship that obtain in Tirupati even down to modern times. It is in connection with this Tondamān in the course of his service to the temple that we find mention of a secret passage through the hill leading from his capital up to the temple itself, to which the king could go from his capital unseen of others and quite unmolested. It was he that organised from time to time the various annual festivals, the first of which is the Brahmōtśava in the months of

September—October of the year. The principal festival known is the *Brahmōtsava*, and probably this festival is what is referred to by Tirumalīśai Ālvār as the *Ōpa-Viṭṭu* (the Śravana-festival).

**Whether Tondaman Raja was a Historical character.** This Tondamān ruler seems to be more or less a historical person, although, as we find in the tale recorded in the Purānas, there is much that is said of him which may be legendary, as certainly all that is said of his more illustrious brother, the Ākāśa Rāja, on the face of it appears to be legendary, even including his own name and that of the queen. It is just possible, notwithstanding the legendary details connected with him, to regard this Tondamān as a historical character from the fact of his building the temple, and his organisation of worship there. Notwithstanding this probability, one might well ask the question whether we have any evidence on which to base a definite statement like that. The legends and the Purānas themselves appear to give a clue to this. One of the versions tries to define the time when all this organisation took place at Tirupati, and states specifically that it took place in the *Kaliyuga* when the *Yuga* had advanced sufficiently to have given occasion to the institution of the era which now-a-days goes by the name *Vikramāditya*, and say definitely that the other era known to the Hindus, that of the *Śaka* had not yet come into existence. This would mean a period of time between 57 or 58 B.C. and 78 A.D. the period of time to which we have arrived by our previous line of enquiry, entirely independent of this Purānic tradition. We found that the region dependent upon Vēngadam or Tirupati changing hands from the Kalvar chieftain Pulli, and passing into the possession of the Tondamān chieftains before the time of the great Pāṇḍyan victor at Talaiyālangānam, from references in the Sangam literature. That very literature gives us a Tondamān, ruling from his northern capital at Pavattiri, Reddipālem in the Gudur Taluk, and held rule over the northern Tondamaṇḍalam. We have referred rather more elaborately to another Tondamān that literature knows of, namely, the Tondamān Ilam Tiraiyan. So we seem to have now three Tondamāns before us, the Tondamān or Tondamān Chakravarti referred to in the Purānas, the Tiraiyan of Pavattiri or northern Tondamaṇḍalam and Tondaman Ilam Tiraiyan of Kānchi. Whether all these three were the same, or how they are to be connected one with the other is a problem which has to be considered now.

**Is Tondaman Raja Tondaman Ilam Tiraiyan?** We have already seen that some of the literary references seem to leave the question

open whether the Tiraiyan of Pavattiri and Ilam Tiraiyan are one and the same. It seems on the whole the best course to take it that the two Tiraiyans are different from each other; at least those that were contemporaries of Ilam Tiraiyan and those who wrote of him either as contemporaries or later seem to be under the impression that he was different as they call him distinctly *Ilam* Tiraiyan which would presume an *Elder* Tiraiyan. If we should therefore take the two to be different, we shall have two rulers coming one after the other—perhaps with an interval of time—it may be a generation or perhaps even a little more. The title Tiraiyan would indicate the family to which they belonged. The name Tondaman would really mean “the chief man among the people Tondaiyar,” at any rate, the person who was ruler of the people called Tondaiyar, the inhabitants of Tondamaṇḍalam, in fact, the people who gave the name Tondamaṇḍalam to the locality. Even some of the Purāṇas seem to refer to these Tondaman rulers as of the Chōḷa family. The Tondamān who built the temple at Tirupati and organised worship there is the son of a Chōḷa ruler through a Tondamān princess whom he used to meet in a love adventure, through a secret passage leading through considerable distance. The association therefore between the Tondamans and the Chōḷas is thus made clear even in the Purāṇas This connection is specifically stated in the poem *Perumbān-arupadai*, mainly to celebrate the liberality of the patron Tondaman Ilam Tiraiyan. Whether this would really warrant our identifying the Tondaman Ilam Tiraiyan, with the Tondaman associated with the Tirupati temple, is a question which requires careful consideration.

**Tondaman Raja of Tirupati Distinct from Tondaman Ilam Tiraiyan.**  
 We have already noticed that the region round Tirupati passed from the hands of the Kalvar chieftain Pulli to chieftains known as Tondamān, and that at least one Tondaman is referred to as having ruled from Pavattiri over northern Tondamaṇḍalam, the country dependent upon Tirupati. We do know of another Tondamān, the famous Tondaman Ilam Tiraiyan of whom we have some details of information in the same Tamil classical collections, particularly one poem exclusively devoted to him by a poet Kadiyalūr Rudran Kannan, who has also a similar poem on the great ruler Karikāla. A Tondamān is actually referred to in the Purāṇas as being specially attached to the God at Tirupati, and rendering great service to the temple there by constructing it for the first time and organising the worship. Of course, we shall have to take it, on the basis of these Purāṇic accounts themselves,

that this was in all probability the Tondamān to whom the God at Tirupati showed particular favour, by lending him his warlike weapons, and by giving him instruction in the secret of the eight letters (*Asthākshara*). Apart from the personalities named, all the three sources of information collated go to show that there was a dynasty of rulers in northern Tondamaṇḍalam dominated by Vēṅgaḍam who went by the general name Tondamāns. But there is one aspect of history in regard to these which deserves particular consideration. Speaking of the Tondamān who rendered devoted service to the temple at Tirupati, the Purāṇas refer to his having been the son of a Chōḷa ruler, as the result of his love to a princess of the country, whom he was in the habit of meeting by going through a secret passage which may, in modern language, be described as perhaps a tunnel or a natural cave through the hills. Of course, the Purāṇas describe it as a *bilam*, a hollow underground going into the depths of the earth. The Tondamān devotee of the God at Tirupati was thus of the Chōḷa lineage through, of course, a princess of the locality, who might have been a princess of the family of the Tondamān rulers. The Tondamān Ilam Tiraiyan is described in terms in the Perumbān-ārṇuppaḍai as having been born of a Chōḷa as well, but by a Naga princess, whom the Chōḷa king met in the city of the Nāgas, Nagapaṭṭinam, and with whom he carried on secret love by going to her through an underground passage which would be the equivalent of *bilam* of the Purāṇas. But this story of a Naga connection for a Chōḷa ruler and an off-spring like this is referred to, in a Buddhist setting, in the Maṇimēkhalai, and all details concerned being taken together would seem to indicate the Tondamān Ilam Tiraiyan, the off-spring of a Chōḷa ruler, successor either immediate, or one degree remote, of the great Chōḷa Karikāla. But the story here differs in this particular. She was a Naga princess undoubtedly, but met the Chōḷa ruler in the outskirts of his capital at Kaverippūmpaṭṭinam at the mouth of the river Kaveri, not Nagapaṭṭinam, the city of the Nāgas, as Nacchinārkkiniyar explains the passage in the Perumbān-ārṇuppaḍai which is actually worded much more generally and without specific details which would lead to an identification. The question naturally would arise whether we should identify the Tondamān attached to the God in the temple at Tirupati, with Tondamān Ilam Tiraiyan. While there is nothing in the story specifically to lead us to an identification, the circumstantial details given seem to make it possible that the two personages

were perhaps the same ; but that is hardly enough for a positive identification. The Perumbāṅ-ārṟuppaḍai which gives specific details regarding the Tondamān Ḥam Tiraiyan and mentions the Viṣṇu temple at Vehkā at Kānchi, makes no mention whatever of Tirupati, nor of Ḥam Tiraiyan's association with Tirupati. This omission on the part of a poet who had laid himself out elaborately to sing the praise of Ḥam Tiraiyan is significant, and stands against an identification between the two. We have therefore to take it that the family of the Tondamāns that ruled over northern Tondamaṇḍalam had established itself and achieved a certain amount of distinction before Ḥam Tiraiyan came into existence and attained to fame, while it may not debar the connection between the family of Ḥam Tiraiyan on the mother's side with the Tondamān chieftains of the region round Tirupati. We may therefore have to take the Tondamān devotee of Śrinivāsa referred to in the Purānas as one who came before Tondaman Ḥam Tiraiyan, though the possibility of Ḥam Tiraiyan's mother being connected with the Tondamān ruler is still made possible. Therefore the Tondamān of Tirupati probably came in the generation previous to Tondaman Ḥam Tiraiyan with whose family the Chōḷa king could have been brought into contact by the conquest of Tondamaṇḍalam by the Chōḷa ruler Karikāla. Ḥam Tiraiyan therefore must have been a ruler of Kānchi who came somewhat later than the Tondamān of Tirupati. We shall now proceed to consider how far other evidence supports this position.

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## CHAPTER III

### TIRUPATI AND THE EARLY ALVARS.

**Tirupati in the Prabandha four Thousand: Mudal Alvars, the four Thousand, its authors and their Age.** The most prominent piece of literature which throws a considerable amount of light upon the early history of Tirupati is "the Prabandha Four Thousand", which is a collection of 4,000 stanzas of Tamil poetry, celebrating the 108 places of worship sacred to Vishṇu by a certain number of devotees, generally counted twelve, who, because of their single-minded devotion and the consequent nearness to God, are called Ālvārs. The general period to which the whole body of this literature is referable happens to be the five centuries 300 to 800 A.D. These did not all of them live at one and the same time, and, if the age of each one of them is not as yet precisely fixed, a broad classification of these into early, middle and later, can well be adopted as a recognised method of classification, and the probable period of time in which each one of these groups flourished seems also ascertainable. Without going into the whole of that question here, we may take it that three among them are known as the first Ālvārs, described as the singers in classical Tamil (Śeṅ Tamil) by Tirumangai Ālvar, namely, Poygai, Bhūtam and Pēy, and one other that follows, namely Tirumalīśai. These four constitute the early Ālvārs. Of these comparatively little is known in the matter of life details, and in consequence we are left without much material by way of data for fixing their actual period of life. From the internal evidence of their works, however, it seems possible to come to some fairly definite conclusions in regard to their period of activity, and this, in itself, would throw a flood of light upon the history of a shrine like Tirupati, not to mention other general questions, such as the rise of the cult of Bhakti, and of the school of Vaishṇava worship generally known as the Pāncharatra, or Āgamaic worship more generally. This latter class of literature lays down the norms of the life of a devotee, and prescribes the various forms in which worship should be conducted by differing classes of people, with a view to achieving the ends of existence here, and attaining to a permanent one hereafter. It is this form of religion which postulates the existence of a personal god with

attributes, capable of being pleased by service and of accepting devotion with a view to secure His grace ultimately and attain to salvation thereby. These Ālvārs are devotees of Vishṇu in that sense, and their works contain in them how exactly they devoted themselves to the service of God and attained ultimately to His grace, thereby providing, at one and the same time, not only an account of their edifying achievement, but also lays down a course of conduct which a devotee might follow with advantage to achieve the same supreme purpose.

**The First three of these and their Life and Worth.** Coming down to their earthly history, we know almost nothing historically of the first three except that they were men who were born in different places and on different dates not much removed from each other either in point of place or in point of time. They led a single wandering life going from place to place, and visiting Vaishṇava holy places. The detail bringing the three together happens to be that they all met on a rainy night in the narrow vestibule of a small house in Tirukkōvilūr with a view to protection from the inclemencies of the weather. The first one who came there went in, and finding the platform that is generally found in village houses between the front door and interior door leading into the house to one side of the passage, vacant, lay down there for the night. The second one came there seeking refuge similarly from the inclemencies of the weather, and he knocked at the front door. The one that was already there answered that all the room that there was, was enough for one to lie down. Finding that the second one was a Vaishṇava in distress, he added that, if there was room for one to lie down, certainly it would be room enough for two to sit on, and opened the door; and the two determined to sit out the night on the narrow *payal*. A short time after the third one came and knocked at the door similarly, and the two replied, as the one in the former case, that the place had just room for two men to sit on, and that, if two men could sit, it would be possible for three men to stand, and so the third one got admitted; and all the three resolved to stand out the whole night, and save themselves from the violence of the weather. It is said that God Vishṇu, installed in the temple in the locality, was pleased with their devoted service to him, and, wishing to show himself to them, came with his consort Lakshmi, without whom he does not usually proceed, particularly where acts of grace are intended, and seeking admission as the others did before, almost

squeezed the three out of their place by extending his body gradually and pressing them out. In the course of this process it dawned upon them that they were being tested by no less than God himself, and they broke out into song in praise of God, each one of them his own way. Each one of these is the author of one centum or a hundred of the *Prabandha* referred to above, and these, along with certain other pieces of literature of this school, constitute one main division named *Iyarpā* in the *Prabandha*.

**The General Character of their Works.** Of these the first, and by far the most interesting, is Poygai Ālvār. Poygai is the author of the first centum of the last thousand of the Four Thousand in the *Prabandha*. The first part of the word Poygai means a tank, a bathing tank, attached to the temple at Vehkā in Conjeevaram. Ālvār is the sacerdotal honorific given to this class of Vaishṇava devotees, holy ones in near association with God himself. He seems to be the person referred to by commentators, particularly by one commentator on the *Alankāra grantha* named Yāpparungalam belonging to the 11th or 12th century A. D., to which a commentary was written by a disciple of the author himself. This commentator quotes two stanzas from this centum, namely 40 and 51, as extracted from the author Poygaiyār. The latter part of the word in Tamil is a respectful honorific meaning a person belonging to or born in Poygai. So the difference of this designation from that of the previous one consists merely in this that the person so referred to is not given the Vaishṇava sacerdotal name, but still the quoting author feels that he ought to be referred to, or quoted with, due respect as the esteemed one coming of Poygai, the place. He is referred to by others as one who composed principally in the *Venbā* metre, and is counted as a model in that kind of composition along with other ancient Tamil classics famous for that. So this Ālvār was not only a Vaishṇava devotee, but one who occupied a high place among the celebrities in Tamil literature. The question whether he is the same as the one who composed the *Kalavaḷi* Forty, celebrating the victory of the Chōḷa king Śemkaṇ over a contemporary Chēra ruler, Kaṇaikkal Irumporai, is more open to doubt. The first centum ascribed to him was sung by him when the idea dawned upon him that it was God Vishṇu himself that was practically elbowing them out of the narrow *payal* where he and his two companions had found shelter from the inclement weather. This idea is said traditionally to have risen in the three simultaneously, and each broke out, in his own characteristic way, into praising Vishṇu in a hundred



verses. The first Poygai made the whole universe, the lamp vessel, the oceans, the ghee for feeding the lamp, the sun himself, the burning wick, and, lighting such a lamp, he placed, at the lotus feet of the One with the blazing disc, his garland of verse in order that the great ocean of evil besetting him may leave him. The second in his own way made his own loving devotion (*anbu*) the lamp vessel, his ardour (*ārvam*) for service the ghee for feeding the lamp, and his mind melting with goodness, the lamp wick. He lighted the lamp of true knowledge (*gñāna*) and dedicated it to God Nārāyaṇa, as one capable of incorporating his divine knowledge in Tamil verse. The third on the contrary broke out "Lo, I see the Goddess Śrī. I see the golden body, I see the colour of the rising sun. I see the glorious disc. I see the dextral conch. I see all this in Him of the colour of the ocean, dear to me." The upshot of all the three is that the unlooked for and the ununderstood incommoding of these people by a pressure for which they could not divine a cause, put them in mind of the Supreme, and this community of thought runs through and through the three centums, though of three separate authors.

**References to Tirupati in the First Centum.** Our concern in regard to these three cents of verse is not so much their import or philosophy, but merely their bearing upon the history of the shrine at Tirupati. The first of these Poygai has as many as 12 to 15 direct references to Tirupati in the centum ascribed to him. He refers to the place incidentally as one of the places in which Vishṇu in his grace has shown himself to mortal eyes for purposes of devotion and worship, so that people in this sin-promoting world might find it possible to realise the Supreme, and, by that means, shake off the shackles of the results of their deeds and attain to ultimate salvation. These references are of the utmost importance as they give us an insight into some of the characteristic features of the shrine, and have also been in a way responsible for certain false theories as to the actual character of the temple itself. The first point, a point perhaps of the greatest importance, is certain peculiar features in the image of the God at Tirupati which made it possible for raising a doubt whether the image enshrined in the temple is actually an image of Vishṇu or Śiva or some other manifestation. Without going into the claims set up and adjudicating as between rival claims, we shall have to consider what exactly these authors have said about the temple.

Stanzas 5 and 74 \* of the first centum run like this. "His name, *Araṇi* (Hara) and *Nāraṇan* (Nārāyaṇa), His vehicle, the bull and the bird; His word, the book (Tam. *Nūl* equiv. Sans: *Tantra* the *Āgamas*), and *Marai* (Veda); the house of residence, the hill (Kailāsa) and the waters (the ocean); His function, destruction and protection! the weapon in hand, the trident-spear and the disc; His form, though one, is fire and dark cloud." This is almost repeated in a somewhat different form in stanza 74 where it is said "He rides the bull and the bird. He burnt the castle (the three castles in the air) and broke open the heart (tore up *Hiraṇya's* chest with his claws as man-lion (*Narasimha*); He is smeared over with ash (*Vibhūti*); He is of the sapphire blue colour. Part of His body is a lady (*Pārvati*), and in one part is the lady born of the lotus, *Śrī* or *Lakshmi*. His coiffure, the long matted locks; His head covered by a tall crown; He wears the *Gangā* (Ganges) on His head (*Śiva*), and on His lengthening foot (*Vishṇu Trivikrama*)." Here it will be clear that God is described as though he were possessed of a twin form, each with its own characteristic set of features and weapons; and, superficially interpreted, it might be held to mean that the form of the image is to say the least, *Hari* and *Hara* in one, *Vishṇu-Śivā*, and so it has been seriously held on this evidence, and the contention raised that the temple was actually a Śiva temple. These two stanzas of which a translation is given above have certainly no reference to Vēṅgaḍam or Tirupati in either of them. But it may not be so baseless to regard it as applying to Tirupati, because Tirupati is under reference in this author in a number of places, and, on the whole, some of the less usual and more recondite features of the image at Tirupati seem to lend colour to this interpretation. Before proceeding to draw the important conclusion whether it is a Śiva shrine or a Vishṇu shrine on the statement of this author, we are bound in simple fairness to interpret the author of the centum as a whole, first of all to ascertain whether the deity

\* அரண் நாரணன் நாமம் ஆன்விடை புள்ளுந்தி  
உரை தால் மறை யுறையும் கோயில்—வரை நீர்  
கருமம் அழிப்பு அளிப்புக் கையது வேல் கோமி  
உருவம் எரிகார் மேனியொன்று.

(5)

ஏற்றான் புள்ளுந்தான் எயிலெரித்தான் மார்விடந்தான்  
நீற்றான் சிழல் மணி வண்ணத்தான்—உற்றொருபால்  
மங்கையான் பூமகனான் வார்சடையான் கீள்முடியான்  
கற்கையான் நீள் கழலான் காப்பு.

(74)

having the greatest appeal to him is really Śiva or Viṣṇu, doubtful details notwithstanding. The Vaishṇava holy places are 108, and the Śiva holy places are supposed to be 1008. In all the works of these it would be difficult to trace a reference to any one of the Śaiva holy places as such, while all the holy places referred to by their specific names happen to be Vaishṇava holy places. The first is Śrīrangam in stanza 6, Vēṅgaḍam itself in a number of others, Viṅṇagar, Veḷka, Tirukkōvilūr (in 77). Of these places mentioned by him, it is doubtful if Viṅṇagar has reference to a place on earth, as in this place God Viṣṇu is said, in that stanza, to be seated which is taken to be only in heaven (Vaikunṭha). There are places called Viṅṇagar, one very prominently near Kumbhakoṇam, where the posture of the image representing God is not that. The other places are within comparatively easy reach of Kanchi, which is the birthplace of this Ālvār. Veḷka is in Kanchi itself. Tirukkōvilūr is not at any great distance from it, and so Vēṅgaḍam. Śrīrangam may be counted a little farther, but perhaps the great reputation of the shrine may have brought it within his reach. These three Ālvārs are said to have been moving from place to place on pilgrimage bound, although we do not find them mentioning the more distant places as the other Ālvārs do. But what is really more useful for our purpose is that Poygai was associated with the town of Kanchi directly, the more so than even Tirukkōvilūr, and the details that he gives of Tirupati would perhaps warrant an equally intimate acquaintance. The reference to Śrīrangam is however only a single reference, and that says actually nothing more about the place than that he saw and worshipped God enshrined there. The most therefore that we could say about it is that he visited Śrīrangam. In regard to Tirupati, however, stanza 26 refers to Tirupati, the saving grace of which is enjoyed by the Gods themselves. In stanza 37 there is a more explicit reference. It refers to Vēṅgaḍam again as "place acceptable to the God who blew the beautiful white conch, which receives constant worship from people of great learning who offered daily worship with incense, lamp, holy water, and proceeded to offer the worship from all directions." There is a similar reference to Vēṅgaḍam in stanza 39 where the God "who lies on the deep blue sea, who lifted the earth, and who killed Kamsa by striking fear into him, is in a standing posture." Stanza 40 refers to Vēṅgaḍam as well, but gives only a secular feature of the place where elephants are referred to as if

threatened by the falling stars in the belief that they were torches held by the *Kupavars* of the place. There is another reference in stanza 68. This reference again is rather more general, that "the God Vishnu is in the heaven on earth" in *Vēṅgaḍam*, and in the four Vedas. Stanza 76 refers to *Tiruvēṅgaḍam* describing the God there as the one who measured the earth (*Vishnu-Trivikrama*). Stanza 77 similarly refers to *Vēṅgaḍam* where the image of God stands along with the other three places, *Vinnagar*, *Vēṅka*, and *Kovalūr* in which respectively He sat, He lay in bed and He walked. In stanza 82 there is a reference to *Vēṅgaḍam*, but the description of the place given here is worth noting for more reasons than one. *Vēṅgaḍam* is here described as the hill of him who on a former day shot effectively the deer (Rama killing the deer *Mārīcha*). But the description of the hill is interesting. It says that on *Dvādasī* (the 12th lunar day) ladies were accustomed to offer worship with garlands and incense, which latter sent up so much smoke which made the sky itself clouded and the stars indistinct.\* It must be noticed here that ladies were accustomed to offering worship, naturally with incense and flowers. It happened to be particularly on the 12th day of the fortnight. This *Dvādasī* festival is counted the holiest among the large number of annual festivals organized in connection with the shrine at *Tirupati*, and the 12th day is described in the *Purāṇas* as peculiarly holy in respect of *Vishnu* and that in *Tirupati*. Stanza 86 does not refer to *Tirupati* but refers to *Tirukkōvilūr*, and to the incident of the meeting of the three *Ālvārs* that took place at the vestibule of the house there. The last reference to *Tirupati* is in stanza 99 where *Vishnu* is spoken of as *Eternal*, and being in the heart of everyone who is capable of thinking of Him, as He is habitually in residence on the waters, and in the hill of *Vēṅgaḍam*. In all these stanzas where there is a reference to *Vēṅgaḍam*, while some references are general, a number, however, make specific reference to *Vishnu* as the presiding deity, either in general terms, or in one of his innumerable manifestations, thus leaving very little doubt that the *Ālvār* regarded the shrine in *Tirupati* as a *Vishnu* shrine. This could be reinforced by the statement in stanzas 58, 64 and 65 which give evidence

\* படையாரும் வாட்சண்ணர் பாசிநாள் பைம்பூர்  
தொடையலா தேந்திய தாயம்—இடையிடையில்  
மீன்மாய யாருணும் வெங்கடமே மேலொருநாள்  
மாண்மாய வெய்தாள் வரை.

that the Ālvār is devoted only to Vishṇu and to nobody else, thereby raising the presumption that he worshipped Tirupati, only as a place holy to Vishṇu. But as if to put the matter beyond a doubt, he refers in two stanzas\* to his conviction that the God in Tirupati is Vishṇu beyond a doubt. He states in stanza 98 that "the golden coloured holy One with the matted locks (Śiva), and the One who stood and stretched out to measure the universe (Vishṇu-Trivikrama), though these two may move about and have their being in two bodies, the one of them (the former of them) is in the body of the other one (the latter); this would explain, and perhaps is meant to explain, the conviction of the author that Vishṇu could be represented as bearing Śiva in his body. This is made the more clear in stanza 28 where Vishṇu is addressed directly; 'Oh, Dark One! In your hands are the dextral conch, and the disc. In your chest rests the flower born (Lakshmi). In your navel is the young author of the Veda. In one part of the body—generally described as on the right side—is the Iraj (king) who destroyed the three fortresses (Śiva)." So far therefore as Poygai Ālvār is considered, he may be regarded as a strict worshipper, whose devotion was paid only to Vishṇu, who could regard the worship of other deities particularly Śiva and Brahma as not altogether unobjectionable, as in the last resort they form but a part, in orthodox Vaiṣṇava notion, of the body of Vishṇu himself. On this basis therefore if we find the image in Tirupati sometimes described as exhibiting features of Śiva which is really material point here, it is only in this aspect of Śiva forming a part of Vishṇu's body Vishṇu being the soul, all else in existence being His body. It is only another way of stating the principle of immanence of Vishṇu. It would not therefore do to fasten upon stray references, and one or two expressions, such as *Iḷam Kumaraṅtan Viṅṅaṅgar* as implying that the presiding deity at Tirupati is *Iḷam Kumaraṅ* (the youthful young man, and therefore Subrahmaṇya). It cannot be so interpreted as the youthfulness of

\* பொன் திகழு மேனிப் புரிசடையம் புண்ணியனும்  
 நின்றலகம் தாய ரெடுமாலும்—என்றும்  
 இருவாங்கத் தால்திரிய ரேலும் ஒருவன்  
 ஒருவாங்கத்தென்று முனைன். (98)  
 கைய வலம்புரியும் கோமியும் கார்ரண்ணத்து  
 ஐய மலர்மகன் நின் னூத்தான்—செய்ய  
 மறையான் நின் உந்தியான் மாமநின் மூன்றெய்த  
 இறைபான் நின்னூத்த நிறை. (28)

the deity is under reference in dozens of other places where the frolicsome youth is unmistakably described as the youthful Krishna, Bālakrishna, and as such, the equation with Subrahmanya, Skanda-Subrahmanya cannot hold. We may very well point out here that the idea is not peculiar to this Ālvār, and is rather one of those general ideas constituting the Vaishṇava conviction. The sentiment runs through the works of all the Ālvārs, and we might refer here prominently to stanza 481 of the Tiruvāymoḻi where Śiva of the bull-vehicle, Brahma of the four faces and Lakshmi alike claim parts of his body for their habitual residence. It therefore becomes clear that the conception of the three in one is neither strange nor peculiar, but is more or less an integral part of the concept of Vishṇu as the Supreme. It is possible to pick out a certain number of stanzas from this centum which would throw a distinct light upon the Vaishṇava character of the worship prescribed.

One more point in regard to Poygai Ālvār may be worth mentioning here as bearing upon this particular question, namely, stanza 53, where the close association of the serpent Śēsha or Ananta with Vishṇu\* is stated with a view, according to the Vaishṇava commentators, to declare to the world the intimate connection between Śēsha and Vishṇu as almost body and soul, which is the relation in which the Supreme is held in connection with all else. The statement here is that the great snake is to Vishṇu (Tirumal) an umbrella when he walks, a throne when he sits, the wooden platform or sandal when he stands, the eternal bed when he sleeps on the sea. He also serves as the jewel lamp, or fine soft silk vestment, and the pillow beside him in bed. The notion that the Śēsha serpent constitutes a soft white silk which forms the upper garment of Vishṇu, would explain the symbolism of the snake that is said to be seen in parts of his body of the image of Vēnkaṭēsa at Tirupati. We may have to refer to this detail later.

Passing on now to the second of this group of Ālvārs, Ālvār Bhūtan as he is called, this Ālvār likewise refers to Vēṅgaḍam in eight places or stanzas directly. The first reference is in stanza 25 where Vishṇu is described as standing on the hill at Tirupati, and is referred to as the one who marched on Lanka

\* சென்றால் குடையாம் இருந்தால் சிங்காசனமா,  
கின்றால் மரவடியாம் கீள் கடலுள் - என்மும்  
புணையாம் மணிவினக்காம் பூம்பட்டாம் புக்கும்  
அணையாம் திருமாற் கரவு.

and killed, in anger, Ravana. Stanza 33 merely expresses devotion to Vishṇu as he manifests himself in Vēṅgaḍam. In stanza 45 he makes a similar general reference, and in stanza 46 Vēṅgaḍam figures among a number of places such as Śrīrangam, Tirukkōṭṭiyūr, and Tirunirmalai. In stanza 48 there is a reference to Iṟum-Śōlai, which is interpreted by the commentators as indicating Tirupati; but the reference seems none the less to Tirumāl Iṟum Śōlai, which is referred to as Iḷam-giri, and in stanza 54 as Iḷam-Kōvil. The reason for the use of the attribute is not quite clear unless it be in reference to the inhabitants of the locality who were of the hunter class, often referred to as Iḷaiyar, or the association of the place with young Krishṇa in which sense the name is used for Tirucchānūr apparently. In stanza 70 the Ālvār refers to a number of Vishṇu shrines: Tanjai (Tānjore), Arangam, Tan-kāl, as in the minds of those devoted to Him; as also the cool hill and the ocean where they place Him. Māmallai (Mahabalipuram), Kōval (Tirukkōvalūr) and Kudandai (Kumbhakoṇam) are similarly places cherished by them. In stanza 72 there is a general reference again to Vēṅgaḍam, where the very monkeys offer fully blossomed lotus flowers in worship. Stanza 75 contains a similar secular reference in which Tirupati is said to be the residence of the God of the blue colour where the male elephant is described as pulling out the tender shoot of the bamboo and giving it to its mate after carefully dipping it in honey. In addition to the usual Vaiṣṇava holy places, this Ālvār makes reference to a place Pāḍaham in Kānchi in stanza 94; as also to Attiyūr (Vishṇu-kānchi of now-a-days,) in 95, and Kudamūkkil (Kumbhakoṇam) in 97. Stanza 28 \* equates the deity presiding in Vēṅgaḍam as the same as that in Śrīrangam, and both of them alike are described as the young one who tore up the animal by the mouth, *Krishṇa*, and the general reference in 46 to a number of Vishṇu shrines would give the same impression. Stanza 54 is a little more specific where it states that Tirumāl Iṟum Śōlai near Madura and Vēṅgaḍam are the two places where the God was pleased to stand and present himself to his devotees. Stanza 60 of this centum calls for attention where the Supreme is regarded as of two forms. One of these two however is subordinated to the

\* மனத்துள்ளான் வேங்கடத்தான் மாசடலான் மற்றும்  
நினைப்பரிய ஶீரங்கத் துள்ளான்—எனைப்பலரும்  
தேவாதி தேவ னெனப்படுவான் முன்னொரு நாள்  
ழாவாய் பினந்த முகன்

other, which is the first, much as Poygai and Nammālvār make Śiva and Brahma as forming part of Vishnu's body. This stanza is however interpreted in a more general way by commentators. So it comes out clearly that Bhūtāt Ālvār, no less than Poygai Ālvār, was devoted to Tirupati as a Vishnu shrine to which he was extremely devoted, notwithstanding the features which may seem Śaiva at first sight. There are stanzas in this centum which could be picked out detailing the norms of worship of all the Vaishṇavas. One feature in particular has to be noted in respect of this Ālvār, which is also a common feature in the others, that the best form of worship is the orthodox Vaidic way; but it is recognised simultaneously that it is not actually possible for all. It certainly is the best for those that can do it; but, for those who cannot, other forms of worship are prescribed equally efficient in saving power; and among these, the most efficient is the mere recital of the name of Mādhava as equally capable of saving. As a typical instance we might give the substance of stanzas 38 and 39. In the first he admonishes people against deluding themselves in the possession of the wealth that they may have, but exhorts them to devote themselves to that which is the mainstay for one's permanent good. The recital of His name, with a mind devoted to Madhava, is our eternal saviour. It is stated in the next stanza that even the significance of the Veda is this alone, and therefore "Poor mortals, learn how to offer your devotion to God by reciting His name in the proper form. If you are learned in the Veda, well and good. If you are not, keep repeating His name with devotion; for the recital of His name is the abbreviation of the reciting of the Vedas themselves."\* We can quote stanzas of this import from Poygai Ālvār and the others as well.

\* எமகமகனது இருநதபம ஏமாந தாராத

தம்கென்றும் சார்வ மறித்து—தம்கென்றும்

மாதவனெ யென்றும் மனம்படைத்து மற்றவன்பேர்

ஒதுவதே நாலினு லோத்து.

(88)

ஒத்தின் பொருள் முடிவும் இத்தனையே உத்தமன்பேர்

வத்தும் நிறமறியின் ஏழைகான்—ஒத்தனை

வல்லீரோல் என்று அதனை மாட்டேரல் மாதவன் பேர்

சொல்லுவதே ஒத்தின் கருக்கு.

(89)

கருக்காக வாங்கிச் சுவாவிரிந்து ஐயார்

கெருக்காமுன் ஶீர்சினாயின் அண்டம்—நிருப்பொலிந்த

ஆகத்தான் பாத மறித்தும் அறிவாத

மோகத்தா வில்லை பொருள்.

(40)



This idea of a single-minded devotion shown in the form of a simple prayer addressed to him by the mere repetition of his name, is enforced in several other stanzas. Stanza 64 expresses the hope that it might be given to the Ālvār to realise Him who is described in the *Itihāsas* (Kathā) and the Vedas, the very names incorporating what is said of him in these. He begins with 62 where he professes that he did not know His name before, nor has he had the chance since of acquiring it in proper form; but that he bowed down in worship with the recitation of His names as they came to him, though different in form. In 65 he speaks of his bowing in reverence at sight of His form, his offering lotus flowers at His feet with his own hands, and he came down to the conviction to devote himself to His service, so that when the opportunity came he could attain to the nearness where he can for ever remain in perpetual prayer. In 66 he declares his faith that all this life is nothing more than the repetition of the name of Nāraṇa (Sans. Nārāyaṇa), and by so doing, he removed the causes that take one near to hell. In 67 he comes to a confession which is reinforced in stanza 81. He speaks of his having seen the form of God in a dream. Even in that dream he saw in His hand the golden disc. He was able to realise the strength of Him even then, which puts an end to the good and bad in him and prevents other such befalling him hereafter. In 81 he speaks of his having seen Him by day, and says that it was none other than Nārāyaṇa. He dreamt of Him again the more. Then he realised Him in truth, and arrived at the settled conviction of the form of Him of the golden disc, His light-emitting feet and His form, the very emanation of heavenly light. Then in 86 he asks what it was that great poets who offer worship, with fresh flowers along with their verses, gained; that which they were not able to realise by their true penance, "how am I going to realise; by what form of penance am I to realise it now? It is not by my penance now, that I am going to realise His great feet which measured the great earth itself. I realise, in all His greatness, Him, my father of Tirukkōṭṭiyūr, because I worshipped Him when I was still suffering in the womb from which I was brought into existence." Then he comes to his satisfaction in 90 when he declares roundly what it was that he could do. "Shall I not hold rule over this earth; will I not mount up to heaven by becoming the great one among the great in heaven itself; once I have approached and offered my sincere worship to Him, Lord Viṣṇu." It would be

easy in this connection to select about a dozen verses from this collection which would put in a nutshell the teachings of the Bhakti school of Vaishnavism in all its orthodox aspects, withal simple, and designed, not for serving the purpose of worship by the elite, but to subserve similar ends for the quite ordinary folk.

**Pey Alvar.** We come to the last of the triad, Pēy Ālvār, of whom we know nothing in regard to the details of his life except that he was born in a well next adjoining the shrine of Kēśava Perumāḷ, which well is now pointed out as the one in Arundal Street, Mylapore. We know nothing of his birth or his parents, and the date that is given for him in the Guru Paramparas is of the same kind as the dates for the other two. While the other two who each of them lighted the lamp of divine knowledge in his own way with a view to the realisation of God, this Ālvār on the contrary, breaks out "Lo, I see Śrī I see His golden form. I see the glorious effulgence of the rising sun I see the golden disc exuberant for war. I see the conch of the dextral curl. All these I see in my dear One of the blue colour of the sea." And immediately follows the confession that, having seen His feet, he destroyed all the seven of his births then and there, and then he proceeds to describe all that he knows of Viṣṇu and his saving qualities. In stanza 11 he declares roundly "He is there in the four Vedas well cultivated, He of the colour of the flowing water fresh and fragrant. He is in the ocean of milk, on the bed of the great serpent, the wise one who is churned out of the sea of sciences (Tam. *Nūl*; Sans. Tantra) by the learned ones, and comprehensible only to those of the most acute intelligence; shutting out the passions by the bolt of wisdom, and cultivating the secret wisdom of the Vedas, the wise ones will realise easily the nature of Him who is of the colour of the sea." The first reference to Vēṅgaḍam occurs in stanza 14 where He is said to be "the One in Vēṅgaḍam whom the heavenly ones worship with their high crowned heads, and Who is said to preside in the Veda of the four divisions." In stanza 16 there is a reference to Triplicane (Tiruvallikkōṇi) and the God is described as one bearing the lotus born (Lakshmi) in his chest. In stanzas 26 he declares that the God is either resident in his own heart, or on the body of the red-eyed serpent, in the full and prosperous Kacchi (Kānchi); in Vēṅgaḍam, Vehkā and Vēḷukkaippādi (a part of Kānchi) which he never quits. A similar sentiment is expressed in stanza 30 where the

place that Vishṇu liked to reside in is the ocean, Kuṇḍandai (Kunḍānikoṇam), Vēṅgaḍam, the properly intuned mind, the vast expanse of heaven, then Pāḍaham, full of people learned in the Veda, Ananta Śēsha, the great Śēsha-serpent and the garland of sweet basil. Stanza 31 similarly speaks of "these are the temples of Him who tore up the heart of Hiranya by the assumed form of a lion, or a serpent with unseen ears, the four Vedas and the ocean of milk". But the statement is here thrown in that the great Śiva of the bull vehicle, carrying the Gangā on his head forms part of his body. In 32 comes a similar recital of his abode as the ocean of milk, Vēṅgaḍam, Śēsha-serpent, the heaven, the ocean of sciences, the lotus figure prescribed by the Agama Śāstras (Nup-nūl), the mind of those devoted to Him. "That One is no other than the shepherd boy who broke the twin Kurundu tree."\* Vēṅgaḍam is here described as the place sacred to Gōpalaka. In stanzas 39 and 40, Vēṅgaḍam is referred to as the holy place of Vishṇu, and the latter gives the detail that He measured the earth by bringing it all under His one foot. Stanza 45 gives the important detail that Vēṅgaḍam was full of elephants and was "the hill of Him who carried the earth at the point of his tusk." Stanzas 45 to 57 seem to be a continuation of the sentiment actually expressed in the latter part of the stanza 45, and refer to the various achievements of Vishṇu in his manifestations as Rāma, Krishṇa, etc., following up, as it were, the reference to Varāha Avatāra in the last line of stanza 45. He takes up the reference to Vēṅgaḍam in 58 again, and comes up in the last line to the same references that the God in Vēṅgaḍam is, "He who recovered the earth by the use of his acute intelligence", referring to his having outwitted Mahābali and got him to grant the three feet

\* பாற்கடலும் வேங்கடமும் பாம்பும் பனிவிசம்பும்  
 தூற்கடலும் துண்ணால் தாமரைமேல்—பாற்பட்  
 டிருந்தார் மனமும் இடமாகக் கொண்டான்  
 குருத்தோசித்த கோபால கன்— (32)

தூறையாய் நிலஞ்சி எண்ணிகையும் தானாய்  
 மறையாய் மறைப் பொருளாய் வானாய்—பிறையாய்த்  
 வெள்ளத்தருவி விளங்கொலிநீர் வேங்கடத்தான்  
 உள்ளத்தி னுள்ளே யுான். (39)

உள்கண்டாய் கண்ணெஞ்சே உத்தம மென்றும்  
 உள்கண்டா யுள்ளுவா ருள்ளத்த—உள்கண்டாய்  
 விண்ணெடுக்கக் கோடுவரும் வீங்கருவி வேங்கடத்தான்  
 மண்ணெடுக்கத் தாண்டிநீத் மன்— (40)

of earth. In stanza 59, the Ālvār gives expression to his satisfaction that he had attained to the correct way of gaining salvation, since he attaches himself in devotion to Vishṇu. In the next three stanzas he makes reference to various playful activities of Vishṇu, and the places which have become his habitual residence. \* Among these figure Vēṅgaḍam, the ocean of milk, and Vaikunṭham as his ancient residence. These are described to be the seat of the youth (Iḷam-Kumaran). In the following stanza similarly are mentioned a number of places, Vinṇagaram, Veḷkā, Vēṅgaḍam, Vēḷukkaippādi, Kuḍandai (Kumbhakoṇam), Tiru-Arangam (Śrīrangam), Kōtti (Tiruk-kōṭṭiyūr). The last line specifies that these are places where "the One who received in the half-closed palm of His hand the water in token of gift", referring obviously to His accepting the grant of three feet of earth from the emperor Bali, given to Him with pouring water. Stanza 63 is important as it says clearly that "To Him, my father who is on the hill (Tirumalai), both the forms have combined into one (the forms of Śiva and Vishṇu)." The previous lines mention that, in His form, appear the flowing matted locks of hair and the high peaked crown, the shining dagger and the golden disc, the snake around the hip and the zone of gold alike. The next stanza makes a reference merely to Vishṇu in the lying posture at Veḷkā in Kānchi. The next three stanzas refer to incidents generally ascribed to Vishṇu; but the following stanza must be noted, as, in the last two lines, it states clearly that the "hill of Vēṅgaḍam is the hill of Him who whilom threw the calf at the wood-apple tree for bringing the fruits down", thus putting it beyond a doubt that he regarded the hill as belonging to Vishṇu-Kriṣṇa. The next five stanzas each one makes a refe-

- \* பண்டெல்லாம் வேங்கடம பாற்கடல் வைகுந்தம்  
கொண்டம் குறைவார்க்குக் கோலில்போல்—வண்டு  
வாங்கினாரும் நீர்சோலை வண்பூங் கழகை  
இளங்குமரன் நன் விண் ணகர். (61)
- விண்ணகரம் வெல்கா விரிதிரைசீர் வேங்கடம்  
மண்ணகரம் மாமட வேளுக்கை—மண்ணகத்த  
தென்சூட்டை தேனார் திருவாங்கம் தென்கேட்டி  
தன் சூட்டை சீரேற்றன் தாழ்வு. (62)
- சாழ்சடையர் சீர்முடியும் ஒன்மழுவும் சக்கரமும்  
குழகவும் பொன்னாணர் தேவந்துமால்—குழும்  
நிரண்டருவி பாயும் திருமுலைமே வெந்தைக்கு  
இரண்டுருவு மொன்று யிகைசுத்து. (63)

rence to Vēṅgaḍam; while 69 and 70 only refer to some general features, 71 repeats the statement almost in the same terms about the incidents referred to in stanza 68. In 72 there is the specific statement that Vēṅgaḍam is the residence of "the prince among the youth" (Ilam-Kumarar-Kōman). Stanza 73 has a reference to Vēṅgaḍam but in general terms; 75 has similarly a general reference to Tirumalai as the hill of Vishṇu-Krishna (Ayan, shepherd). Stanza 76 states definitely that if one should offer flowers and fold his hands in worship before the God at Vēḷkā, no consequences of evil deeds would come to him, and that one need not stand amidst hills, or dip into water, or otherwise perform penance by standing amidst the five fires. Stanzas 77 to 88 recommend single-minded devotion to Vishṇu as the sole efficient way of getting rid of evil and attaining to salvation. 89 refers to Vēṅgaḍam and states clearly "it is the hill of the One who applied his lips to the flute emitting sweet music" (meaning young Krishna).\* Stanzas 90 to 93 are general as usual, and 94 states that the Ālvar succeeded in recapturing Him, who stands, sits or lies down (in various holy places) and in his own heart by the process of lighting the lamp of contemplation. Stanza 97 makes Vishṇu impossible even for contemplation by Brahma Śiva. Stanzas 99 to 100 are again confessions of faith; but in 99 there is a reference to the eight weapons of Vishṇu wielded in eight hands, placing him specifically in Aṭṭapuyakaram (Sans. Ashta Bhuja Karam), a suburb of Kānchi. This brings us to the end of the third centum which is the work of pey Ālvar.

**Their Community of Religious Feeling.** These three Ālvārs are together called the first Ālvārs because they were considered to have been contemporary, and the earliest among those known in Vaiṣṇava parlance as Ālvārs. We shall see later that the next following one was probably also their contemporary and the four together will have to be assigned to the same age. The three centum which constitute the work of these three have such close similarity of features that it may be held on this ground alone that they were contemporaries, and probably flourished at the same time and in the same religious atmosphere. Each one of those may be regarded more or less in three parts

\* முடிந்த பொழுதில் குறவணர் ஏணம்  
படித்தொழுதல் அயத்தினோசன் வித்தத்—தடித்தெழுந்த  
வேய்க்கையுடைய விண்நிறத்தும் வேக்கடமே மேலோருகாள்  
நீக்குழுவாய் வைத்தான் செவம்பு.

for our purposes. The first is general. In almost every stanza of the hundred there is a reference, direct or indirect to Vishṇu; some one or other of his beneficent manifestations is alluded to and it is made to serve to enforce the same conclusion, namely that Vishṇu is the Supreme Saviour of all, and there is no saviour other than He. It is some times recognised that benefits falling short of the eternal could be obtained of others, but it is carefully pointed out that ultimately these others are no more than other beings of the creation, and constitute as much and as really the body of the Supreme which is immanent in all; that Supreme is, according to these, no other than Vishṇu. Among the allusions which are scattered about through their works, the most striking ones are those relating to Krishṇa, while there are incidents relating to the other Avatāras of Vishṇu which also find frequent reference. There is a certain amount of commonness in the references even to these particular incidents among the three which would make them products of the same religious surroundings more or less. Being entirely devotees of Vishṇu they refer naturally to Vaishṇava holy places which are traditionally counted 108 in number, but it cannot be said that all the 108 are referred to in the writings of these. These refer to a certain number, each one particularly, and among them Tirupati, figures perhaps more frequently than any other single place not even Śrīrangam excepted. Hence it is that these Ālvārs are regarded as having devoted their poems exclusively to Vēṅgaḍam by the commentators.

**The Norm of Worship among these.** In regard to the norms of worship, these Ālvārs recognise the efficacy of vaedic ceremonies, and regard worship according to Vedic ritual as of the highest importance and efficacy. They recognise at the same time that it is a kind of worship which is possible only for the elite, and requires learning of a high order, and a training a discipline which is beyond the competence of ordinary folk. In fact they recognise frankly that this course of religious service is possible only for the very elect, even among the Brahmins. They are at pains therefore, not exactly perhaps to devise, but emphasise the other norms capable of being more easily practised, being more simple in the performance. What is essential is the sincerity of the worship offered, not exactly the elaborateness of the ritual, so that it will be found that in places they do make broad references to these elaborate rituals and say plainly that they certainly are very good for those who can go through

that course of worship of God who, to them, is Vishnu and no other. But then it is not possible for all. They therefore prescribe other courses generally accepted as of efficacy at the time, and these, it will be found, are almost the same as the course of worship prescribed in the chapters on *Bhaktiyōga* of the *Bhagavatgīta* and in the *Pāncharātra*. In these again they recognise the value of knowledge (*gñāna*) and regard *gñānayōga* as of high efficacy. But falling short of that, comes the offer of worship with flowers and incense, and prayers of various kinds. That means worship offered in private houses of individuals and in shrines intended for the worship of the particular worshipping community. But where even this is found too elaborate for adoption, as it might well be for those who may not have the means, material as well as intellectual, they go one simpler, and merely prescribe repetition of the name of the saving God. The most popular of several of these saving names is what is generally described in Vaishṇava parlance the *aṣṭākshara*, the name of eight letters, namely Nārāyaṇa with the *praṇava* before and the affix following. This simple form of worship it will be seen is capable of performance by all whatever their condition in life, and, by each one, by himself or herself alone, without the aid of a priest or anybody else. This transformation of the highly ritualistic religion described as Brāhmanism is what transformed Brāhmanism into Hinduism, and is the actual work of a school of thought which may for convenience be described as the *bhakti* school. It may be that we are able to trace back the history of the *bhakti* cult at least to the Upanishads very plainly, if not to the Veda itself. But that is not our concern for the present. That the school of *bhakti* it is that was responsible for the simplification of worship which transformed Brāhmanism into Hinduism is a matter that ought to be borne in mind in studying the history of the holy shrine at Tirupati. The work of these early Ālvārs shows this transformation as having been completely effected, and is in full swing of active practice. There is also a hint here and there in the work even of these Ālvārs that the ideas of popular worship current at the time had perhaps other leanings, namely, towards the two rival religions of Buddhism and Jainism, in both of which the fundamental principle of religious worship is something essentially different. It is not real worship or service that brought about salvation. It is much rather knowledge of a particular kind which illumined the nature of life and the right conduct in

life activity, without reference to a personal God and the attainment of salvation by worship and service to Him. In the first centum Poygai Ālvār states "who will hereafter enter the gates of hell (*Naraka*)? Bolt its door without any compunction, because this land surrounded by the *Jambu* tree has now learned very well that the feet of Him who threw the calf to bring down the fruit of the wood-apple is the sole saviour." This seems intended to indicate the successful vogue this new teaching had attained to. That may give us an idea also of the actual age of its popularity, and the circumstances under which this movement attained to the popularity that it actually did.

**Siva-Vishnu Combination a feature of Vishnu at Tirupati.** It was pointed out above that these are essentially Vaishnavas. But they actually describe Vishnu in a number of places as being compounded of the features of Śiva and Vishnu. They go the whole length of describing circumstantially the various weapons which form the characteristic features of these deities as being seen in one and the same image at certain places, among them primarily Tirupati. On the face of it one is likely to get the impression that the image so described ought at least to be regarded as the image of the God in the twin *Hari-Hara* form. We shall not now go into the controversy as to the nature of the image at Tirupati. We shall return to that later. But from the description by these Ālvārs one is to get the general impression that the image described is the image of *Harihara*. It is important to note it here, as that is not merely a feature of the description of Vishnu by these Ālvārs, but other Ālvārs also indulge in this, particularly Nammālvār, so that it is to be regarded more or less as a feature of the times to describe the supreme deity Vishnu in these terms. While therefore a number of stanzas could be selected from the writings of these three Ālvārs which imply Śiva alone in some, Śiva and Brahma in others, forming part of the body of the deity, it is clear that in so describing they had no more idea than to point out what is plainly pointed out in one of the poems of Nammālvār that these deities were as much his creatures and constituted his body as other created beings, and that their appeal lay to the Supreme One who is above these. Stanza 98 of the first centum says in so many words that while the holy One of the colour of molten gold and of the matted locks, and the one who stood with one foot on earth and measured out the universe



by the other, though these two live and move about in two different bodies, the one (the first one) is in the body of the other. That sentiment is expressed somewhat differently in stanza 28 of the same Ālvār. "You carry in your hand the dextral conch and the disc, O My Lord of the blue colour. On Your chest is the daughter of the flower (lotus). The young author of the Veda is in Your naval, and the lordly One who destroyed the three fortresses 's on one side of Your body." Stanzas of the same import could be quoted from the other two authors as well. So then the description which apparently conveys the impression that the image of Vishṇu is part Śiva and part Vishṇu is not to be interpreted as involving the conception of the form of God being that of Harihara, and should be interpreted as that of Hari himself normally and necessarily carrying the other deities as his body.

**The Presiding Deity in Vengadam is Vishnu according to these.** Coming down to the specific references to Vēṅgaḍam in these Ālvārs and their description of the deity there, we find that, while no doubt in a few places, about half a dozen all told, the description may be regarded as of Śiva-Vishṇu combination in form, yet on closer examination, it will be found that they do not leave it in any doubt that the deity that they offer worship to in Vengadam is Vishṇu and none other; and such description as give the indication of Śiva forming a part of Vishṇu is nothing peculiar to Śiva alone, as Brahma, Lakshmi and the very weapons characteristic of Vishṇu are in terms so described as part of Vishṇu's body, almost in the same terms as Śiva. There are about 35 references to Vengadam in these 300 stanzas which have been referred to in detail in the pages immediately preceding. Some of these references are either very general, or make a poetical reference to some feature or other of Tirupati. But there are some which give one unmistakably to understand that the God worshipped in the shrine there is distinctly Vishṇu and no other. Stanzas 33 to 40 of Poygai Ālvār make reference to Tirupati in each case definitely. In the first it is said that Vēṅgaḍam to which the learned in the Veda come and offer worship from all points of the compass, is the shrine of Him who blew the white conch; without a doubt Vishṇu. The next one speaks of Vēṅgaḍam as the town of *Māl* at the mention of whose name the *Asuras* felt frightened. In 39, Vēṅgaḍam is described as a place where the God is said to be in a standing posture, the God who lies on the sea, who killed Kamsa, who

held aloft the hill and who dug up the earth, all attributes which cannot be interpreted as belonging to any other than Vishṇu. In 40, Vēṅgaḍam is said to be the hill of Him who was delighted with the fall of the king of the *Asuras*. In stanza 68 the God in Vēṅgaḍam is addressed as one who is in the sky, who is on the earth, who is in the verses of the Veda along with being in Vēṅgaḍam, again referring specifically to Vishṇu alone by these attributes. Stanza 76 is even more specific. It mentions Tiruvēṅgaḍam as the place of the one who measured the earth. In 77, Vēṅgaḍam, Vinṇagar, Vehkā and Tirukkōvalūr are mentioned as places where the God stood, sat, lay or walked, necessarily meaning that the four manifestations are one and the same. In 82 there is a more definite reference to the festival on the 12th day of the fortnight (*Dvādasi*), when, on account of the large quantity of smoke from the burning of the incense by ladies, the very sky itself got so clouded that the stars became invisible. While the mention of this festival may be interesting in itself for the history of Tirupati, it does not make it in terms quite clear that the deity is Vishṇu. The mention of *Dvādasi* makes it certain as that day is peculiarly holy to Vishṇu according to the Āgamas. Stanza 99, the last of the first centum speaks of the deity in Vēṅgaḍam as the one who is in the floods, undoubtedly referring to Vishṇu.

Stanza 25 of the second centum refers to the deity in Vēṅgaḍam as one who marched upon Lanka and killed Rāvaṇa. Stanza 33 contains a general reference, The reference in 45 may also perhaps be regarded as quite general. But 46 is definite, inasmuch as the deity in Vēṅgaḍam is said to be the deity in Śrīrangam, in Tirukkōṭṭiyūr, and in Tirunīrmalai. The reference in 48 is indirect inasmuch as it says the hill is surrounded by deep dense groves, which the commentators interpret as Tirupati; but the actual terms of reference would indicate Tirumāliṛumśōlai near Madura. The deity is of course specifically referred to by clear allusions as being Vishṇu. In stanzas 53 and 54 we come upon references to Vēṅgaḍam. In the first it is referred to as Ḍam-giri, and is equated with Vēṅgaḍam in the 4th line. In the next stanza the Ālvār refers to Tirumāliṛumśōlai and Vēṅgaḍam as the two places where the God was pleased to stand, naturally therefore meaning that the deity in the two places ought to be regarded as the same, and ends the verse with the exhortation "Do not therefore give up Ḍam-kōil (temple of the youth)." This Ḍam-giri and Ḍam-kōil were taken to refer to

Subrahmanya, who undoubtedly is referred to as a youth; and, if we could take these terms out of their context and interpret them independently, it may be capable of that interpretation. But in the context that interpretation could hardly be held to be admissible. Stanza 72 contains a mere general reference to Vēṅgaḍam, and so stanza 75.

Coming to the third centum we note that there are a far larger number of references to the shrine, and this Ālvār gives more specific details which would put this question as to the nature of the deity in Tirupati altogether beyond all doubt. Stanza 14 makes the first reference and starts with the attraction of the feet of Viṣṇu to his mind, and refers to the God in Vēṅgaḍam as the one in the Veda of the four sections, whose feet are marked by the crowns of the Gods themselves. The next reference is in stanza 26 where Vēṅgaḍam is mentioned amidst a number of other places including his own heart, where God is resident, in all other cases Viṣṇu, and therefore also in Vēṅgaḍam. So in stanza 30 where Vēṅgaḍam figures along with the sea, the sky, Kuṇḍandai, Paḍaḥam, Ananta, the great serpent, and the garland of basil. Similarly in stanza 32 some of these very places happen to be mentioned, and in addition the ocean of sciences (Nūl-Kaḍal), and the lotus of very fine thread, and the hearts of those devoted to him, as if to clear the doubt definitely that the person so present in these places including Vēṅgaḍam, is said to be the young shepherd boy who broke the twin *Kurunda* tree (the young shepherd boy, Balakrishṇa). In stanzas 39 and 40 Vēṅgaḍam is referred to, and the deity there is described to be the one who measured the earth. In stanza 45 similarly Vēṅgaḍam is said to be the place of Him who, on one occasion previously, carried the earth on his tusk. The same idea is expressed in stanza 58, but here the God is referred to as one who acquired the earth by desiring to get it from Bali. In stanzas 61 and 62, the heavenly city of Ilam-Kumaran surrounded by flower gardens is said to be his residence, Vēṅgaḍam, and the ocean of milk, etc. So in stanza 62 a number of holy places of the Vaishṇavas is mentioned, some of them in heaven, and some on earth, among them Vēṅgaḍam; but they are said to be places sacred to Him who received the water in the outstretched hand, referring to the Vāmanāvātāra of Viṣṇu. Stanzas 68, 69, 70, 72 and 73, all make references to Vēṅgaḍam. In the first it is said to be the place of the one who threw the calf to bring down the wood-apple. The reference in 69 is quite general, as also in the

following stanza 70. 71 makes a similar reference to the throwing of the calf. 72 speaks of Vēṅgaḍam as a place of residence of the prince among the youth (Iḷam-Kumarar-Kōman). In stanza 73 *Vaḍa mukha Vēṅgaḍam* (northern Vēṅgaḍam) is the place of the one who danced with the water-pot (one of the frolics characteristic of young Krishna). In 75 Tirumalai (Tiruvēṅgaḍam) is said to be the hill of the shepherd (Āyan). 89 clinches the whole matter where Vēṅgaḍam is described in general terms as remarkable for its tall bushes of bamboo reaching up to the skies as the place of the one who whilom applied his lips to the flute emitting sweet music.

**Vengadam an undoubted Vaishnava centre of Worship.** This elaborate series of references to Vēṅgaḍam in all the 300 stanzas of these Āḷvārs establishes beyond a doubt that Vēṅgaḍam was a place of great importance as a Vaishnava centre of worship. The Āḷvārs knew the place sufficiently familiarly even to be acquainted with some of the small details of worship there. That while some stray verses may perhaps be interpreted as referring to Śiva rather than Vishṇu, even these specific references ought properly speaking to be explained with reference to the context, as referring to Vishṇu. But what is really more important, the proper interpretation of these verses that could thus be picked out ought certainly to be in their proper context, and no particular verse, or even particular stanza, could be understood in full significance unless each is taken in full association with the whole work. Thus interpreted, it is clear beyond a doubt that, to these Āḷvārs, Tirupati was pre-eminently the shrine of Vishṇu, and they tendered their worship at that shrine as an important shrine of Vishṇu and none other than Vishṇu.

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## CHAPTER IV

### TIRUPATI IN SILAPPADHIKARAM.

**Confirmation from the Silappadhikaram.** This position of the Ālvārs finds unlooked for confirmation which puts it altogether beyond any doubt. The Tamil classic Śilappadhikāram, the author of which is not a Brahmanical Hindu, whether he be a Jain or Buddhist, was still enough of an Indian man of learning to make impartially respectful statements in regard to faith even other than his own; nay, even those to which he may by conviction be expected to be opposed. References in his work to Tirupati as a Viṣṇu shrine puts the whole position beyond any doubt, all cavilling to the contrary by modern scholars notwithstanding. These seem after all to follow in the footsteps of their predecessors of old who set up a similar claim during the period of influence of Rāmānuja's mission. We shall revert to this subject later and will have to deal with it rather elaborately. Suffice it here to say that Ilangō-Adigal, the author of the Śilappadhikāram has no doubt whatever that the deity which stands on the hill of Tirupati is no other than Viṣṇu. He describes Venkatēśa on the hill in the following terms in Book XI, lines 41 to 51 \* :—

High on Vēngadam's towering crest, with flowing  
streams in flood,  
Betwixt the effulgent glory, of shining Sun and Moon,  
Like unto a blue cloud in lightning dresst  
In all the brilliance of rainbow dight,

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\* வீங்கு நீரருவி வேங்கட மென்னு  
மோக்குயர் மலயத் துச்சியீயிசை  
விரிகதிர் ஞாயிறுத் திங்களும் விளங்கி  
யிருமருக் கோங்கிய விடைநிலைத் தானத்து  
மின்னுக் கோடியுடுத்து விளங்கு விற்புண்டு  
கன்னிற மேக நின்றது போலப்  
பகையணல் காழியும் பால்வெண் சங்கமும்  
தகைபெறு தாமரைக் கையி னேந்தி  
கலங்கிள ராரமார் விற்புண்டு  
பொலம் பூவாடையிற் பொலிந்து தோன்றிய  
செங்கணையோ னினர் வண்ணமும்.

The Red-eyed great One, majestic stands  
 In dress of flowery brilliance with garland bright,  
 One lotus hand with fearsome disc adorned,  
 and milk whiteconch (the other held.)

The passage occurs in a context which leaves little doubt as to the knowledge of the author of what he thus describes. This description is put into the mouth of a Brahman pilgrim, a native-resident of the village of Māngādu in Malainādū (Malayalam or Malabar). Prompted by a feeling to pay worship at the great Vishnu shrines of Śrirangam and Tirupati, he was on his journey coming across the Pāṇḍya country, and staying for the night in the outer groves of the Chōla capital at the time, Uṛaiyūr. To that self-same grove also went the hero of the epic, Kōvalan with his wife, and the Jain ascetic Kaundi Aḍigaḷ, whom he picked up near Māyavaram on his way from Kaveripūmpaṭṭinam. He was going forward to Madura to set up as a merchant there, and recover his lost fortune, which he squandered away in a life of youthful dalliance with the bewitchingly beautiful courtesan Mādhavi in the Chōla capital, his own native city, all the accumulated wealth which was given to him by his father, who was a great merchant (Mā-Śattu-vaṅigan; Sans: Mahā-Sārtha Vāha) of the place, for setting him up in life. Disgusted with this mismanagement, and, feeling guilty of having neglected his own good wife who would not stay behind when he wanted to launch out into the world as a merchant to gain back his wealth, he travelled on to Madura and came as far as Uṛaiyūr in his journey without incident. There were more than one route between Uṛaiyūr and Madura, and these roads were in those days, no less in these, by no means particularly safe for pilgrims travelling by the ordinary roadway. When he was naturally looking out for some one who could enlighten him as to the particular road to take, he heard a Brahman who was resting for the night, not far from him, get up early in the morning and launch out into a eulogy of the Pāṇḍyan ruler for the time being across whose territory he travelled before reaching Uṛaiyūr, and came to the end of the first stage of his journey and into the outskirts of the actual Chōla capital of the time. Naturally, in gratitude for the safe journey that he had through a danger-infested road between Madura and Trichinopoly, due to the efficient administration of the Pāṇḍya ruler, he felt called upon to sing his praise. To Kōvalan's enquiry as to who he was and why he was belauding the ruling Pāṇḍya in those strains, the

Brahman answered that he had just passed through the Pāṇḍyan territory unscathed; a pilgrim that he was, to visit the famous Vishṇu shrines, at Śrīrangam and Vēṅgaḍam, he was able to travel in perfect safety. Since he found the most dangerous routes in that part of his journey, he thought that it was due to the ruler of the locality and that his praise should be loudly sung. Kōvalan naturally took advantage of the occasion to ask him what he wanted, and, at the end of his enquiries, determined upon the road that he should take for his journey to Madura. This, however, is not of interest for the moment. The terms in which the Vishṇu shrine both at Śrīrangam and Tirupati, and the one at Tirumāl Iṟumśōlai, are referred to, give clear evidence that the shrine at Tirupati had the reputation of being a Vishṇu shrine and nothing else, and that reputation had reached so far out as the West Coast and people there were in the habit of going on a pilgrimage to Tirupati as they do now as one of the holy Vaishṇava centres. A statement like that from an author who was not himself a Vaishṇava, and who makes the statement no doubt in poetry, and in the course of a romantic epic, does not invalidate the general position that the temple at Tirupati was by common repute a temple dedicated to Vishṇu. This confirms the conclusion to which we have arrived by a detailed study of the three cents of the early Āḷvārs, Poygai, Bhūtam and Pēy, from which efforts have been made, from time to time, to draw the contrary inference by some who took occasion to refer to this topic in the course of their investigations. We shall next proceed to examine what another early Āḷvār, Āḷvār Tirumālīśai (Bhaktisāra, as he is called in Sanskrit) who, for very good reasons, could be regarded as contemporary with these early Āḷvārs, has to say of Tirupati.

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## CHAPTER V.

### TIRUPATI IN TIRUMALISAI ALVAR'S WORKS.

**Tirumalisai Alvar, His Life and Time.** Ālvār Tirumaliśai is said to have been a foundling child taken up and brought up as his own by a cane-worker by profession, and as such belonging to a class in the Hindu social order below the recognised four. The tradition recorded however is that he was actually the son of Rishi Bhārgava and his wife, born as a result of a great sacrifice (Yāga) that they performed, and having been born too early and in an unformed condition, the foetus was left in a cane bush and discovered by the cane-cutter. Possibly this was invented to give him a higher birth. We can say this, with some little assurance as he himself states in the course of one of his works, that he had not the good fortune to be born in one of the four recognised castes (kulam) of Hindu society. Whatever it is, the truth seems to be that he was a person of unknown birth like the other three Ālvārs, possibly belonging to one of the classes outside the recognised four. But somehow he had gained intuition, perhaps from birth, to know the truth better, and, like the three others that we have already spoken of, lived not merely to discover, but even to expound the truth to the world. The same tradition associates his name with the village Tirumaliśai near Poonamallee, a few miles to the west of Madras from which he takes his name, Tirumaliśai Ālvār. Of course, what is known of him is as tradition records it, miraculous and superhuman, possibly because of ignorance of his life, or, it may be, that he exhibited some extraordinary features as a man. We get from his works however, a few details of a biographical character, such as the one mentioned above in respect of his caste, which give us perhaps all the historical information regarding him that we can really depend upon. Leaving aside therefore the legendary, we might take it that he was apparently one very greatly devoted to Vishṇu, and had attained to that extraordinary devotion, not altogether by mere instinct alone, but really by an elaborate study and search which ultimately led him to reject all contemporary persuasions and pin his faith to Vishṇu as



the sole saviour. He says, in the course of one of his works\*, that the "Sramanas are ignorant men, while the Bauddhas are under a delusion; while those that have fallen into devotion to Siva are of comparatively inferior intellect. Those who will not worship the fragrant feet of Vishṇu are indeed inferior people." This is put in another form in the traditional account in a fugitive verse, where the Ālvār himself is made to say "We learnt the teaching of Śākya (Buddha); we learnt the teaching of the Jina; we learnt the Āgamas taught by Śānkara; but as good luck would have it, we have resolved to devote ourselves to Vishṇu of the dark colour and the red eye, and thus put ourselves beyond harm's reach. There is nothing therefore that is impossible for us."† That apart, he is said to have spent a considerable part of his time in the village of his birth where he met the first three Ālvārs on their usual round of pilgrimage. Coming near to this place, they are said to have discovered a column of light and approaching to where it emanated from, they enquired, almost by intuition, whether the holy one in contemplation was well, without seeing him. He is said to have replied in turn, similarly without seeing the others, whether the three mentioning them by name, were keeping well and going round their pious work of life quite happily. When this casual meeting struck up a friendship between them, it lasted on to the end of their time. Some time after they left, this Ālvār himself left on a pilgrimage and went to Vehkā in Kānchi, the birthplace of Poygai Ālvār and there he remained for a long time devoting himself to the God of the locality and residing on the banks of the holy tank in which was born the Ālvār of that name, the first of the Ālvārs. Here he came into contact with a Śūdra by name Kanikannan, who is said, in the traditional account, to have been born of parents who fed the Ālvār with milk when he was still a baby. He was in the service of a Pallava King of Kānchi, but was offering devoted service to the Ālvār nevertheless. A woman servant of the palace, old and

\* அறியார் சமணர் அயர்த்தார் பவுத்தர்  
 தெரியார் இவப்பட்டார் செப்பில்—வெறியாய  
 மாயவனை மாலவனை மாதவனை யேத்தாதார்  
 னனவரேயாதலாவின்ற.

*Nānmukhan Tiruvandādi 6*

† சாக்கியம் கற்றோம் சமண்கற்றோம் சங்கரா  
 சாக்கிய வாகமந லாராயந்தோம்—பாக்கியத்தால்  
 செங்கட் கரியானைச் சேர்ந்துயர் தீதிலமே  
 னங்கட் கரியதொன் றில்—

poor, used to be rendering some menial service to this Ālvār, such as cleaning up his place of residence, etc., and, in response to her request, the Ālvār blessed her with perpetual youth and beauty. She became thenceforward an object of attraction to the monarch. In answer to his enquiry as to how she obtained that unfading beauty, she replied that she was indebted to it to the grace of the Ālvār, and offered the information that through his servant, Kaṇikannan who was a favourite of the Ālvār, he could get at him if he so desired. The Pallava King, as became his position, asked Kaṇikannan to bring the Ālvār to his court, and got the surprisingly decisive reply that the Ālvār would not vouchsafe to go down to see him, and he could not take the responsibility of persuading him to do so. In a fit of anger, the monarch ordered Kaṇikannan out of his territory if he would not do the behests of his sovereign. Naturally Kaṇikannan went and told the Ālvār that he had to leave the place under orders, and the Ālvār determined forthwith to follow his friend; not only that, but he told the God to follow him, and they all left. This strange phenomenon brought the Pallava King to a humbler frame of mind, and, as a result of his earnest entreaty, the whole party returned after remaining one night at a particular place some distance away, which thereafter got the name the "place of one night's stay". Thenceforward the King treated the Ālvār with the greatest respect, and the place where he lived, and the deity there, became cherished objects of worship for the monarch. After remaining there for a considerably long time, the Ālvār went on a tour of pilgrimage to the south passing through Chidambaram on his way to Kumbhakoṇam. In Chidambaram there occurred an incident of some importance. As he was going through a Brahman quarter of the place on a particular morning, the Brahmans who were engaged in reciting the Veda in the course of celebrating a sacrifice, stopped the chant and fell into silence, as soon as he entered the hall of sacrifice in the belief that he was of a caste within whose hearing the Veda should not be chanted. Unfortunately however, when they had come to know that he was a great devotee of Viṣṇu, they wanted to resume their Vedic chant, but forgot where exactly they left. The Ālvār understood their difficulty; but without giving the passage by word of mouth, which one of his birth should not do, showed by sign, by splitting with his finger-nail the husk on a grain of paddy, the particular passage last recited. The Brahmans were able to resume their chanting and proceed.

Some time later some of the people in the assembly did not show themselves to be quite inclined to accept him for the great devotee of Vishṇu that he was. To demonstrate to them that he was one who had realised Vishṇu actually, he asked the God to whom he was devoted exclusively, to show himself, to the unbelieving antagonists of his, just as he was always housed in his own heart. On seeing this they regretted the error of their ways and accepted him as one very near indeed to God. Then he passed on to Kumbhakoṇam and to various other holy places, and passed away at the end of a fabulously long life.

This recital of the details of his life perhaps is of some little value as the one detail regarding his contemporary monarch of Kānchi may possibly lead us to locate him in point of time. The details given of this ruler are nothing very specific, and all that is said is, that, under this ruler, the Vishṇu shrine at Vehkā, now-a-days called generally Yathōkta-kāri (he who did as he was told) was in existence. In the poem, obviously composed to celebrate the Toṇḍamān Iḷam Tiraiyan, ruler of Kānchi, Kānchi is found to be described in general terms as a place where people of all persuasions found objects of worship which to them were holy, refers only to the shrine at Vehkā \* specifically in some little detail without the possibility of being mistaken. This would raise the presumption whether this Āḷvār was not contemporary with Iḷam Tiraiyan of Kānchi. According to another version of the tradition of his life, he is said to have been one who had studied the various systems of religion current, and, in the course of his study he was at one stage of his life an ardent Śaiva (worshipper of Śiva) and a man of great ability. Pēy Āḷvār is supposed to have met him in controversy, weaned him out of that faith and led him ultimately to become a Vaishṇava. There is no specific reference that we know of for the present to confirm this tradition from his works; but the general trend of these may go some way to make the change possible. Neglecting the details of the tradition the general drift of it seems to be that this Āḷvār was contemporary with the other three, belonged to a locality not far from Kānchi, and was contemporary with the Pallava monarch who may be identical with the Pallava Iḷam Tiraiyan of Kānchi. Of his works included in the Prabandham there are just two, the one a centum like that of each of the three

\* மலர் தலை யுகைத் துள்ளும் மலர்நொழி  
விழவு மேம்பட்ட பழவிறல் மூதூர்—

*Perumbāṇ-ārruppaḍai, ll. 410-11.*

earlier Ālvārs named *Nānmukhan Tiruvandādi*, and another a little over a hundred (actually 120 stanzas) called *Tiruchandaviruttam*. These are the only two works of the Ālvār which we shall have to discuss.

**The Alvar's conviction.** Like the other three Ālvārs we have already dealt with, this one is also similarly devoted to worship of Vishṇu as the sole saviour. It may also be stated that this Ālvār is not only of this conviction like the other three, but quite fanatically so. The three early Ālvārs would show a tolerance of the worship of others, such as Brahma, Śiva, Indra prominently mentioned. This one went the length of saying positively that he would not, as stanza 66 shows clearly\*. He states categorically "Now my heart is the permanent abode of Him who, for a long time before, had for his place of residence the serpent couch. I affirm that I would not place, along with him, Śiva who wears the crescent moon on his head, nor Brahma (Ayan); nor would I offer them service and go round them rightwise as a worshipper." This is a clear and unmistakable statement of his sole and exclusive faith in the saving grace of Vishṇu and of none other. Numbers of other stanzas from this centum itself could be pointed out indicating this conviction, but in a much less aggressive form. He is as thoroughly convinced as the others, in fact as the Ālvārs generally are, that the power to save in others is comparatively less efficient and is always governed by the consideration that the supreme Saviour really is Vishṇu. He states this idea equally clearly in stanza 26 where he states it broadly that "for my not having anybody else to worship than Vishṇu, Śiva of matted locks is witness.†" We have already referred above to stanza 6 where he speaks of the people of other persuasions as pursuing faiths of inferior efficacy, and mentions among them Jains, Buddhists and Śaivas particularly. In stanzas 14 and 15 he states his faith with equal emphasis "Nārāyaṇa is my Lord. Nārāyaṇa is He that

\* இடமாவது என்னெஞ்சம் இன்றெல்லாம் பண்டு  
படரா கண்ணெடிய மாற்குத்—திடமாக  
வையென் மதிருடி தன்னோடு அயனை கான்  
வையெனூட் செய்யென் வலம்.

*Nānmukhan Tiruvandādi*, 66.

† மந்துத்தொழுவா சொருவரையும் யானின்மை  
கற்றைச் சடையான் கரிகண்டாய்—எற்றைக்கும்  
கண்டுகொள் கண்டாய் கடல்வண்ணு யானுள்ளைக்  
கண்டுகொள் இற்குமா து.

*Nānmukhan Tiruvandādi*, 26.

guards against my going to hell. It is strange that there should be people who, without reciting His name, are deluded in believing the false teachings of others" (stanza 14). "Those who are able to worship Vishṇu by placing flowers at his feet worshipped by the very Gods themselves, would have the same saving benefit that Mārkaṇḍēya has had by worshipping the blue-throated Śiva," referring to Mārkaṇḍēya's escaping death without gaining the eternal life. In stanza 17 he states unmistakably that Śiva himself, as Dakṣiṇāmūrti, taught the four Rishis his pupils that he offered his worship to Him who measured the earth and slept on the banyan leaf floating on the primeval waters, that is, Vishṇu. A number more of stanzas of similar sentiment could be quoted with various illustrations taken from Indian religious literature. He completes the centum with the following statement in stanza 96. \* "I have learnt, for all time hereafter. You are my Lord, You are the God of Śiva and the four-faced Brahma. I have learnt, for all time, that You are the cause of everything. You are the ultimate object of all learning, past and present. You are the good deed. You are Nārāyaṇa. I have learnt this very well indeed," as summing up his own conviction.

In what we have stated above already, we see the clear conviction of the Ālvār that the two out of the three constituting the Hindu Trinity form a part of the supreme One Nārāyaṇa. He starts the centum therefore with a series of statements that Nārāyaṇa created the four-faced Brahma; that the four-faced one created Śankara with the same number of faces as himself. This profound truth he let the world know by means of this Andādi (series of verses linked up by taking one word of the last line to begin the following verse). He follows this statement by more clearly stating the supremacy of Vishṇu as the Saviour. † "On consideration, they (wise ones) say that there is but one God; that no one knows the extent of his greatness; that that is the ultimate end of all thought; that the saving grace for all

\* இனியறிந்தேன் ஈசற்கும் நான்முகற்குத் தெய்வம்  
இனியறிந்தேன் எம்பெருமான் உன்னை—இனியறிந்தேன்  
காரணன் நீ கற்றவை நீ கற்பவை நீ கற்கிரிசை  
காரணன் நீ கன்கறிந்தேன் நான்—

Nānmukhan Tiruvandādi, 96.

† தேருக்கால் தேவன் ஒருவனே யென்றுரைப்பர்  
ஆருமறியார் அவன் பெருமை—ஓரும்  
பொருள் முடிவும் இத்தனையே எத்தவத் தார்க்கும்  
அருள்முடிவு தாழியான் பால்.

Nānmukhan Tiruvandādi, 21.

who devote themselves to doing penance is to be found only in Him who bears the disc (Vishṇu)". In stanza 4 he clearly states that Śiva who hides in his matted locks Gangā (Ganges) and the king of the Gods alike form part of his body.\* In stanzas 42 and 43 he states in clear terms that both Brahma and Śiva were among the worshippers of Vēṅgaḍam. In 54 comes in the general statement † that He shows himself as Gods, and, among them, the three prominent ones; and all the others who exist are the great Vishṇu himself. Those who do not hold this conviction make all their learning useless. In 73 again is a clear statement "Who can understand the greatness of Him, who swallowed the whole earth and threw it up again, of the great disc. That supreme body of His, neither the blue-throated Śiva nor the eight-eyed Brahma have seen". In 75 he states clearly, although the occasion is not altogether obvious, that Śiva of matted locks worshipped him with flowers to the best of his ability, and did not attain to Vishṇu's grace nevertheless. This should be enough to convince one that his devotion to Vishṇu was such that he considered it that Vishṇu alone was the Supreme Being and the fountain source of all grace and nobody else, and that other Gods worshipped by votaries of other persuasions were but following worship of beings inferior to Him.

Coming next to this Ālvār's references to Vēṅgaḍam, there are certainly a number of references in this centum. The first reference is in stanza 31. It is a bare reference to Vēṅgaḍam along with the other Vaiṣṇava place Kōṭṭiyūr. There is a simple reference in stanza 39. There is a specific reference in 40 where it says that he was devoted to the God at Vēṅgaḍam, who was constantly in his thought; ‡ "He is the beloved of Her who is

\* ஆறுசடைக்கரத்தான் அண்டர்கோன் தன்ளுமும்  
கடறுடையனென்பதும் கொண்கைத்தே—வேடுருவார்  
ஆல்வாமை நின்றானை எம்மானை எப்பொருட்கும்  
சொல்லானைச் சொன்னேன் தொகுத்து.

*Nānmukhan Tiruvandādi, 4.*

† தேவராய் நிற்கும் அத்தேவும் அத்தேவரிஸ்  
மூவராய் நிற்கும் முதுபுணர்ப்பும்—யாவராய்  
நிற்கின்றதெல்லாம் செடுமாலென்றோராதார்  
கற்கின்ற தெல்லாம் கடை.

*ibid, 54.*

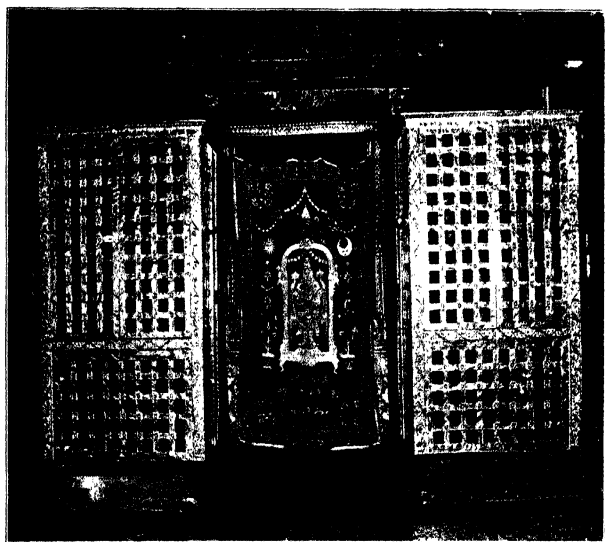
‡ வெற்பென்று வேங்கடம் பாடினேன் வீடாக்கி  
நிற்கின்றேன் நின்ற நினைக்கின்றேன்—கற்கின்ற  
ஆல்வையில் பட்டிருந்த ஆலாட்டி கேள்வனார்  
கால்வையில் பட்டிருந்தேன் காண்.

*Nānmukhan Tiruvandādi, 40.*



THE SRI VENKATESA SHRINE

*(To face page 58)*



THE SANCTUM OF SRI VENKATESA

*(See page 101)*



described and quite extolled in the sciences, and I am inextricably caught in the net which is His feet". There is a very interesting reference in 41 where he refers again to the holy One at Vēṅgaḍam having entered his mind by being in residence at Vēṅgaḍam.\* In describing this hill at Vēṅgaḍam there are two points that are brought out. The first is the mountain streams running down scattering pearls. By implication there is also the rattle of the running stream. Another kind of sound that is referred to as the normal feature of Vēṅgaḍam is the sound that arises from the celebration of the festivals on Ōṇam (Sans Śravaṇa) days. This asterism is of course sacred to Viṣṇu, and is, in some form, attached to Viṣṇu as almost the asterism of his birth (one that has no birth). But the festival on this asterism is, in some respects, peculiar to Tirupati and is also usual in shrines where the deity installed is Śrinivāsa, the abode of the Goddess Lakshmi, which is the ordinary familiar name of the God at Tirupati. The most sacred day in the year at Tirupati is this Śravaṇa in the month of Pūrvā-Bhādra. The next stanza† has reference to Vēṅgaḍam also where the Ālvār exhorts people to go and offer worship at Vēṅgaḍam as it permanently destroys the evils of *Karma*, and offers as inducement that the lotus-born Brahma and the three-eyed Śiva alike placed lotus flowers at the feet of the God at Tirupati and worshipped Him. The next following stanza has a similar reference to the worship offered by the same two Gods. Stanza 44 is particularly interesting, as, in making a reference to Vēṅgaḍam, he exhorts younger people particularly to go and offer worship at Vēṅgaḍam. "Where stands the young one (prince, Kumāra), who of old counted up the heads of the Rākshasa, being a child in the lap of Brahma, whose beneficence the Rākshasa sought (by penance)." This is an allusion to Viṣṇu who assumed the form of a baby and placed himself in the lap of Brahma just on the eve of his granting the boon prayed for by

\* காண லுழுகிந்றேன் கல்லருவி முத்ததிர  
 னுண விழவி லொலியதிர—பேணி  
 வருவேங்கடவா என்னுன்னம் புருத்தாய்  
 திருவேங்கடமநனைச் சென்று.

*ibid*, 41.

† சென்று வணங்குமினோ சேனாயர் வேங்கடத்தை  
 நின்று வினைகேடுக்கும் நீர்மையால்—என்றும்  
 கடிக்கமல நாள் முகனும் கண்மூன்றத்தானும்  
 அடிக்கமல மிட்டேத்து மங்கு.

*ibid*, 42.

Rāvaṇa after he had performed the severest penance. There is a similar reference to this incident in stanza 45 of the centum of Poygai Ālvār and in stanza 77 of Pēy Ālvār. I have not been able to discover the Purāṇic authority for this incident which is likely to be found in some one or other of the various sources of that kind of information. But the point that should be specially noted in regard to this incident is that the God standing in Tirupati is described by the term *Kumaran* (Sans. Kumāra), which was taken to mean Bāla-subrahmaṇya exclusively, and to support the theory that the Tirupati shrine was a Subrahmaṇya shrine. This reference puts that out quite unmistakably, as also several others we have quoted from Pēy Ālvār. The next following stanza 45 has a reference to Vēṅgaḍam also of the ordinary kind. The next three stanzas 46, 47 and 48 refer to Vēṅgaḍam. The special feature of the reference in the first is that the *Kuṟavar* of the locality were accustomed to surrounding the elephants for the purpose of capturing them, a sort of an ancient kheddah. In the next one Vēṅgaḍam is described as peculiarly famous for its trees, for its monkeys and the class of people called *Vēḍar* (Vēṭṭuvar or the hunter class). The next one is a little more interesting which states broadly that Vēṅgaḍam is the place worshipped by those of heaven. Vēṅgaḍam is really the place which destroys the results of *karma*. Vēṅgaḍam is the place of Him who, by the use of his disc, destroyed the *Dānavas*, and thus protected the heavenly hosts, making a clear equation of the God in Vēṅgaḍam with Vishṇu. The next reference to Vēṅgaḍam is in stanza 90, although the reference is general. That is so far as this particular centum of this Ālvār is concerned. It comes out again and again in the course of this work of the Ālvār that Tirupati was a place sacred to Vishṇu, and the God installed in the temple there is Vishṇu and nobody else. Mention is made of the presence of other Gods particularly the two Śiva and Brahma as forming part of his body, but none the less it is clearly stated that the object of worship is Vishṇu and not the others, even to the extent of declining to offer worship to this God if these two happened to be really any integral part of the Supreme.

There are a few other interesting general references which may be noted before we close this section. We have already referred to the Ālvār's acquaintance with, or his knowledge of, other religions. There are two very specific references—a few more general ones can be quoted also—to the Gīta. Stanza 50 says

specifically that "the words of Kannan who is lying on the bank of a river" and "Māyan who is lying asleep on the sea" "lie embedded in my heart". A similar sentiment is expressed in 71 where the God is referred to as Māyan who was shepherd king (Āyan) of Dvārakā, and states it roundly that all that people in the world know is not knowledge if they do not know "the words that this Māyan spoke on that day," referring undoubtedly to the Gita. In stanza 54 he gives expression to the same sentiment in much more general terms asserting the supremacy of Vishṇu. In stanza 60 is a reference, where Vishṇu is addressed as the God resident in Śrīrangam, and is stated to be the rare good substance to those of great hearing (learning which is only heard, *Śruti*; compare 69.) In stanza 75 there is a definite statement that he "would not use the tongue to sing the glory of man" but would "sing only of Him, who was not pleased to accept the prayer of even Śiva who went and offered the highest worship to him with flowers in the prescribed form". Stanza 76 is much more interesting in this line as it refers definitely to Manu as a *Śruti* work (*Kṛtā Manu*), and then follows the term *Śruti* which commentators interpret as a specific reference to a part of the Taittiriya Samhita of the Yajur Veda, a part of the Veda peculiarly sacred to the *Bhakti* school of Pāncharātra. And then follows the four Vedas in the ordinary way of reference to Vedas generally. All these are said to be "the truths which in his Māya, Vishṇu taught to people."\* There is an interesting reference in stanza 88 that those alone live that live in constant contemplation of him who is ever sedulous in the removal of all that gives pain to his devotees, while the life of those who follow the instructions of other persuasions is life wasted. In the final stanza of the centum,† he declares emphatically his faith in Vishṇu as if he made that discovery just then "I have now learnt that Thou art the God of Śiva (Īśa) and Brahma (Nān-mukha). I have learnt as well that You are my Lord. I have now learnt further that You

\* பாட்டும் முறையு படுகனதடம் பல்பொருளும்  
சட்டியு தீயு மிருவ்கற்பும்—கேட்ட  
மனுவும் சுருதி மறைநான்கும் மாயன்  
தன்மாயை யிற்பட்ட தற்பு.

Nānmukhan Tiruvandādi, 76.

† இனியறிந்தேன் சசந்தம் காண்முதற்குந்தெய்வம்  
இனியறிந்தேன் எம்பெருமா னுண்ணை—இனியறிந்தேன்  
காரணன் ஶீ சுற்றவை ஶீ கற்பவை ஶீ கற்கிரிசை  
காரணன் ஶீ கன்கறிந்தேன் காண்,

ibid, 96.

are the cause of all. You are the end of all learning. You are certainly the object of all learning and of all good deeds. You are Nārāyana. All this I have learnt very well indeed".

We next pass on to the other of his works called Tirucchanda Viruttam, a work of 120 stanzas cast in a peculiar alliterative metre which gives it the name. In this work the Ālvār shows himself to be thoroughly acquainted with the whole of the Vaishṇava teaching for a complete exposition of which one has to be thoroughly acquainted with what is generally known as Śruti literature, the Vedas, Upanishads, and accessory literature necessary for their understanding. Then come the Purāṇas and the Itihāsas which are illustrative of what Śruti literature is supposed to expound. Lastly the teaching of the *Bhāgavatas* called *Pancharātra* which it is that gives a clear exposition of the supremacy of Viṣṇu, the way of service to Him to earn His grace, and ultimately that, for all that one might do, His grace and nothing else is the means to the attainment of salvation. While his Nānmukhan Tiruvandādi, the centum we have already discussed states in general terms, like the three centas of the other three Ālvārs, this teaching, this work of Tirumaliśai seems to lay down more thoroughly his conviction in regard to this particular matter, and may, more or less, be regarded as a declaration of faith by the Ālvār, and how he came to it, forming as such a sort of hand-book to his Vaishṇavism. Apart from the Vaishṇava teaching in this work, it has also some references to Vēṅgaḍam and we shall deal with these as we have done with the others.

In the first half of this work he describes clearly the fundamental teaching of the Vaishṇavas which makes Viṣṇu the supreme deity. This of course, he could establish only by reference to authorities such as are recognised by believers in the teaching of the Veda, direct and indirect. This Ālvār brings into this part of the work, as though it were the really orthodox teaching, the *Pāncharātraic* notions, the really peculiar ones, of the *Vyūhas*, *Vibhava*, etc., as is clear in stanza 17; \* "Thou art of one form. Thou art of three forms. Thou art likewise of four forms. Thou art again of various forms for the enjoyment (by worship) of people; Thou art of forms suitable to the good that people may

\* வகமூர்த்தி மூன்று மூர்த்தி நாலுமூர்த்தி எண்மமசேர்  
போகமூர்த்தி புணையத்தின் மூர்த்தி எண்ணில் மூர்த்தியாய்  
எாக மூர்த்தி சயனமாய் கலங்கடல் கிடந்து மேல்  
க மூர்த்தியாய வண்ணம் என்சொல்லாதி தேவனே.

have done (in this or in previous births). Thou art thus of forms innumerable. Oh, the First one (God), how is it that Thou hast become the First one of different forms according to the wishes of your worshippers, having been abed on the great serpent in the great ocean?" The doctrines of the *Pāncharātra* are so inextricably mixed up in the works of these Ālvārs that it would be a matter of very considerable difficulty to separate these as distinctive of the *Pāncharātraic* teaching. None the less, they are very clear to those who have primed themselves with the necessary introductory preparation. Further he shows, in the course of the work, that he is acquainted with the teaching of the Śaiva Āgamas, and is well posted in the details of the Paurāṇic teaching of Hinduism. It is really this kind of a synthesis that perhaps transformed the Vedic Brāhmanism of old into the Hinduism, as we sometimes distinguish the one from the other. This is not the place nor the occasion to deal with that general question. It should be enough here to state it broadly that the so-called *Pāncharātraic* teaching is not quite so recent as is often times asserted—nay it would be more justifiable to regard it as a teaching running concurrently with the Brahmanical teaching of sacrifices as the means to ultimate salvation. Much that is actually taught in the Gīta is scattered through the works of this Ālvār, who mentions the work in unmistakable terms, as also in those of the other Ālvārs, recognising the threefold path to salvation by *Karma* (deeds or works), *Gñāna* (true knowledge) and *Bhakti* (devotion and service). This Ālvār comes to the conclusion that these recognised means, in the last resort, have to depend entirely upon His grace for receiving their fulfilment. In other words one can never attain to salvation whatever his position in regard to works, knowledge or service, unless he had served to gain the grace of the Supreme. Again and again the Ālvār repeats in the work that he was not entitled to adopt the recognised method of Vaidic practices for the attainment of salvation; but that he could hope to achieve salvation only by earning His grace efficaciously. There are services of various kinds laid down as part of Āgamāic teaching and expounded in the *charya* (service) chapters of these works, offering devoted service and worship to God, imaged in various forms and placed in particular localities with a view to worship and service offered therein in various ways. The orthodox way of worship involves knowledge of the Veda and performance of certain Vaidic ceremonies for which every one is not competent. To those who cannot attain to salvation by that means, other

kinds of service are indicated as equally efficacious namely, services rendered to bring about this worship by building temples, providing the means and making the necessary arrangements for conducting this worship properly, both for the benefit of those that worship and for the much larger body of people who are not able to conduct that worship for themselves. Such as could really render service of various kinds, even of a manual character, and such services rendered with sincere devotion, entitle one to salvation almost in the same way as the service rendered by those who are learned in the Veda and could render service in the recognised orthodox fashion.

Having arrived at this conviction, the Ālvār proceeds to expound it through this work of 120 stanzas. in a systematic form. He expounds the general principles of the faith in which is comprised the whole of the Pāncharātraic teaching in the first section which may go down to almost the first third of the work. The actual Pāncharātraic doctrines plainly come in stanza 17 already referred to in detail above, and that is enforced in stanza 29, not altogether in the same detail, but none the less unmistakably. This is repeated in stanzas 31 and 34 as well. After having expounded clearly the conception of the Supreme, in accordance with the teaching of the orthodox Vaidic literature as well as the Āgamāic, he proceeds to consider in the next part of the work as to what actually should be done by those who had not the means by birth, capacity and qualifications to understand His inscrutable nature by the methods open to the enlightened. He lays down clearly that the orthodox and complicated way of propitiation by the highly enlightened is impossible for others; but there are ways of offering worship open to them which would be quite as efficacious to attain the ultimate object. This is the path of service, service rendered in various ways. In this section the worship of God in the various forms in which he is installed for worship in temples is next indicated as easily as possible, provided one is determined to pursue the path with sincerity and devotion. Having laid down this general principle, he describes in a number of stanzas his devotion to the image in the temples at Śrīrangam, at Kumbhakōṇam and in Conjeevaram, all dedicated to Vishṇu, pointing out, *inter alia* here and there, that that is a kind of service that even Gods like Brahma and Śiva have had to render to the Supreme in order to obtain the very power for the discharge of their respective functions even. Then he points out that, so long as one pursues this with complete

sincerity and single-minded devotion, it would not matter who he is, he may be sure of God's grace. Then he proceeds to point out that, notwithstanding this devoted service, and the title that one gains in consequence to His grace, grace cannot be compelled and demanded as a matter of right. It must come as the outcome of the graciousness of the Supreme. So he lays down in the last part of the work that it is absolutely necessary for one, however sincere and devoted he be in his service to God, that he resign himself in His hands for the final attainment of grace. It is here that he takes occasion to point out that he had not had the good fortune to be born in the four castes (*kula*) nor to have had the opportunity to have studied the Veda and accessory literature, nor had he practised the control of the five senses and their activities. Thus having been driven to the only course open to him, he confesses that there is no means to gain salvation except by single-minded worship at His sacred feet. He makes this great confession in stanza 90\* of the work, and, having said that, he lays down in the following thirty verses the greatness of God's grace, and resignation to His will as the natural means to salvation to all alike, stating, in so many terms, that the safest vessel by means of which to carry oneself across the ocean of *samsāra* is the sacred feet of God. In stanzas 100 and 101 he makes the point clearer by saying that he makes efforts to do his best to be perpetually contemplating on His lotus feet; but prays that He would so regard it; and follows it up in 103 by a further prayer to God, whom he describes as One who carries on His chest the Goddess Lakshmi, as the conduct prescribed in the Rig Veda, as the one of the colour of a heavily laden cloud, that He might enable him to recite His name without intermission. He comes to the conclusion at the end of the work that "having made me wander through various births, He has at last come to save me by making my mind devote itself to Him (without any delusion) as the sole Saviour."

Other points worthy of note in this work are where the Ālvār speaks almost contemptuously of other Gods of repulsive appearance and of reputation hard to reconcile with godhead, and exhorts people to devote themselves to Vishṇu and destroy birth. In 72 there is a specific reference to Lakshmi and Bhūmi being

\* குலங்களாய் ஈரிரண்டுவென்றிலும் பிறத்திலென்  
நலங்களாய் நற்கலைகள் காவினும் ஈவின்றிலென்  
புலங்களைத்தும் வென்றிலென் பொறியிலென் புனைத நின்  
இலங்குபாதமன்றி மற்றோர் பற்றிலெனெம்மீசனே.

His consorts; he also states that the lotus-born Brahma was his son, and his son is the one the half of whose body is Umā and whose vehicle is the bull, and states clearly that this relationship found described in Vedic works is certainly not without truth. In 87 he makes a declaration that this devotion goes to the feet of Him exhibited in the Veda as the Supreme, who is worshipped with conviction, arising out of learning, by him with an eye in the face (Śiva), the king of heaven (Indra) and the Lord of the flower (Brahma), alike. In stanza 90, he comes to the definite statement:—“I was not born in any one of the divisions which goes by the name *kulam* (class or caste). I am not learned in the good things which the four Vedas teach. I have not succeeded in gaining control over the five senses. I am still labouring in the meshes of the passions. Notwithstanding all this, I have no attachment but to Your holy feet.” This autobiographical detail expressed with so much emphasis gives indication of at least an unknown, if not an inferior birth, and therefore his incapacity to follow the orthodox teaching and the prescribed methods for the pursuit of salvation. He is therefore driven to adopt other methods, to gain the same end, open to those of his condition. He ultimately expounds in the course of the work what those are, and indicates by his own example the efficaciousness of simple prayer by the recital of His name, provided only one exhibits, in the performance of this simple form of worship, unalloyed sincerity and absolutely exclusive devotion to the Supreme God. He is convinced, not without investigation of the prevalent alternatives, that throwing himself upon God’s mercy is the surest way to the attainment of His grace provided the path is pursued with whole-hearted devotion.

This elaborate study of these early Ālvārs gives us an insight into the condition of religion at the time that these flourished. We see from the works of these alone that the religion of worship and service to God, in some one form or another with a view to the attainment of His grace, is regarded as most efficacious method of gaining the most cherished of human ends, the destruction of birth, growth, decay and death; all that is included in *samsāra*. As far as these Ālvārs are concerned however, the only deity capable of showing this saving grace is Vishṇu, and the other deities who had perhaps a certain amount of following at the time, were of inferior capacity for this particular purpose. Coming down to the actual exercise of this devotion, we find that the methods prescribed as validly efficacious are those of service



essentially, service by means of Vedic learning and Vedic rites, we might almost say primarily. Where this is found to be impossible, as in the case of the great majority of people, except in the case of the very *elite*, service of a simpler kind is recommended, and even this service may take a large variety of forms according to capacity and means. The best in the last resort, and well within the capacity of all, is the mere recital of the name of the deity; but the essence of the service of worship thus rendered is in the sincerity and single-mindedness of the devotion shown in the performance of the service. It would not matter what form of service devotion takes, salvation is certain; but not as the inevitable return for the service, but as a matter of grace by the deity, pleased with the devoted service rendered to him. This is what in Vaishṇava parlance is called *prapatti* resignation or surrender into the hands of the deity, placing oneself in the position of being deserving of His grace. If the details of this norm of worship found scattered through the works of these Ālvārs could be collected together and examined as a whole, it will be found that that is almost in every detail the teaching of the Vaishṇava Āgamas, called *Pāncharātra*, which, in times much before this, was known as the teaching of the *Bhāgavatas*. These *Bhāgavatas* were a set of people who regarded *Bhagavān Vāsudēva* (*Krishṇa*) as the sole Supreme being capable of exercising His grace and giving salvation to people. They did not consider it necessary to sacrifice animals in the performance of *Yagnas* (the great sacrifices), and would preach the doctrine of *Ahimsa* in consequence. That teaching runs through and through the works of these Ālvārs, so that what was merely the persuasion of a section of the people had become gradually transformed into one of general efficacy for all alike, though the prescribed method might vary in detail according to capacity.

The teaching of the *Gīta* is constantly there in addition to this, as well as what is sometimes described as *Paurāṇic Hinduism*, a distinction which it would be rather difficult to justify and almost impossible to make. So then with these Ālvārs, we seem to be living in an age when modern Hinduism, as distinct from the Vedic Brahmanism which alone is generally taken to be described in the *Vedas* and Vedic literature, had gained great vogue. It would be much better to regard these two not in contradistinction, but more or less as two phases or aspects of the same teaching, the only difference being a difference of

The norms of worship being thus laid down, it follows, as night follows day, that the most popular feature of worship is the worship of forms of God visible to the eye, and understandable to the average intelligence of uncultured humanity. Abstract conceptions are brought down to definite forms perceivable by the senses and appealing even to the physical eyes, although in origin subjective. Worship of images, originally conceived in the mind and actually translated into material forms for congregational worship, comes to be the essence of general religious service. Worship of images or forms of Gods of various kinds, in temples, the undertaking of pilgrimages to these, devotional service of various kinds, material and personal in respect of these, all became part and parcel of this form of religion. We see this in full swing in the works of these Āļvārs. It is not only Tirupati or Vēngadam that figures in the works of these Āļvārs specifically ; but a fairly large number of other places of repute as places of pilgrimage sacred to Vishṇu, are also mentioned. The references to Tirupati go sometimes into circumstantial detail to indicate, if not to describe to us in so many words, that the course of worship prescribed and conducted throughout the year had already attained to some considerable vogue. A specific feature like the worship on *dvādaśī* days, the festivals of *śravaṇa* and things like that, lets us know that the annual arrangements had already come into practice. These, taken along with the general statement made by a classical Tamil author like Māmūlanār, and the practice of worship of various deities in an important place like Conjeevaram referred to by Rudran Kannaṅgan would give us clear indication that the age of temple worship and worship conducted in the manner prescribed by the Bhakti school, had already come to prevail in full form. The teaching of the Vaishṇavism of Rāmānuja seems to be already found in full growth, if not perhaps in all its detail, and the three different bases of that teaching, the Vedic literature, the teaching of the Gīta and the Āgamaic teaching of the Pāncharātra are all of them found in these works as they are found in the works of Rāmānuja and his predecessors. We shall now pass on to Nammāļvār, the central figure among these Āļvārs.

## CHAPTER VI

### NAMMALVAR.

**Nammalvar and his position among Alvars.** We have already noted that the three Ālvārs, called Mudal Ālvārs by way of distinction, and Tirumaliśai Ālvār who followed can be regarded as contemporaries on the basis of the tradition that they met with one another at Tiru Vehkā in Kānchi, and even that Pēy Ālvār was responsible for reclaiming him to Vaishṇavism from Śaivism. Whatever be the value of the tradition as such, there is enough evidence, internal evidence in their works, for us to take it that they cannot be regarded as far removed from each other in point of time, the closeness of the works going far enough to justify the position, apart from other extraneous evidence. It would therefore be in keeping with our present knowledge of the state of affairs to take it that these four may be regarded as of one age, and in a class by themselves, among the Ālvārs. Next after them comes Nammālvār generally regarded by Vaishṇava tradition as the best and the greatest of them all, and his works have come to be regarded as quite a faithful rendering of all that is of value in the teaching of the Veda, so that the *Tiruvāymoḷi* of Nammālvār is regarded generally as being a rendering of the Veda in Tamil. Not only that, the very name *Tiruvāymoḷi* (Sans. *Śruti*) seems intended to convey that meaning. We have high authority, the authority of the Śāngam literature for *vāymoḷi* being just the rendering, and quite a correct rendering, of what the Sanskritists call *Śruti* as distinct from perhaps the Upanishads, although *Śruti* in a general popular sense includes not only the Veda proper, but all the literature dependent upon the Veda and cultivated in the world as accessory studies essential to the understanding of the Vedic texts. The earliest Tamils seem to have made the distinction between the Veda proper, and the Upanishads, by calling the first *vāymoḷi* and the second *marai*, which latter has now become more or less the popular name for all that is included in what might be called Vedic literature. That distinction between *vāymoḷi* and *marai* seems to have been real enough down to the time of Tirumangai Ālvār in the middle of the 8th century, as some references in his work could be quoted to justify the position. The term *Tiruvāymoḷi* therefore would be an exact Tamil rendering of an expression

like *Śrī Śruti*, *Śruti* of course, with the complimentary attribute *Śrī*. Speaking from the point of view of pure literature, Nammālvār may be regarded as a transition as it were between the first Ālvārs, including in that designation the first four and the later ones down to Tirumangai Ālvār. The first three Ālvārs have cast their poems in the *venbā* metre in Tamil, and where the classical commentators on even the Tolkāppiyam quoted Poygai Ālvār, all the stanzas quoted against that name happen to be in the *venbā* metre. Among them two are from the first Tiruvandādi of this Ālvār. In respect of the fourth, however, there are 200 verses in the Prabhandha Four Thousand ascribed to him. The first 100 is in the *venbā* metre, like the works of the first three, and is as a matter of fact included in that section of the collection. In regard to the other centum which is really 120 stanzas, it is in the *vr̥itta* metre, itself called *Tiruchanda Viruttam*, which would simply mean poem in *vr̥itta* metre alliterative and adaptable to music. Therefore Tirumalīśai is in part with the Mudal Ālvārs holding them by one hand and stretching out the other to come into connection with the rest of them from this point of view. Further, as a rule these early Ālvārs, who are characterised as "*Singers of Classical Tamil*" by Tirumangai Ālvār, \* are much more naturalistic and objective in their description, and do not indulge in the more or less well-developed imaginative emotionalism of Nammālvār and the other later Ālvārs. Nammālvār's Tiruvāymoḷi carries this feature to perfection and has become the model, more or less, for all later literature of the school of Bhakti which have developed this side to a much greater extent even than these. While we would be justified in saying that the Mudal Ālvārs show fairly full acquaintance with Sanskrit literature, Paurāṇic and other, relating to the subject of Bhakti, Tirumalīśai Ālvār goes much farther afield in the exhibition of his knowledge of Sanskrit literature bearing upon Bhakti, even to the extent of exhibiting full acquaintance with the Āgamaic teaching of the Pāncharātra and of the Veda proper, Nammālvār goes much further and shows, in his extensive writings, a full grasp of the teachings of the Veda as a whole, or the Vaidic bases of Viṣṇu Bhakti, that he may well be regarded an interpreter in Tamil of the Vedic lore on the particular subject. Hence his principal

\* வெந்திறல் வீரரில் வீரரொப்பார்  
 வேதமுரைத்து இமையோர் வணங்கும்  
 செந்தமிழ் பாடுவாரீ தாம் வணங்கும்  
 தேவரிவர் கொல் தெரிசுக மாட்டேன்

works are regarded as each one expounding a particular Veda of the four Vedas and thus justifying the encomium bestowed on him by later writers, such as Kamban, "the learned one who had rendered the Veda in Tamil".

**Nammalvar and Vengadam.** Our purpose is not to expound the teaching of Nammalvar here, but to indicate his position in regard to the knowledge which he exhibits of Vēṅgaḍam. His works are, as they appear in the Prabandha collection in order (1) Tiruvirttam said to be an exposition of the Rig Veda; (2) Tiruvāsiriyam of the Yajur Veda; (3) the Peria Tiruvandādi, of the Atharva Veda, and the last but the best work of his the Tiruvāymoḷi, of the Sama Veda. Of these the third is in the venba metre. The first is in the viritta metre. The second is in a metre which may be said to be rather characteristic of Tamil, and the last mostly viritta of different varieties. He may be regarded therefore purely from the literary point of view to have come in between these early Ālvārs, and the later ones. What is really more to our point, the references to Vēṅgaḍam in the works of this Ālvār are entirely of a different character as we shall notice. In the work Peria Tiruvandādi, which comes closest to the work of these early Ālvārs, the references that he makes to Tirupati seem to be of a character similar to those of the others. As we pass on from them, we find him moving away more and more into the artificiality and high convention of Tamil literature.

We shall next proceed to the details regarding his references to the Vishṇu shrine at Tirupati. Unlike the Mūtal Ālvārs and even Tirumaḷiśai Ālvār, it may be said of Nammalvar at the outset that such references as he makes to Tirupati are more or less of a character to meet the requirements of the literary artist. Like the later kalambakam writers who are often content with the mere mention of the name of the shrine they write about, so in the case of this Ālvār the references are of a subordinate character and border quite on the mere mention of the name. He devotes one ten of the Tiruvāymoḷi to Tirupati itself, and there he says certain things which may be regarded as something much more specific than the mere references adverted to above. In this case, he makes explicit references to the great shrine at Tirupati. There are just one or two other tens where he does indeed refer to Tirupati, but the references are not of this explicit character, though they may be regarded as indubitable references to the particular shrine. He seems to be writing on the whole from what he had heard of the great reputation of the shrine for holiness,

and has therefore to be regarded as writing of that shrine, as he does of very many others of holy reputation, without that intimate knowledge of the place that the other Ālvārs exhibit in regard to Tirupati. There are actually seven references to Tirupati in the *Tiruviruttam*. They are more or less of the form of address where he apostrophizes some of the flower gardens as being of the country of Tirupati, or of Tirupṭi which has beautiful gems all round the hill glowing in daylight. The *Tiruvāṣiriyam* has no direct references to Tirupati. The *Tiruvāṣiriyam* and the Peria Tiruvandādi do not contain any direct reference to Tirupati as such, but stanza 7 of the latter contains a reference to Lakshmi being on the chest of Vishṇu, which is the exact meaning of the term Śrīnivāsa, the name of the God at Tirupati.

These three works taken together, however, form a methodical presentation of the Ālvārs petition to the God to exhibit His saving grace. So he begins by saying that his object was to get rid of birth in this life of *śamsāra*, and would appeal to him who is ever on the look out for saving souls and who had put himself through a number of births to the same great purpose. The whole of the 103 stanzas are to the same purport, and the idea is presented in all the variety of literary form of which the Ālvār shows himself to be a perfect master. In this centum the Ālvār draws a comparison between those who have once had attained to eternal life and remained perpetually in the enjoyment of His immediate presence, and the great majority like himself still wallowing in the seemingly inextricable mire of worldly life, and naturally prays that he may be enabled to get rid of the entanglements of worldly life and be enabled to join the select company of those. Incidentally therefore he has to describe the great qualities of God, the praise of which and the resigning of oneself to His discretion, are the only means for the attainment of emancipation. This cannot be attained except by one's own effort, and the opportunity is offered for him to exert himself; and how he exercises himself to attain this end is what is expounded in the following works of his. In the *Tiruviruttam* he is made to expound as it were what is possible of achievement in this life, the realisation of the great qualities of the Supreme Being and the way of knowledge to attain to this experience. This is further expounded in the *Tiruviruttam* as, in the case of what relates to God, what has come into one's experience is something which is likely to be very small in comparison to the infinite character of His great qualities. It is those ideas that are expounded in the

three works. The first may be regarded as a set of prayers offered to God with a view to gaining His sympathy for the attainment of salvation; the next one is devoted to a description of God, and how He works His purpose on earth; and then in the third, the means by which worldly life could be got rid of and the eternal life achieved by service, knowledge and devotion culminating in complete self-surrender are described. The Ālvār comes to this conclusion in the third of these poems and this idea is carried forward in the main work of his, the *Tiruvāymoḷi*, that God has taken possession of him, and it is He, not the Ālvār himself, who sings the verses, ascribed to him whether it be those of the *Tiruvāymoḷi*, or the other three works of this Ālvār. The idea runs through and through these works, as in the case of the other Ālvārs, that Vishṇu in any one of His forms is the Great Supreme, and that He works His purpose on earth in many forms. The other Gods who come in for worship by others are no more than certain forms or aspects of this One, and the worship that is offered to them is no more than worship offered to Him, only indirectly. That is the general basal idea which often times gets to be expressed in the course of these poems. \* Stanzas 68, 71 and 72 of the Periya Tiruvandādi express these ideas, and states that idea, with which we are familiar in the first four Ālvārs, that, in the body of Vishṇu, Śiva finds a place in His chest, and Brahma in His navel, and the other gods in other places so that all of them together constitute His body, Himself being the soul infusing life into them and making them do what they do.

The *Tiruvāymoḷi* has about 16 separate references to Tirupati of about the same character we referred to already in his other

\* கல்லும் கனைகடலும் வைகுந்த வாளுமும்  
புல்லென் றெழுந்தனகொல் ஏபாவம்—வெல்ல  
செடியான் நிறம்கரியான் உள்புகுந்து நீங்கான்  
அடியேனதுள்ளத் தகம்.

(68)

இனிநின்று நின்பெருமை யானுரைப்ப தென்னே  
தனிநின்ற சார்விலா மூர்த்தி—பனி நீர்  
அகத்துலவு செஞ்சடைடான் ஆகத்தான் காங்கு  
முகத்தான் நின் னுத்தி முதல்.

(71)

முதலாம் திருவுருவம் மூன்றென்பர் ஒன்றே  
முதலாகும் மூன்றுக்கு மென்பர்—முதல்வா  
நிகரிலகு காருருவா நின்னகத்த தன்றே  
புகரிலகு தாமரையின் பூ.

(72)

Periya Tiruvandādi.

works. He devotes one ten completely to Tirupati itself, and, in one or two other tens further down in the course of the work, he is supposed to refer to Tirupati in particular, though Tirupati is not specifically referred to in these tens. The same general idea runs through and through. In this work he works out to the full the literary form that shows itself already in the *Tiruviruttam* which has become the characteristic of the later emotional forms of Vishnu worship all over India, South as well as North. Love becomes the theme, and it is the pining away of a damsel for the company of her lover that is the form that is most affected, although often times maternal love, the love of the mother to the child in all its frolics, and the sympathetic suffering of the mother for a daughter pining away in a lovelorn condition in various aspects, constitute the other possible forms for this to take and find exposition in the *Tiruvāymoḷi* in as good and full a form as it could be found anywhere else. In the whole range of Tamil literature, this work forms the basis upon which is built the emotional worship; even such distant schools of thought as the Gujarat school of Vaishnavism of Vallabhacharya and the Bengal school of Chaitanya drawing their inspiration therefrom. These schools differ only in mere detail, and sometimes in the local colour, but in essentials they are absolutely nothing more than what is found in the works of Nammālvār.

The *Tiruvāymoḷi* Thousand serves for the Ālvār to depict the progress of a soul hankering for that association with God which is the lot of the emancipated elect (*Nityasūri*). The work therefore begins with his giving the fullest expression to his devotion generally, and all the details of service by means of which that devotion can be made manifest. He struggles to find a way to describe Him and His qualities in a way acceptable to Him. This is service by prayer as it were, when rendered properly and adequately, to enable him to reach this goal of his ambition. Finding that it does not effectuate immediately in the much desired union, he tries to change his method, and see whether he could canvass it, not by the mere mechanical service, but by an effort at a correct exposition by way of knowledge, which implies the practice of *Yogic* concentration for acquiring that correct understanding. While this course gives him more satisfaction, it still falls short of enabling him to reach the goal, and he has recourse to the other course, the course of Bhakti, complete devotion, by means of love and self-surrender, as the fitting terminal of service to God. Then comes the feeling of realisation, and the Ālvār expresses his



gratification that he has ultimately achieved the end he strove so far to achieve. In the course of the work therefore, all the thousand verses are divided into ten groups, each group again containing ten groups, each in its turn containing ten stanzas, more often eleven than ten, and thus provides a Tamil literary classic, almost a model for this kind of expression of high emotion in all its glorious forms. Naturally therefore such a mode does not admit of much of objective description, and we fail to find, even in the references to Tirupati as such, the references to such details even of worship, or of festive celebration, as we occasionally do come upon in the earlier poets of this group. Even in the tens specially devoted to Tirupati the Ālvār does not give us any definite knowledge of details which would warrant the inference of his direct acquaintance with the place, or the organisation of worship in the temple. Nevertheless he reminds us constantly that, for a true knowledge of God, one has to seek it in the Veda, "the flowering flame, that is the four Vedas, which contain sacred knowledge" in III, 1, 10.\* The same idea recurs in another place where he refers to the same knowledge as "the nectar churned from out of the Veda cultivated by Brāhmanas", I, 3, 5. This section III is devoted entirely to Tirupati, and the details that he gives of Tirupati are more or less of a general character absolutely, a description of the natural features of the hill. In I, 3, 7, however, there is a reference to the offer of worship with flowers, water and the burning lamp, with which the heavenly ones offer worship. Anything more specific than this we do not get from him. In III, 7, 9, the Ālvār counts himself as the devoted slave many times over of those devoted to Vishnu, even if they should be born in a class below the four which go by the name of *kula* (caste) and lead the life of the *Chandāla*.† Such

\* சோதியாகி யெல்லா வுலகுந் தொழும்  
ஆதிமூர்த்தி யென்றால் அனவாகுமோ  
வேதியர் முழுவதத் தழுதத்தை  
தீதில்சீர்திரு வேங்கடத் தானையே.

*Tiruvāymōḻi*, III, 3, 5.

† குலந்தாங்கு சாதிகள் காலிலும் தீழிழிந்து எத்தனை  
கலந்தா வரிவாத சண்டாள சண்டாளர்க ளாகிலும்  
வலந்தாங்கு சக்கரத் தண்ணல்மணி வண்ணந் காணென்று உள்  
கலந்தார் அடியார் தம்மடியார் எம்மடிகளே.

*Tiruvāymōḻi*, III, 7, 9.

வேதம்வல் லார்களைக் கொண்டுவின் ணோற்பெரு மான் திருப்  
பாதம் பணிந்து இவன் சோயிது தீர்த்தக் கொன்னுதுபோய்  
ஏதம் பறைந்து அல்லசெய்து கன்னுடு கலாய்த்தாய்  
தேமுழவிட்டு நீரணந் காடுதல் சீழ்மையே.

*ibid*, IV, 6, 8.

an idea often occurs not merely in the writings of this Ālvār, but even among those of several others. While from this it is clear that it is possible for inferior mortals to attain to that correct understanding of God, and even of nearness to his presence, it must be borne in mind that this should not be interpreted as any kind of an assertion of secular equality. We find a clear evidence of his condemnation of the habits of this class of people in IV, 6-8 in unmistakable terms. The actual kind of worship he prefers is referred to again in V, 2-9, which consists in the repetition of His name and the praise of His qualities, and the presentation to Him of worship in forms prescribed by the knowing, with flowers, incense, lamps, unguents, water and other such gifts \*

Coming down to the more general character of his devotion, we find him stating it clearly and unmistakably, in the ninth ten of the third section † that what powers of poetry he might have, he would devote only to Him of Tiruvēṅgaḍam and to none else. In the course of this very ten, he points out the uselessness of utilising this gift in praise of the rich ones among the world, and inveighs against such an improper use, giving one almost the idea that, in the age in which he lived, such was largely the prevalent practice. The definite reference to *Vaḷḷal* (patron) in the 5th verse of this ten, seems to be a clear and specific reference to this particular feature of the Tamil poets of this age, which may throw indirectly some light upon the time in which he flourished.

One other detail of a similar general character calls for notice. The Ālvār expresses himself immensely gratified at the

\* மேவித்தொழு தய்மினீர்கந் வேதப்புரித னிருக்கை  
நாவில்கொண்டச்சுதன் தன்னை ஞானவிதி பிழையாமே  
பூவில் புகையும் விளக்கும சாந்தரும் கீரும் மலிந்து  
மேவித்தொழு மடியாரும் பசுவரும் மிக்கநிவ் வுலகே.

*ibid*, V, 2, 9.

† சொன்னால் விரோதமிது ஆசிலும் சொல்லுவன் கேண்மினே  
என்னாவின்னகவி யாருருவர்க்கும் கொடுக்கிலேன்  
தென்னு தெனுவென்று வண்டு முறல்திரு வேங்கடத்து  
என்னுள் என்னப்பன் எம்பெருமான் உளனுகவே.

*ibid*, III, 9, 1.

கொள்ளும் பயனில்லை குப்பைபெரித்தன்ன செல்வத்தை  
வள்ளல் புகழந்து தும்பாய்மை யிழக்கும் புலவீரகாள்  
கொள்ளக் குறையிலன் வேண்டிற் நெல்லாம்தரும் கோதில் என்  
வள்ளல் மணிவண்ணன் தன்னைக் கவிசொல்ல வய்மினே.

*ibid*, III, 9, 5.

prevalence of devout service to Him as in the second ten of the fifth section. This idea recurs time and again, and he seems almost to repeat the idea so tersely expressed in stanza 87 of the first Tiruvandādi of Poygai Ālvār. The similarity of notion is so great that the age was remarkable for the way of Bhakti coming into its own, as against other forms of religious service. A general review of these details taken together gives the impression that, at the time that these Ālvārs flourished, Hindu society, if it should be so-called, was just returning from other forms of worship, or religious service, to this particular form and when the Ālvār actually gloats in joy over the passing away of the *Kali Yuga* (age of sin) in stanza V. 2-3, and the coming of the *Kṛta Yuga* by the Gods themselves entering this way of service, and that the world had become actually full of those devoted to Vishṇu \* who dance in joy and sing songs of devotion to Him, we seem to feel a sort of re-establishment of orthodox worship according to the school of Bhakti, the more so when he gets to exhort, in stanza 9 following of the same section, where he calls upon all to come and worship at the shrine of the holy One of the Veda, and save themselves by singing the praise of Achyuta without deviating from the course of knowledge. When he makes a positive statement that the world had got to be full of those who worship Him with flowers, incense, lamps, unguants and water, those being both men in worldly life and those that have renounced it alike, he seems almost positively to affirm such a reversion to orthodoxy. This idea he elaborates somewhat in the following stanza where he states that the world is already full of not only the Supreme Vishṇu (Kaṇṇan as he is called here), but of the other Gods of the Hindu pantheon, and exhorts

\* திரியும் கலியுகம் நீங்கித் தேவர்கள் தாரும் புகுந்து  
பெரிய இதயகம் பற்றிப் பேரின்பவெள்ளம் பெருக  
கரியமுதில் வண்ணனெம்மான் கடல்வண்ணன் பூதங்கள் மண்மேல்  
இரியப்புகுந்திசை பாடி எங்குமிடம் கொண்டனவே.

*ibid*, V, 2, 3.

மேலித்தொழுதும்மினீர்கள் வேதப்புனி தனிசூக்கை  
நாவில் கொண்டச்சுதன்தன்னை ஞானவிதி பிழையாமே  
பூதில் புகையும் விளக்கும் சாந்தமும் நீரும் மலிந்து  
மேலித்தொழுமடியாரும் பகவரும் மிக்கதவகே.

*ibid*, V, 2, 9.

மிக்க உலகுகள் தோதும் மேலிக்கண்ணன் திருமூர்த்தி  
சக்கபிரானோடயனும் இத்திரனும் சூதலாக  
தொக்கவமரர் குழாங்கள் எங்கும் பரந்தன தொண்டர்  
ஒக்கத் தொழுதிற்றிராகில் கலியுகமொன்றுமில்லையே.

*ibid*, V, 2, 10.

the devoted ones of the earth to offer similar worship to all, and get rid of the sinful *Kali Yuga*.

One other feature of some importance to us for the history of Tirupati is the notion that runs through and through, that God is really one, and that one is Vishṇu in any one of His innumerable aspects. Such a notion is scattered all through his works, and, in some places, they get to be mentioned specifically. The general notion is that all things existing of all kinds, merely constitute the body, the soul infusing all being His self. In expressing this general notion, the Ālvār sometimes indulges in the specific statement that Brahma, Śiva, Indra, and other Gods of high rank constitute parts of His body. Śiva is generally allotted a place on the chest of Vishṇu, and Brahma in the navel. In this specific statement, he speaks almost in the same terms as the earlier Ālvārs of Brahma, Śiva and Indra constituting each a part of His body, a mere part of His body, much as *Śrī* (Lakshmi) is supposed to be, although Nammālvār does not come down to the level of putting these on a footing with Vishṇu's weapons like the disc and the conch.\* This firm conviction, and the description in terms alike, have their light to shed upon the controversy regarding Tirupati at one time, that the representation of the deity in the shrine was that of Śiva or Skanda-Subrahmaṇya, and it had to be proved that the deity represented there is Vishṇu and no other.

The fervour of the Ālvār's devotion begins, as in ordinary cases, with prayer, intense and devoted though that prayer be. From that it gradually advances to contemplation contemplation of the divine in various forms and in essence, and ultimately it rises to the pitch of being absorbed and attaining to the condition of complete similarity, to almost the sameness with the deity. When he works up to this condition, the Ālvār makes it clear by telling us that the very poems in which he describes his experiences of devotion to God are poems sung not by him, but by the

\* ஒருளும் இறையினும் திசைமுகனும் திருமகனும்  
கூறும் தனியுடம்பன் குலங்குலமா யகர்களை  
கீறும் படியாக கிருமித்துப் படை தொட்ட  
மாறானன் சவராத மணிமாமை குறைவிலமே.

*ibid*, IV, 8, 1.

தான தாமரை யானுனதந்தியான்  
வான் கொன் கீள்மழுவானியுன்னுத்தான்  
ஆனாய்த்தொழுவாரு மமரர்கள்  
காளு மென் புசழ்கோ உன் சீலமே.

*ibid*, IX, 3, 10.

God himself within him,\* as if in His infinite mercy to the struggling soul, He infuses his own spirit within the struggling individual, and takes it through even composing and singing His own praise. When this feeling settles down in him, he realises he had then reached the goal of his ambition, and had become one like God himself, always in His presence and enjoying His company for food, water and the very air for breathing. Coming to this mystic position, the Ālvār feels he had reached the goal of his soul's journey.

In the course of this discipline, the Ālvār gives expression to his devotion to God in all his innumerable forms, the *Vyūhas*, the *Vibhavas* and the *Archa*; that is, the emanations of God for various purposes, His coming down on earth in various forms, and the various material forms in which He is worshipped by those devoted to Him. Naturally therefore, Rama, Krishna, and all the well-known *Avatārs* on the one side, and the various images which are forms of God enshrined in temples alike, come in for their share of reference.† The more recondite references to the other forms for specific purposes are also found, if not with the same frequency. Not only these; but the Ālvār does actually put himself in all kinds of attitudes known to literature ‡ for expressing high emotion. We may therefore conclude that Nammālvār exemplifies *par excellence* the methods of personal devotion to the deity with a view ultimately to the attainment of that realization which is the goal of the mysticism of this school of *Bhakti*.

\* செஞ்சாற் கலிகாள் உயிர்காத்தாட் செய்மின் திருமாலிருஞ்சேலை  
வஞ்சக் கன்வன் மாமாயன் மாயக்கலியாய் வந்து என்  
நெஞ்சம் உயிரும் உட்கலந்து சின்ருர் அறியா உண்ணம் என்  
நெஞ்சம் முயிரு மனவயுண்டு தானேயாகி நிறைந்தானே.

*ibid*, X, 7, 1.

நண்ண அகரர் நலிவெய்த நல்ல அமரர் பொலிவெய்த  
எண்ண தனகன் எண்ணும்நன் முனிவர் இன்பம் தலைநிற்ப  
பண்ணர்பாட வின்கலிகள் டானாய்த் தண்ணைத் தான்பாடி  
தென்னு வென்னும் என்னம்மான் திருமாலிருஞ்சேலையானே.

*ibid*, 5.

[Compare other stanzas in this Ten as well.]

† மேயான் வேங்கடம், காயா மலர்வண்ணன்  
பேயார் முலையுண்ட வாயான மாதவனே.

*ibid*, X, 5, 6.

‡ திருமா விருஞ்சேலை மலையே திருப்பாற் கடலே யென்றமையே  
திருமால் வைகுந்தமே தண் திருவேங்கடமே யெனதுடலே  
அருமா மாயத் தெனதுயிரே மனமே வாக்கே கருமமே  
ஒருமா ஹெடியும் பிரியானென் னூழிமுதல்வ னெருவனே.

*ibid*, X, 7, 8.

## CHAPTER VII

### OTHER ALVARS

**The other Alvars.** Passing on from Nammālvār, we pass on to the rest of this group, seven in number. (1) Madhurakavi, whose work is included in the Prabandham, consists of ten verses expressing his indebtedness to Nammālvār as his *Guru* (teacher). His personality as such therefore gets merged in Nammālvār. Then follow the names of (2) Kulaśekhara, (3) Periya Ālvār, though his actual name is Vishṇuchitta, (4) his foster-daughter Aṇḍāl. The tenth is called in Tamil, Tondar Adī Poḍi Ālvār, or in Sanskrit Bhaktāṅghrīrēṇu. Then Tiruppān Ālvār, called Yōgīvāha in Sanskrit, and lastly Tirumangai Ālvār. Of these six, Nos. 10 and 11 may be disposed of at once. No. 10 is credited with a hundred and ten verses of the *Prabandha* all devoted to Ranganātha at Śrīrangam. He was born not far from the place, but lived all his life and was devoted entirely to the deity in that shrine, and no more. The next one Yōgīvāha also belongs to a similar category and his devotion is to the temple at Śrīrangam, and none else. The other four have more poems to their credit, and make references to Tirupati. The general character of their devotion however, was as single-minded as that of Nammālvār; but they have chosen somehow or other to exhibit their unalloyed affection to God, not by adopting the method of Nammālvār exclusively, of that intimate affection of the young woman in love pining away for the company of her lover. While we cannot say that he has altogether no other relationships giving rise to similar affection and the painfulness of the deprivation of that affection, this is the form which appealed most in his case. But in the case, at any rate of Periya Ālvār, it is rather the affection of the parent for the frolics of the child; in the case of the daughter however, it was the unalloyed love to Ranganātha at Śrīrangam which terminated only in her marriage to Him. Periya Ālvār, however has 473 verses to his credit in the first thousand. The first ten of this is in glorification and praise of Vishṇu in general terms. The rest are devoted to the *Krishṇāvātāra* of Vishṇu and describe, with touching affection and fulness of detail the frolics of child Krishṇa, and Krishṇa as a young lad still engaged in the occupation of his temporary residence, the whoocer

village where he was being brought up without his identity being known to his enemy uncle Kamsa.

**The character of the Tirumoli of Peria Alvar.** The next following tens are devoted to various purposes. Two or three of these give expression to the feeling of a love-lorn damsel pining away in her love for Krishna, and the sorrow of the mother for the daughter who had elected to follow the course of her affection and abandon herself in favour of the object of her love. The last ten of the third section and the following tens are in various ways intended to exhibit why one ought to devote himself to the worship of Vishnu in various of His manifestations. This is generally done by choosing certain incidents in the life of one or other of the many manifestations of Vishnu on earth. The tenth ten of the IIIrd section is a rendering of what Hanumān said to Rāma to convince him that he had actually seen Sitā, describing various incidents of his conversation with her to confirm the identity. The next following sections are devoted to a conversation between those that have realised God and others who wished to realise Him. The next three are devoted to Tirumāli-rumsōlai and Tirukkōṭṭiyūr to enforce the need of devotion to Him. The next following ten is instruction to those in worldly life to persuade them into devotion to Him. The next ten enforces the necessity of naming children after Him, and calling them by such names, as one way of reminding themselves of His presence. The next three are devoted to the holy place of Dēvaprayāga and Śrīrangam. Then follows in the tenth ten of section IV, his self-surrender to God while yet in active life, so that He may, in the last moments of the Ālvār's life, receive him into His favour. In section V, the Ālvār gives expression to his feeling that God is, already near him, and realises His immanence in Him. He discards all those ailments to which human beings are heir as having no more place in him, and ultimately gives expression, in the last two tens, to his feeling of the immanence of God in him and of the good that he derived from Him. While giving expression therefore to the progress of a believing soul's devotion to God till it realises God in him, the Ālvār does make a number of references to various places sacred to Vishnu in which he is particularly interested. Śrīrangam, Tirumāli-rumsōlai and Tirukkōṭṭiyūr, in addition to his own native place, Śrīvilliputtūr are his favourite places. But there are a few references, two or three of them, to Tirupati which he seems to have known, at least to have heard of. He has some references to places even in the distant

north, as if to indicate they were places of holy reputation to Vishṇu and therefore to be cherished by Vaishṇavas.

His section of the *Tiruvāymoḷi* specifically named Periya Ālvār Tirumōḷi is a very good illustration of that section of devotional works in which the affection that is shown by the soulful devotee to God takes that form of affection which a mother exhibit to her child in all its various frolics of babyhood. In his case, it takes the form of the youthful love of Krishṇa which is so beautifully described in the Bhāgavata. He is certainly not oblivious of the other popular manifestations of Vishṇu in the form of Rāma, which also come in for treatment in a considerable part of his work. That is not all. There are incidental references to many other of the beneficent manifestations of Vishṇu in various forms. The references to Tirupati or Vēṅgaḍam are so far only two in the 473 stanzas of this Ālvār's work. The only historical references that we find in his works are a reference in two places, Tirupallāndu II, and section IV, 4, 8 to the *Purōhita* (high priest) of the Pāṇḍya monarch contemporary with him by name Śelvan, who had done much for God manifesting Himself in Tirukkōṭṭiyūr, and had been instrumental in the bringing about of the Ālvār's visit to the Pāṇḍya capital. In regard to the Pāṇḍyan himself, the Ālvār has just two references. The first is in IV, 2, 7 to a Neḍumaran ruler of Ten-Kūḍal (the southern Kūḍal, another name for Madura) carrying death-dealing spear, as being devoted to Tirumāḷirumśōlai. We have certainly also a specific reference in this Ālvār's works to the belief \* that Rudra, Brahma, and Indra, though worshipped as Gods are not capable of granting the best of all boons that of getting rid of births.

**Nacchiyar Tirumoli of Āṇḍal.** Next follow 143 stanzas ascribed to the lady devotee generally known by the name Āṇḍal or Gōḍā (Tam. Kōḍai, also periphrastically described in Tamil, Śūḍikkoḍuttāl, one that gave the flowers that she herself wore). She is generally described as a foundling child, and therefore regarded as an *Avatāra* of *Bhūmi* (*Goddess of Earth*) herself. Periya Ālvār picked her up from his flower garden, and brought her up as his own dear child. He had devoted himself to the service of

\* அருத்தகல்காடி யுடையானுட பிரமணு மிசுநிரணு ம மறதும்

ஒருத்தரும இப்பிறவியென்னும் சோய்க்கு மருத்தறிவாகு மில்லு

மருத்துவனும் நின்ற மாமணியென்னு மறுபிறவி தவிசத்

நிருத்தி உன்கோயிற கடைப்புசுப்பெய் நிருமாவிருஞ்சோல யெத்தாய்.

Peria Ālvār Tirumōḷi, V, 3, 6.



making garlands of flowers and presenting them for daily service to the God in the temple at Śrīvilliputtūr which was his native place. This daughter of his who had attained to the age of discretion, when the father was away for his ablutions after making the garlands etc., ready, used to take them without being noticed, put them on, and look before a mirror just to see that they all fitted very well, and then place them again as before. This was discovered by the father one day, who, in great pain, his disgust against the affection for his own child, refrained from presenting the flowers to the God and remained fasting. God is said to have appeared to him in a dream, and asked for those very garlands as being particularly acceptable to Him after being used by the daughter. She grew up a young woman, and would not marry anybody else except God himself, and had to be, with God's approval, taken over to Śrīrangam and left there in the temple. It is said that she was miraculously accepted by God and disappeared in His image. Miracles apart, her poems give expression to the feeling of a damsel grown to the age of discretion devoting herself to God Vishṇu, we might almost say exclusively in the form of Krishṇa, and enjoying herself in the contemplation of various of the activities of young Krishṇa and of the manifestations of Vishṇu generally.

**The special features of her work.** The first section of her poems consists of 30 stanzas and is devoted to the worship after early morning bath in the first month of the year, *Mārgaṣī* (November—December). That is devoted to young Krishṇa. The next section of ten is devoted to the worship of Kāma, the God of Love, in the month of January, which young women of marriageable age generally perform. In that ten there are two references to the God at Tirupati. The next four sections are devoted to the mischievous frolics of Krishṇa destroying their houses built in sand, and interrupting the girls at play, and begging him to give back the garments that he had taken away from them while they were at bath and carried to the top of a tree, and features of that kind. There are two or three references to Tirupati in the conventional way in these sections. The next following section VI is devoted to the details of the ceremony of her marriage with Krishṇa that she herself dreamt of. The next ten is devoted to a description of the *Pāñchajanya* conch that Vishṇu carries in His left hand as a special feature of His. Section VIII is devoted entirely to Tirupati, and each stanza in it does mention Tirupati. But the references are all of them conven-

tional as already stated, and give us no details of a realistic character that we find in the *Mudal Ālvārs*. This may be explained as being due perhaps to her not having visited the place, and referring to this as only a distant holy place dedicated to Vishṇu. The next section is devoted to Tirumalīrumśōlai, and the next ten which contains two references to Vēngadam, devotes itself to the description of a love-lorn damsel describing her suffering to her companion.

The next ten follows almost the same theme, but this time it is the mother's sorrow for the love-sickness of the daughter. The following section is an earnest entreaty by the love-lorn damsel to be taken to where Krishṇa was, and the next is a prayer that she might be allowed to console herself by contact with the dress, etc., worn by Krishṇa. The last section purports to describe her having seen the Supreme One in Brindāvanam. Here again we see the struggle of a loving soul, this time, a young lady, making its progress step by step to the ultimate realisation of the object of love. Some writers and commentators would describe it as superhuman (*ati-mānusha*). While the father pursues his course like a grown up man of mature learning and wisdom, the daughter pursues the same course in her own characteristic way by dedicating herself to Him in love and realising God by that means. The hagiologists who have laid themselves out to write the lives of these saints locate these two Ālvārs, the father and daughter, by giving them a date not far remote from the date given to Nammālvār. While the style of the poems ascribed to these and the art of the poetry alike may support the contention that they could not be far removed from Nammālvār, the details that we referred to already to a contemporary Pāṇḍya monarch would seem to indicate that these should have lived some time in the seventh century. That may be taken to be more or less roughly the period during which they flourished. That they were father and daughter perhaps we can infer from stanza III, 8, 4 \* where Periya Ālvār almost seems to be autobiographical when he states it that "he was the father of an only daughter whom he brought up like Lakshmi herself and whom the red-eyed Vishṇu carried away from him as His own." While this is in keeping

\* ஒருமகன் தன்னை யுடையோன் உலகம் நிறைந்த புகழால்  
 திருமாவ்போல வளர்த்தேன் செங்கண்மால் தான்கொண்டு போனான்  
 பெருமகனாய்க் குடிவாழ்த்து பெரும்பிள்ளை பெற்ற வசோதை  
 மருமகனைக் கண்டுகூற்ற மனூட்டுப்புறஞ் செய்யுங்கொலோ.

with the subject-matter and the mode of expression of the ten, which is the wailing of the mother whose dear daughter had abandoned her and gone away with her lover, and comes in naturally there, it would still bear the inference that the Ālvār is here perhaps, not altogether unwittingly, giving expression to a fact of history; at any rate, this would confirm that Periya Ālvār and Andāl were related in the manner generally described.

**Alvar Kulasekhara.** The next in point of time comes Ālvār Kulaśekhara the ruler of the Chēra country (Cochin and Travancore,) and to whom the hagiologists ascribe a date almost the same as that of Periya Ālvār, making the two somewhat older than Nammālvār. But the details that we can gather regarding his position among South Indian rulers of his time would give clear indications of a later date some time in the 7th century probably. He has 105 stanzas to his credit included in the First Thousand of the Prabandha Four Thousand, and this group of ten tens goes by the specific name Perumāḷ Tirumoḷi as if to indicate the characteristic title of these rulers of the Chēra country of the Perumāḷs in Kulaśekhara Perumāḷ. The collection goes by the name Perumāḷ Tirumoḷi to be in keeping more or less with the designations of the other sections of this group, namely Periya Ālvār Tirumoḷi, and Nachiyār Tirumoḷi of the first two. The first three sections of the Perumāḷ Tirumoḷi are devoted to the temple at Śrīrangam, to which Kulaśekhara was particularly devoted, as in fact the other two go there for their emancipation. There is nothing in these three tens excepting an expression of his extreme devotion which finds vent in his longing to be there in the temple so that the dust of the feet of those who come to worship Ranganātha in the temple might fall on him. The first ten is a graphic description of the image enshrined in the temple. The second expresses the longing to be there and enjoy the holy dust from the feet of the other devotees, and in the third he describes himself as something very distinct from the rest of the world in his single minded devotion to Ranganātha. In these three he gives himself titles indicative of his position among South Indian rulers. In the tenth stanza of the second ten he calls himself ruler of Kolli (Quilon), Kūdal (Madura) and Kōḷi (Uraiyūr), the Chōḷa capital near Trichinopoly, and in stanza 9 of

the next section he calls himself the ruler of Kongu.<sup>\*</sup> Combined this would mean that he was some sort of an overlord of all South India, at any rate, of Tamil India. The next ten is devoted to Tirupati. As in the previous thirty, here again he longs to render devoted service at the holy shrine in Tirupati, and would rather be any one of the things or beings on the hill, the water-bird, or fish, or a menial servant in the temple, or the Champaka tree, the door-step, or in fact anything else, and concludes with the determination that he would not exchange the lordship of the heavenly world for being anything in fact on the hill of Tirupati. Although in all the eleven stanzas he refers to Tirupati by name, he does not give any specific detail, apart from natural features, in relation to the God and worship in the temple, thus being exactly in the position of Nammālvār and Periyā Ālvār and Āṇḍaḷ, and no more. The next ten, the fifth ten, is devoted to Vittuvakkoḍu in Travancore, to the God in which he expressed himself completely devoted; and the manner in which he gives expression to this single idea is so natural and moving. In the first stanza he describes himself in attachment to the God much as a baby beaten by the mother still returns to her. In the next following he likens himself to a good wife attaching herself to even a bad husband who spurns her, and then again he makes his attachment to God that of the loyal subject attached to, and dependent upon, the sovereign even negligent of his duty of protection. He goes on through the ten the same way. The last detail referred to above seems almost reminiscent of one of the verses in the Kural.<sup>†</sup> The next section is devoted to expressing his dissatisfaction at the want of response to his fervent prayers. This comes in the form of *Gōpikas* blaming Krishṇa for showing himself irresponsive to their appeals. The next ten again is one of disappointment where he puts himself in the position of Dēvaki, the mother of Krishṇa, who though she actually did give birth to Krishṇa, was deprived

\* அல்லி மாமலர் மங்கை நாநன் அரங்கன் மெய்யடி யார்கந்தம்  
எல்லு யில் லடிமைத் திறத்தினில் என்றும் மேவு மனத்தனும்  
கொல்லி காவலன் கூடல் நாயகன் கோழிக்கோன் குலசேகரன்  
சொல்லி னின்றமிழ் மாலை வல்லவர் தொண்டர் தொண்டர் களாவரே.

*Perumāl Tirumōḷi*, II, 10.

அங்கை யாழி அரங்க னடியினை  
தங்கு சிந்தை தனிப்பெரும் பித்தனும்  
கொங்கர் கோன் குலசேகரன் சொன்ன சொல்  
இங்கு வல்லவர்க் கேதமொன் தில்லையே.

*ibid*, III, 10.

of the enjoyment, altogether of the frolics, of the baby. The third ten again expresses, as if in contrast to the one preceding, Kausalyā's enjoyment of tending baby Rāma. The next one gives expression to the bewailing brought about under tragic circumstances of Rāma's banishment, and Daśaratha bewailing the fate that brought this about. The last ten is devoted to the celebration of the deity in Chitrakūṭa (Chidambaram), and this ten recounts the story of the Rāmāyaṇa completely, but in an abridged form. Here again, we have the same progress in the realisation of the faithful devotee who, after many struggles and disappointments, reaches ultimately to the end desired of God-realisation, according to the ideals of Vaishṇava devotion. All that we learn from this Ālvār is that Tirupati gets a very high place among the holy places of Viṣṇu, and a royal personage such as the ruler of Travancore, would in fact aspire to be the very door-step of the holy shrine, thus giving indication of the high esteem in which the shrine was held as a holy place.

**The three others.** Reverting for a moment to the three names, namely, Madhura Kavi, Toṇḍar Adippodi, and Tiruppan Ālvār, the first is one whose contribution to the Prathandham is only one ten describing his devotion to his *Guru Śaṭhakōpa* to enforce the doctrine that once the really satisfactory teacher is secured, all else is secured for the attainment of the highest. Toṇḍar Adippodi, who has a large number of verses, is so entirely devoted to Śrīrangam that he has practically no room for any direct reference to other shrines, as it were. In regard to Tiruppan Ālvār, however, though he is also one who lived all his life not far from Śrīrangam—in fact he is placed in Uṟaiyūr not far from Śrīrangam—he has only one ten—all that he wrote apparently. In that one ten which is given entirely to describe the image of Ranganātha in the holy shrine at Śrīrangam, he finds means to refer to Vēṅgaḍam or Tirupati in two places which would indicate the great importance attached to the shrine at the time. The references, however, are of a general kind, but in both cases, the reference is to the image enshrined in Vēṅgaḍam being that of God almost as much as the image enshrined in Śrīrangam.

**Tirumangai Alvar : Periya Tirumoli.** We shall now pass on to the Periya Tirumoli and other poems of Tirumangai Ālvār. Of these latter, two are included in the group Periya Tirumoli, namely, Tirukkuṟum Tāṇḍakam, and Tiruneḍum Tāṇḍakam, and three others included in the *Iyarpā* thousand—which forms a separate section—namely, Tiruveḷukūṟṟiṟukkai, Śīriya Tirumaḍal

and Periya Tirumadal making a total of 1,134 stanzas in all of varying lengths. Judging by quantity, his is the largest contribution to the Prabandha, and this Prabandha includes more verses of his than of any other Ālvār, and the character of the poetry itself is much more elaborate in particulars so that the orthodox regard his works as a whole, as more or less an exposition of that of Nammālvār. Tirumangai Ālvār happens to have been born in the Tānjore District and came of the Kaḷḷar community. He was a military man essentially, and had, as usual in those days, a small civil government under the Chōlas, his government lying in the modern Shiyāli Taluk. He happened to fall in love with a foundling daughter of a physician of the locality who had no children of his own. She stipulated, as a condition of her marriage with him, that he should feed 1,008 Brahmans a day for a year before she could consent to become his wife. He agreed to do that, and had begun to even waylay people and commit dacoity upon them for the purpose of securing the wherewithal for the purpose; it is said that in order to exhibit His grace to the devotee and reclaim him, God Vishṇu himself came at the head of a bridal party in the garb of one recently married with all the wealth and ornaments suitable to the occasion. In stripping him of his jewels in the course of a dacoity, the Ālvār was so thorough-going that he fell prostrate to pull off the tightly fitting rings on the toes of the God. He got the inspiration immediately and burst into song confessing access of devotion to Narāyaṇa in complete self-surrender. This constitutes the first ten of the thousand ascribed to him. Thereafter he devoted himself entirely to benefactions to various Vaishṇava shrines known at the time both in the south and some few elsewhere in the north. His works contain more references which would lead to the fixing of his age than those of any other Ālvār, and specifically Nammālvār whose work is about as much in quantity as that of this Ālvār. From these references, it is possible to fix his date in the reign of the great Pallava ruler Nandivarman, whose period would be the whole of the 8th century. This is supported by a number of historical incidents alluded to in the course of this work. He sets about celebrating the shrines in the north, Dēvaprayāga on the Himalayas, and comes regularly down through Badrināth, for which he devotes two tens, then Sālagrāma, and then the forest of Naimiśa. He then comes down to Singa vēlkunram, as it is called the modern Ahōbalam, and then enters the Tamil country. The first shrine that he celebrates in this region is Tiruvēṅgaḍam, for which he gives four of his tens.

Before proceeding to that, we may in passing note that, speaking of Abōbalem, he refers to the place as almost inaccessible as it may be said to be to some extent, even now. In regard to the four tens they are professedly celebrating Vishṇu as He presents himself in Tirupati. But the references are more or less of a general and of the ordinary Vaishṇava religious character. There is one reference in stanza 2 of the first ten where the God there is referred to as of the white-blue and of the sapphire blue colour. This is the ordinary description of Vishṇu as being of the white colour in the first *Yuga*, of golden red in the second, sapphire blue in the third and dark blue in the fourth, thereby making it clear that it is a form of Vishṇu that is represented there. In stanza 5 of the same section, He is referred to, among other features, as possessed of eight arms, and of being on the Himalayas. These two might lead to the inference that perhaps it is Śiva. But that is negatived immediately by the next statement that He is the same deity that is on the hill at Tirumālirumśōlai.\* The other references are more or less of a general character such as that in stanza 9 of the fourth ten where the deity is spoken of as the one worshipped by Brahma, Śiva and Indra.† But, in stanza 5 and the next following two stanzas of that section, the Ālvār makes a reference that his own mind was attracted to the religion of the Jains and Buddhists at one time, and had then been drawn towards the deity at Vēṅgadam. There is nothing however that we know of that he was actually a Buddhist or a Jain. It may be a mere reference to the vacillation of mind amidst the prevalent wordliness. Such a reference would warrant the inference that Buddhism and Jainism were in his time religions which counted a considerable number of votaries in this part of the country. The reference which one finds in stanza 7 of the ten devoted to Tiru-evvullūr (modern Tiruvalūr) ‡ that Śiva formed a part of His body,

\* வணகைடரன் அமரர்கு நாயகன் வேள்வியில் சென்று மாணியாய்  
மண்கையால் இரந்தான மராமரம் ஏழும் எய்த வலத்தினுள்  
எண்கையான் இமயத்துள்ளான் இருஞ்சேலை மேவிய அம்பிரான்  
திண்கைம் மாதயர் தீர்த்தவன் திருவேங்கடம் அடை நெஞ்சே.

*Peria. Tiru., I, 8, 5.*

† கூடியாடி யுரைத்ததே யுரைத்தாய் என்னெஞ்ச மென்பாய் துணித்தகேள்  
பாடியாடிப் பலரும் பணிந்தேத்திக் காண்கிலா  
ஆடுதாமரை யோனுமீசனும் அமரர்கோனும் நின்றேத்தும் வேங்கடத்து  
ஆடுகடத்தனுக்கின் றடியைத்தொழில் பூண்டாயே. *ibid., II, 1, 9.*

‡ திவ்ளாப்புலா நெரிகாலாதி திசைமுகனார்  
தங்கனப்பன் சாமியப்பன் பாகத் திருத்தவண்ணன்  
தொங்கனப்பகாப்பு கீள்முடியான் ஆங்கடல் ஆழ்கின்ற  
எங்கனப்ப நெம்பெருமான் எவ்வன் கிடந்தானே.

*ibid., II, 27.*

and had his position on the right side of His chest, is one among many such references scattered throughout the work, so that this only confirms what we find in the early Ālvārs describing plainly the features of Śiva found on the image. The last stanza of the ten devoted to Tiruvallikkēni (Triplicane) has a historical reference of importance. The stanza states clearly that the southern Toṇḍamān (Toṇḍaiyar-Kōn) king constructed for the temple the gardens and the rampart walls surrounding the tall buildings about the temple, the pavilion with it, and so on. This would mean in fact that this particular Pallava sovereign laid out and constructed the town round the temple. Because of a few inscriptions in the temple by Vairamēgha Pallava one may be tempted to infer that this is a reference to that great Pallava who was the son of Nandivarman Pallava, who, we stated already, was a contemporary of this Ālvār. It seems however to be a reference to that early Toṇḍamān Chakravarti, so much associated with Tirupati, as the author of the laying out of the town and the building of the shrine as the early Ālvārs have a great deal to say about this temple. Coming down to the eighth, ten of the second section the Ālvār celebrates the Aṣṭabujam shrine in Kānchi. The characteristic feature of the deity here is eight hands to which we already made reference in regard to Tiruvēṅgaḍam. Speaking of the deity there he makes a specific reference to the place as having been worshipped by those who sang in *Sen Tamil* (classical Tamil).\* These poets of Tamil are interpreted as the early Ālvārs, *Mudai Ālvārs* as they are called, namely, Poygai, Bhūtam and Pēy, as they are said to have worshipped here chanting their Tamil poems as the Gods themselves worship chanting Veda. It is in the concluding stanza of this ten that there is a reference to a Vairamēgha who seems to be Dantidurga Vairamēgha the founder of the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire, who was in alliance with the reigning Pallava Nandivarman. † Passing down we come to Chidambaram, for which he devotes two tens. For our purposes there are only

\* வெந்திறல் வீரரில் வீரொப்பார்  
வேத முறைத்திமை யோர் வணங்கும்  
செந்தமிழ் பாடுவார் தாம் வணங்கும்  
தேவ ரிவர்கொல் தெரிக்க மாட்டேன்  
வந்து குறளுருவாய் கிழர்ந்து  
மாவலி வேள்வியில் மண்ணைந்த  
அந்தணர் போன்றிவ ரார்கொலென்ன  
அட்டபுய காததே னென்றாரே.

*ibid*, II, 8, 2.

† மன்னவன் தொண்டையர்கோன் வழங்கும்  
கீர்முடிமால வயிரமேகன்  
தன்வலி தன்புகழ் சூழ்ந்த கச்சி  
அட்டபுயகாத தாதி தன்னை  
கன்னிகன் மாமதின் மககை வேந்தன்  
காமரு சீர்க்கலி கன்றி குன்ற  
இன்னிசை யாற்சொன்ன செஞ்சொல் மலை  
வத்தவல்லார்க் கிடம் வைகுந்தமே.

*ibid*, II, 8, 10.



two references in the first ten. The shrine of Gōvindaraja is said in the first, stanza 3, to have been worshipped by the Pallava king which may refer either to Nandivarman or his father who was in government in the locality, according to the Vaikunṭha-perumāḷ inscription, wherefrom Nandivarman himself came to Kānchi as king by the nomination of the people. In the following stanza is the interesting reference that the deity which lay abed in the great dark sea was abed in this temple, on the couch formed by the great snake with split tongue.\* It is in identical terms that the Chōḷa Culōttunga II is said to have referred to this deity when he ordered the removal of the shrine and the deity along with it. The ten devoted to Shiyāli, Śrī Rama Vinṇagar, according to the Vrishṇavas, there is an explicit reference to Śiva forming the right side of His body, Brahma being in the navel, Lakshmi on His chest almost exactly in the form in which they are described by the early Ālvārs.† The concluding stanza refers to Him in all his titles as if he were roaring them out in victory, as against some opponents who called in question his claim to the titles, and there is an interesting reference to the work being in *Sangam* Tamil. It is in this place that he is traditionally said to

\* அருமா நிலமன் றாப்பான் குறளாய்  
அவுணை பெருவேள் வியிற்சென் றிரந்த  
பெருமான் திருமாமம் பிதற்றி துந்தம்  
பிறவித் தயர்சீக் குதுமென் கிற்பீர்.

கருமா கடலுட் கிடந்தா னுவந்து  
கவைரா வரவி னணைப்பள் ளியின்மேல்  
திருமால் திருமல் கையோடாடு தில்லைத்  
திருச்சித்ரா கடலுஞ் சென்று சேர்மின்களே.

*ibid*, III, 2, 4.

கூத்தைக் களிகூரக் கும்பிட்டுப் போற்றின்மேல்  
தில்லைத் திருமன்றின் முன்றிற் சிறுதெய்வத்  
தொல்லைக் குறம்பு தொடுத்தெடுத்து—

*Kulōttunga Chōḷan Ulā.*

பொன்னிற் குயற்றிப் புறம்பிற் குறும்புறுத்து  
முன்னர்க்(முன்னிற்)கடவில் மூழ்குவித்த—சென்னி.

*Rāja Rājan Ulā.*

† பிறைதங்கு சடையாணை வலத்தே வைத்துப்  
பிரமணைத்தன் னூர்கியிலே தோன்றுவித்து  
கறைதங்கு வேற்றடங்கண் திருவை மார்பில்  
கலந்தவன்தா னணைகிற்பீர் கழுநீர் கூடித்  
துறைதங்கு கமலத்துத் துயின்றை கைகைத்  
தோடாரும் பொதிசோற்றுச் சண்ணம் னண்ணி  
சிறைவண்டு களிபாடுந் வயல்குழ் காழிச்  
சீராம விண்ணகரே சேர்மினீரே.

*ibid*, III, 4, 9.

have had a controversy with Tiruṅṅānasambandar, although there are difficulties in the way of accepting it as a fact of history. In the fourth division, the first ten, the people of Nāṅgai (Tirunāṅgūr) are spoken of as those who defeated the king who attacked them in full force. We shall come to this again when we make a fuller reference to this particular. There is a reference in stanza 8 of section 3 of this part to Vēṅgaḍam where the God on the hill is spoken of as the very lamp of the Veda. In stanza 6 of the fifth ten,\* the people of Nāṅgūr are said to have put to flight the Pāṇḍya (Tennan) and the northern king (Vada Araśu) which could only mean the Pāṇḍya and the Pallava in alliance; and this alliance and the war had taken place just about the time or somewhat earlier, and took place in the Kāveri region between the Chālukyas and the Pallavas. The first stanza of the seventh ten has a reference again to this feature of the people of Nāṅgūr in a more general way. Stanza 5 again makes a reference to God at Vēṅgaḍam as a lamp on the hill.

In section IV, the ninth ten, there is a reference in stanza 8, setting forth clearly the four colours that Vishṇu assumed in the four great periods of time. In section V, third ten there is a reference to the God at Tiruvēṅgaḍam as Krishṇa who assisted the Pāṇḍavas, and in the fifth ten of the same section, the very first stanza mentions Vēṅgaḍam, although the section itself is in celebration of Śrīrangam. In the next following section there is a reference to God as Vadamalai, which may be taken as referring to Vēṅgaḍam. In the same section relating to Srirangam, stanza 9 of the eighth ten has a reference to God teaching the secret *Mantra* of the worship of Vishṇu to the Tonḍaman, apparently in reference to what took place between Tonḍaman Chakravarti †

\* கெண்டையுள் குறளும் புள்ளும் கேழலுமாயு மாயும்  
அண்டமும் சுடரும் அல்லாவாற்றலு மாய வெர்கை  
ஒண்டிறற் றெண்ணிலை வடவா சோட்டல் கண்ட  
திண்டிற லானர் நாக்கூர் திருமணிக் கூடந்தானே.

*ibid*, IV, 5, 6.

† தனக்கு நீண்முடி யாசாதம் குரிசில்  
தொண்டை மன்னவன் திண்டிற லெருவந்த  
உன்கொ ளண்டிசே முன்னருள் காந்து  
அன்கொரு நாழிகை யேழுட னிருப்ப  
வன்கொள் மந்திரம் மற்றவற் கருளிச்  
செய்தவாறு அடியே னறிந்து உலகம்  
அனந்த பொன்னடி யேயடைந் துய்த்தேன்  
அணிபொழில் திரு வரக்கத தம்மானே.

*ibid*, V, 8, 9.

and the God in Vēṅgaḍam. In the tenth ten of the same section, stanza 7 there is a reference to Nandipura Viṅṇagaram (Nādan-kōvil), a short distance from Kumbakōṇam, where the holy place is referred to as the one that received services in dedication to the temple of a certain Nandi. The historical reference is held to refer to the great Nandivarman II, the Pallava King. The sixth ten of the sixth section is in celebration of Tirunariyūr, and makes a reference in each stanza to a Chōla King Kō-Sēgan, and of his achievements including the construction of 70 temples to Śiva for worship. He is included among the Nāyanārs of the Śaivas, but the reference here is that, after having done so much to earn the grace of Śiva, he felt the need for an appeal to Viṣṇu and rendered similar service to Viṣṇu. It looks however, as though he was a King, like many other Hindu Kings, who had made his benefactions to both alike. There is an interesting reference in stanza 5 of the same section where the King is spoken of as of the Tamil land in the south, and also as the King of the north, whatever this latter might mean at the time, unless it be the Pallava country. There is another reference to Vēṅgaḍam in, section VIII, stanza I, third ten, and in stanza 5, section VII. VII, 10, 4 contains an interesting reference to the deity at Tirukkōvilur, and his act of grace in connection with the first Ālvārs. In VIII, 1 he addresses the Viṣṇu at Kaṇṇapuram as one having eight arms. In the next section, stanza 3 has a simple reference to Vēṅgaḍam. IX, 2, 5 has a reference to Kōḷi and Kūdal, the capitals respectively of the Chōla and Paṇḍya in reference to the manifestation of Viṣṇu in other places as Krishṇa. IX, 6, 1 has an expressive reference to Śiva forming part of Viṣṇu. The same section, IX, 7, 4 has a simple reference to Vēṅgaḍam, and stanza 9 to the false teaching of the Jains and the Buddhists. IX, 8, 9 has a similar reference. IX, 9, 9 has a simple reference to Vēṅgaḍam. IX, 10, 4 states clearly that Viṣṇu allotted a part of His body on the right side, to *Īśa* who rides a bull and holds *Maḷu* or *Śakti*.\* In

\* *ஹமேறி யிலக்குமொண் மழுப்பற்றும் ஈசர்க்கிசைந் துடம்பிலோர்  
கறு தான்கொடுத் தான்குல மாமகட் கினியான்  
நாறு சண்பகம் மல்விகை மலர்புல்கி இன்னிற வண்டு ஈஸ்றதும்  
தேறல் வாய்மடுக் கும்திருக் கோட்டியூ ரானே.*

*ibid*, IX, 10, 4.

மல்கிய தோளும் மாணரி யதளும்  
உடையவர் தமக்குமோர் பாகம்  
மல்கிய கலமோ நாகணைத் தொலைத்த  
காதலத் தமைதியின் கருத்தோ.

*ibid*, X, 9, 4.

X, 1, 2 there is a clear reference to Vengadam. In section X, 6, 1 celebrating Krishna *Avatāra*, there is a statement that Vishṇu gave to the world a treatise on *Dharma* assuming the form of Nara-Nārāyana. This is obviously a reference to the gift of the *Pāncharātra* \* X, 9, 4 has a reference to Śiva forming part almost like the one above. XI, 5, 10 has a simple reference to Vēngadam. That takes us through the Periya Tirumoli proper.

**Other works of Tirumangai Alvar.** Coming to the miscellaneous poems Tiruneḍum Taṇḍakam, section 2 contains a reference to the various colours assumed by Vishṇu. Stanza 9 refers to Śiva forming part of Vishṇu. Stanza 16 has a reference to Vēngadam, and there is one reference each to Vēngadam in the Śiriyā Tirumaḍal and Periya Tirumaḍal. In the latter work, couplet 122 contains perhaps a more explicit reference to the part played by God in Tirukkōvilūr in connection with the Mudal Ālvārs. In couplet 131 God himself is addressed as the Four Vedas, as the Tamil of the Southern Pāṇḍya, as the speech of the North. From these references considered in detail, we see Tirumangai Ālvār following the tradition of the other Ālvārs, and exhibiting himself as belonging intimately to the same school of thought. What is really to our purpose for the History of Tirupati is that he makes a dozen simple references to God at Vēngadam in his address to the representation of God in well-known Vaiṣṇava shrines of the South, having no doubt as it were that the shrine in Tirupati was to him a Vishṇu shrine and nothing else. He also brings out clearly the features that Śiva formed a part of His body, and, as such, the feature discussed so elaborately by the Mudal Ālvārs of Vishṇu, was a thing well-known even in the days of Tirumangai Ālvār. We may now therefore conclude that, to the Ālvārs whose period of life may be held to extend from the Śāngam period in the third century after Christ the latest to the eighth century when Tirumangai Ālvar flourished, there has been a continuous tradition that the shrine in Vēngadam was a shrine dedicated to Vishṇu.

\* எக்காணு மீதோப்ப தோர்மாடி முண்டோ

நா நாரணலுய் உலகத்து அயநூல்

சிக்காமை விரித்தவ னெய்பிரான் பெருமான்

அதுவன்றியுஞ் செஞ்சுடரும் நிலனும்

பொக்கார் சுடலும் பொருப்பும் கெருப்பும் கெருக்கிப்

புகப்பொன் மிடறு அத்தனை போது

அக்கார்தவன் காண்மின் இன்று சூழ்ச்சியால்

அனைவெண்ணை யுண்டு ஆப்புண் டிருந்தவனே.

*ibid*, X, 6, 1.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### BHAKTI, THE DOMINANT FEATURE OF THE AGE.

The Vaishnava character of Vengadam maintained in literary tradition. While therefore Vaishṇava tradition is consistent that, notwithstanding some features which may admit of a suspicion, the deity in Vēṅgaḍam was Viṣṇu, we have other evidence of a secular character, which would support this. We made reference already to the early poet Mamūlanār of the Śāṅgam age who refers to Tirupati as a place which had attained to fame "for its festive celebrations during the year". A reference similar to that we find in respect of Kānchi in the age of Toṇḍamaṅ Iḷam Tiraiyan clearly establishing that temples or shrines of worship dedicated to Viṣṇu were not only known, but that festive celebrations associated with such shrines as in modern times, were, at least some of them, already prevalent. We next indicated that the Buddhist work Śīlappadhikāram, the author of which Iḷaṅgo Aḍigaḷ was probably a Buddhist, refers in unmistakable terms to the shrine in Tirupati as a shrine-holy to Viṣṇu. Four Viṣṇu shrines find reference in the work Śīlappadhikāram and spoken of with respect almost bordering on devotion by this author, an alien to the faith of the Vaishṇavas. These are the holy shrines in Tiruvanantapuram, (Trivandrum), Thumalirumśōlai, Srirangam and Tirupati. Of these the latter three are regarded as of peculiarly holy reputation to the individual pilgrim concerned, who was a native of the Malabar country belonging to a village Mangāḍu to whom the deity at Trivandrum would be more or less his own. He is made to say that he was on a pilgrimage to the famous shrines of South India, outside of his native country, and these three find mention in this connection. The poet takes occasion to describe the God in Vengadam in graphic terms, which leaves no doubt whatsoever that the deity according to him was Viṣṇu in full form. For another secular literary reference, we may come down to the reign of Nandivarman III, Nandivarman of Tellāru as he is called, in whose reign the Bhārataveṅbā was composed by its author Perundēvanār. This Perundēvanār has a reference to Vēṅgaḍam + as a Vaishṇava

\* தேனோக்கு சோலைத் திருவேக கடமென்றும்  
வானோக்கு சோலை மலை யென்றும்—நானோக்கு  
தென்னாங்க மென்றுத் திருவத்தி யூரென்றும்  
சொன்னவர்க்கு முண்டோ துயர்.

shrine coupling it with Attiyūr (Vishṇu-Kānchi), where perhaps the author actually lived. The earliest known inscription in Tirupati is that of a predecessor of this Nandivarman of Tellāru, Danti Vikramavarman. Therefore then we have references throughout the centuries to the shrine in Vēngadam as a Vishṇu shrine before we come to the evidence of the inscriptions.

**The General character of the period of the Alvars.** We have so far covered the history of the shrine at Tirupati ever since its foundation down to the beginning of the 10th century almost. We noticed that all the Purāṇas together uniformly make out that the temple is, in its origin, what is called a holy place self-create (*svaymbhū*), that is, it is not a human foundation to begin with. All of them agree similarly that the human founder of the temple, apart from an individual devotee, was a Toṇḍa-man ruler of the locality who had his capital near Vēngadam and ruled over the tract of country surrounding it. They also furnish us the information that the period during which he flourished and thus rendered the pious service to Vishṇu, was the early centuries of the Christian era, in fact, specifically the period between the foundation of the Samvat era of Vikramaditya and that of the Śaka, that is, between the years 57 B. C., and 78 A. D. Whether we accept this precise dating or not, we may take it that the foundation of the temple as a human institution may be ascribed to the first century of the Christian era. From that period on we have come down eight clear centuries noting down what we can glean of the history of the temple from literary sources alone. The period actually covered relates historically to the period of the three kingdoms of the South, which may be held more or less roughly to correspond to the Sangam age so-called, followed by that of the early Pallava kings of the Prākṛit charters. This is followed by a period of rule of Pallava kings of the early dynasty which issued the few charters that its members did, in Sanskr̥it. The period of rule of this dynasty may be counted as from the beginning of the 4th century down to the latter part of the 6th century A. D. With the middle of the 6th century we come to the historical period, ordinarily described as the age of the great Pallavas of Kānchi. This dynasty ruled from the latter half of the 6th century down to Aparājita Pallava who was overthrown and Pallava domination extinguished almost at the end of the 9th century. In regard to this period, inscriptional records are comparatively few, and therefore the historical material generally available to us for

later periods is not available to us for this period. Not that inscriptions were unknown, but it had not become the fashion to issue these inscriptions in the elaborate form and the large number in which they got to be issued in the periods of history following that with which we are at present concerned. But even so, there is reference to a Vishnu shrine dedicated to Vishnu-Nārāyaṇa in one of the Prakrit charters which refers to a donation to the temple by a very early Pallava Queen, Charudēvi.\* Similar references to donations to Vishnu shrines we have even among the Pallavas of the early Sanskrit charters. But the founder of the later dynasty Simha Vishnu is definitely spoken of, in the later inscriptions, as a Vaishṇava devoted to the worship of Vishnu specifically, and, among the rulers of this dynasty that succeeded him, there were some undoubtedly who made donations to temples of Vishnu and otherwise contributed largely to the promotion of Vishnu worship, particularly the great Nandivarman II, Pallavamalla. There are inscriptions of his son Dantivarman in the Vishnu temple at Triplicane. † But there is no record of any of the kings before this one, having had anything to do with the temple at Tirupati, notwithstanding the fact that the temple itself was known popularly and was regarded as a holy place of eminence from the other evidence that we have so far considered. It would ordinarily be considered strange that, being as it is within the territory of the Pallavas and given the name to what may be regarded as one of the main divisions of the Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, the territory prominently of the Pallavas, it should find no mention. This is perhaps due to the fact that the habit of making donations to temples and recording them in grants had not been adopted as a general practice in those days. In fact, this seems to have been set in full form by the great Chōḷa Rājarāja, and before him, inscriptions are only occasional and have reference more or less to incidents which are referred to in a more or less unconnected form and not set in formal documents as in the periods following. There is also the additional circumstance that the shrine in Vēṅgaḍam was in a comparatively inaccessible locality very difficult of approach generally, and therefore not perhaps quite as popular as other places. From this silence it should not be argued that either temples to Vishnu did not exist, or that temple worship was not the fashion.

\* *Epigraphica Indica, Vol. VIII, 143.*

† *Epigraphica Indica, VIII, 291 (No. 29.)*

**Vishnu among the early Tamil Gods.** The Tamil grammar *Tolkāppiyam*, the earliest grammar extant and an authoritative classic on the subject, has an interesting reference in *Sūtra* 5 of the section on *Ahaṭṭinaṭai* in *PoruḷAdhikāram*, which makes four Gods as the recognised deities of the Tamil land.\* The matter has reference to the division of land composing the country generally. The section on *Poruḷ* as it is called, Sanskrit *Artha*, refers to the norms of life, dealing as it does with one, perhaps in general point of view the most important one, on worldly life, and, in trying to lay down the norms, the work begins with a division of land which—may be regarded as naturally divisible into four; forest land, presided over by Krishṇa-Vishṇu (Māyōṇ), hilly parts presided over by Kumāra or Subrahmaṇya, Tamil Muruḡi (Sēyōṇ), then well-watered agricultural land, presided over by the king (Indra); and lastly coast land of sand presided over by Varuṇa (God of the Sea) It will be noticed that the names given leave it in no doubt what Gods are intended. The ascription here of particular kinds of land as being presided over by particular deities seems to be analogous to the *Yajur Veda*, † which goes farther and gives a far larger list of all things making Vishṇu the presiding deity over hills generally. But the Tamils generally divided the land only into four classes as above, adding a fifth, desert land, which however was regarded not as a separate class of land, but merely as one or the other of the former ones transformed, owing to a change of climatic conditions. Therefore then it is clear that Vishṇu as a deity is as old as the Tamil *Tolkāppiyam*.

This reference so far is merely to the names of the Gods, and all that is said of them is that they are presiding deities over particular classes of land. No further information, however, is given about them. In poem 56 of *Purānānūru*, however, we seem to get information of a different character. This is a poem by *Nakkirar* celebrating a *Pāṇḍya* who died in 'a garden pavilion' as he is described.—He is likened here to the four principal Gods

\* மாயோன்மேய காடுறை யுலகமும்  
சேயோன் மேய மைவரையுலகமும்  
வேந்தன் மேயநீம புனலுலகமும்  
வருணன் மேயமெருமணலுலகமும்  
முல்லை குறிஞ்சி மருதம் செய்தலெனச்  
சொல்லியமுறையாற் சொல்லவும் பழிமே.

----- *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷ, Aham 5.*

† *Krishna Yajur Samhita, Kāṇḍa, II, Prasna, 4.*



in the various qualities he was possessed of, and the four Gods under reference are Śiva, Balabhadra or Balarāma, as he is called, Kriṣṇa-Viṣṇu and Kumāra Subrahmaṇya \*. The dominant quality of each of these Gods who are said to be above time, the ruler is credited with being in possession of. He is likened to the first one, who is here described as Death (God of Destruction) in anger. He is said to resemble the second in strength, the third in fame and the fourth in successful accomplishment. Though this is merely a reference for a poetical purpose, the features given of these Gods exhibit a considerable agreement to references in classical Tamil literature thereby giving us to understand without doubt, that these were Gods recognised in the Tamil land as the supreme deities deserving of worship. The first one is described as having a bull for his vehicle and matted locks of hair, the irresistible trident and blue throat, unmistakably a reference to Śiva. The second one is described as of the colour of the conch coming out of the sea, carrying the warlike weapon, the plough, and having on his flag a palm tree for his ensign, undoubtedly a reference to Baladēva, the elder brother of Kriṣṇa. The third one is similarly described as of the colour of the blue sapphire well washed, whose flag carried the ensign of Garuḍa and possessed of great valour. The fourth is described as carrying on the flag the ensign of the peacock, as uniformly victorious, riding on the peacock for a vehicle and of a red colour. These are described in the next following lines as deities protecting the earth and as being above time. We see therefore that, in the particular period to which this has reference, Kriṣṇa-Viṣṇu and his elder brother Baladēva were known as the ruling deities of the universe along with the two others. The reference to Kriṣṇa-Viṣṇu and Baladēva as it occurs here is just exactly how it occurs elsewhere in Tamil literature as we shall notice, as well as in the inscrip-tional literature of the centuries immediately preceding the

\* வற்றுயலனுயரிய வெரிமருளவிராசடை  
 மாற்றருங்கணிச்சி மணிமிடற்றேணுங்,  
 கடல்வளர் புரிவளை புரையுமேனி  
 யடல் வெந்நாஞ்சிற் படைக்கொடியோனு,  
 மண்ண ம திருமணி புரையுமேனி  
 விண்ணுயர் புட்கொடிவிறல் செய்யோனு,  
 மணிமயிலுயரிய மாறா வென்றிப்  
 பிணிமிகலூர் தியொண் செய்யோனு, மென  
 ஞாயங் காக்குங் காலமுன்பிற்  
 ஞேலா கல்விஞ்சு காலவர்.

Christian era in the Deccan and Central India, and perhaps even elsewhere. These two are two among the four *vyuhas* of Vishṇu according to the school of Pāncharātra and form the basis of the Bhakti school of thought. Nakkīrar's reference however, is again a reference merely to the Gods as such and some of their features, but does not give us any detail as to the Vishṇu temples or places of worship

**Reference to these Gods in Temples with Festivals, etc.** The Śilappadhikāram however, provides us with two references which take us much further in regard to these Gods as being among those worshipped in temples. They are said to be the principal deities to whom temples were built along with a number of others regarded as of comparatively inferior standing both in the Chōḷa capital of Kāverippūmpaṭṭinam and in Madura, the Paṇḍya capital. The first reference is in Book V, lines 169-172, in connection with the celebration of the great festival to Indra, and temples to these are mentioned as having their own festivals in connection therewith.\* The first of course is a reference to a temple of the great one not having birth (Śiva). The next one is the temple to the red one with six faces (Kumāra-Subrahmaṇya). The next one is that to the white one, whose body is of the colour of the conch (Baladēva), and the next one is the temple of the great one of the colour of sapphireblue (Kriṣṇa-Viṣṇu). These are stated in so many words to be housed in temples, and worshipped accordingly with periodical festivals as well. Similarly in Book XIV, lines 7 to 10; here again as day broke in Madura, the morning band announced the break of day in the following temples. The first is the great temple to the Great One "with an eye in the face." The next one is the temple to the Great One who had the *Garuḍa* bird for his flag. The next one was again the temple wherein was housed the white God carrying the plough in his right hand, and the last one was the temple sacred to the God with "the ensign of a cock".† Here we see that these Gods

\* பிறவா யாக்கைப் பெரியோன் கோயிலு  
மறுமுகக் செவ்வே ஊணிதிகழ் கோயிலும்  
வால்வளை மேனி வாலியோன் கோயிலும்  
நீல மேனி கொடியோன் கோயிலும்  
மாலை வெண்குடை மன்னவன் கோயிலும்.

Śilappadhikāram, V, 179, 188.

† துதல்விழி காட்டத் திறையோன் கோயிலும்  
முலண்ச்சேவ ளுயர்ததோ னியமும்  
வேழிவல ளுயர்த்த வென்னை நகரமும்  
கோழிச் சேவற் கொடியோன் கோட்டமும். •

ibid, XIV, 7, 10.

were housed in temple with organised worship and festivals as they do obtain in these days. It would not seem therefore anything extraordinary if in that early period a ruler up-country like the Tondamān had come upon the image of a God at Vēngadam felt it necessary to enshrine the image in a temple and arrange for its worship.

**Pancharatra and the Bhakti School of Vishnu in full view in the Sangam Age.** We have already noted the reference in the Śilappadhikāram to the temple at Tirupati itself, wherein the author gives a graphic description of the Vishṇu image there. This reference to Vishṇu in Tirupati comes as the account of a pilgrim from the Malabar country going on a pilgrimage to the most holy Vishṇu shrines in South India, among which he mentions the shrines in Tirumālirumsōlai, Śrīrangam and Tirupati. He also states, in the course of this narration, that he came from a village, Māngāḍu, in the west country, and, being a devotee of Padmanābha there, he says, that his anxiety to visit the shrines of great reputation, such as the three mentioned before, drew him on, and that he undertook the pilgrimage in consequence thereof. This statement and the manner in which the reference is made by the author to it, would alike make it clear that temples dedicated to Vishṇu were already well-known, and in great repute as holy places justifying pilgrimages being undertaken, and pilgrims from even distant countries made it a point to visit these places as part of their pious duty in life. Notwithstanding doubts expressed in certain quarters, there is nothing seriously to call into question the early age of the work, and it must be held to belong, by its character, to the same class as the Śāngam works, whatever be its actual precise date. This work certainly has a direct bearing upon the history of this Tirupati hill by its specific reference to the shrine there; but the sister work Manimēkhalai does contain several references to the worship of Krishṇa-Vishṇu and Baladēva in the course of it. These references read in the light of the poems devoted to Vishṇu in the *Paripāḍal*, of which there are just five, not only show that the worship of Krishṇa-Vishṇu and Baladēva were widely prevalent and popular, but also that the Tamils were familiar with the whole theory of the Pancharātra Āgama, devoted to the worship of Vishṇu-Vāsudēva and his four vyūhas of which these two form the first pair, the other

two being Pradyumna and Aniruddha.\* It is matter for satisfaction that in these poems we get a reference to the Vishṇu shrine in Tirumāliṛumśōlai specifically. We see therefore that, in the period broadly to be described as the Śāngam age, namely, the first three centuries of the Christian era, Vishṇu worship had already attained to a wide popularity. Temples to Vishṇu were wellknown, and a feature of the capital cities of the Tamil land. The most popular forms of Vishṇu worshipped in these temples were Krishṇa Vishṇu and Baladēva, the Āgamāic names Vāsudēva and Sankarshaṇa, not being unknown. That is not all. On the evidence of the *Paripāḍal* it can also be safely asserted that all the essential features of the Pancharātra were already known in the Tamil land, and, not merely known, but had also attained to considerable vogue in practice. We see therefore Bhakti—we are concerned here only with Vishṇu Bhakti—in the most-developed form already prevalent in this part of the country.

We have already indicated rather more elaborately than otherwise, that, in the age of the Ālvārs, which may be held to extend from the 3rd century A. D. to the 9th century almost, the Bhakti school of Vaishṇavism had attained to wide acceptance and even to considerable importance. At the end of this period, we could say definitely the worship of Vishṇu on the Pāncharātra system had become a well recognised form of Bhakti, and constituted, if not the one system of Bhakti worship, at least a prominent one. It is just about this age, that we come upon the beginning of inscriptional records relating to Vēngāḍam, although as we have pointed out already, inscriptions found in relation to temples were already centuries old. In this position, and with such a volume of evidence before us, it would be carrying scepticism too far to deny the existence of a temple in Vēngāḍam, notwithstanding the fact that we have not come upon any inscriptions relating to the temple

செங்கடகாரி நடுங்கண் வெள்ளை  
பொங்கண் பச்சை கையக்கண்மா

*Paripāḍal* III, ll. 82—83.

[This poem gives in summary the Pāncharātra]

## CHAPTER IX.

### HISTORY OF TONDAMANDALAM

**Tondamandalam, Its Early History.** In the age of the inscriptions, Vēngadāṁ is generally described as belonging to Tiruvēngadakkōttam of the Tondamandalam. Tondamandalam has to be understood as either the country of the Tondaiyar the people, or the territory under the rule of the Tondaman ruler. On the analogy of Tamil names however, Tondaman would be nothing more than the chief of the Tondaiyar. We have therefore to take it that the territorial name is derived from the people who occupied the territory. In classical Tamil literature, however, the division called Tondamāṇḍalam is described generally as Aruvānāḍu indicating Tondamandalam proper; and the country beyond and still dependent upon Tondamandalam and having intimate connection with it, is described as Aruvavadatalai, that is, northern Aruvā. Taking the two together the whole territory would be territory occupied by the people known as Aruvāḷar, made up of Aruvā and Āḷar, people to whom belongs the Aruvānāḍu. Therefore the whole territory included in Tondamandalam of which Vēngadakkōttam is a part was occupied by a distinct class of people and took its name from them. Where therefore the Pattinappālai, celebrating the great Chōla ruler Karikāla, speaks of him as a prince from whom the old Aruvāḷar people took commands, would mean that he had subjugated these people and brought them under his authority; that is, Tondamandalam had been brought under Chōla authority in the days of Karikāla. It was nevertheless territory far away from the headquarters, and therefore likely to throw off the yoke of the central authority at the earliest opportunity. In the period of decline of the Chōla power two generations after Karikāla, Tondamandalam broke away from the Chōla country and relapsed into its old condition in which it was a territory under tribal organisation and government. From the earliest times of which we have any information, this territory is said traditionally to have been divided into 24 divisions, called here Kottams, each one of which was dominated by a fortress from which the governors governed in a sort of military government, and to which the people retired on occasions of danger. Twenty-four such forts are mentioned as

belonging to this division, and there were 24 divisions under separate tribal chieftains Tiruvēṅgaḍakkōttam forms one such division. Ordinarily these divisions were brought under a central authority of some kind, which dominated the whole region. Within historical times that central authority happened to be located in Kānchi, and hence we have come to regard more or less Kānchi as the headquarters of the Tondamaṇḍalam. According to tradition, however, there seems to have been a period when it was not Kānchi, but a fortified town called Puḷu now a village on the borderland of the Red-Hills Tank, which itself is known among the people as Puḷalēri. Whether it was actually so or not, we have information of Kānchi as a town of very considerable importance even in the days of the grammarian Patānjali about the middle of the 2nd century B. C. Kānchi dominated the division under the Chōḷas, and probably continued ever since to dominate the region, so that now Tondamaṇḍalam generally is understood to have been dominated by Kānchi, and Kānchi and Tondamaṇḍalam are treated as more or less interchangeable terms politically.

**Tiruvēṅgaḍakkōttam, An early division under a Tondaman chief**

This Tiruvēṅgaḍakkōttam dominated by the hill Tiruvēṅgaḍam from which it takes its name was regarded as of four divisions named after Chittoor, Chandragiri, Tiuchānūr and Kalahasti. This gives us an idea of the extent of the division, and the territory included in it must have been one of the oldest divisions of the Tondamaṇḍalam. Under the original organisation of the land, each of these Kōttams must have been dominated by a fortress. The chieftain who governed the locality, or the tribal chieftain, would naturally go by the name Rāja, although Tamil literature later on does make a division of rulers into classes and calls these people smaller kings (Kuruṇila-mannar), in contradistinction to the crowned kings of the three vast kingdoms of the south, namely, Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Chēra. It would be nothing surprising if these chieftains were ruling over one part or other of the Tondamaṇḍalam. We have already noticed that the image at Tirupati was actually dug out of the earth by the Tondaman chieftain, ruler of Nārāyanavanam not far from the locality, and enshrined in the temple. He is also said to have been the organiser of worship there. It seems not unlikely, and the Purāṇic story is probably based on a foundation of fact so far as this particular goes. But the Purāṇic datum in regard to date would make his time the first century,

A. D. or B. C. Again that period does not seem unlikely either, as we know this was an ancient division of the land, and its ancient organisation continued in historical times. Therefore then the foundation of the temple on the hill must have been at the very beginning of the Christian era, and under the native ruling chief who went by the name Toṇḍamān.

**Early History of Tondamandalam, Tondamans and Pallavas.** The political changes that came over this region seem to have been somewhat as follows. The petty chieftains of the illcultured regions dominated by particular forts seem gradually to have been brought under one central control, and that controlling authority seems to have held rule at Kānchi. In the Śāngam literature we know of two Tiraiyans, the elder Tiraiyan holding rule in the north at Pavattiri, Reddipālem in the Gūḍūr Taluq, and the younger, or Iḷam Tiraiyan, ruling over Kānchi. This reduction of the whole territory to subordination to Kānchi probably was the result—it may be of the Chōḷa conquest, or it might have come about even previously. We have good reasons for assuming a Chōḷa viceroyalty earlier, and that Toṇḍamān Iḷam Tiraiyan we have good reasons for assuming was likewise a Chōḷa viceroy. It is in connection with him that the story is told that he was the son of a Chōḷa ruler by a Nāga princess. Almost the same story is told of Toṇḍamān of Vēngāḍam that he was the son of a Chōḷa ruler by a Nāga princess. As this story of the birth of Iḷam Tiraiyan is recorded by Nacchinārkinīyar, the commentator, the place where this liaison took place is supposed to be Nāgappaṭṭiṇam, hitherto taken to be the Negapatam in the Tanjore District. It might just as well be the town, or the capital city, of the Nāgas. Whatever that be, we have no satisfactory grounds for identifying this early Toṇḍamān, the founder of the temple at Tirupati, with Toṇḍamān Iḷam Tiraiyan, who seems to have come later in point of time. We see therefore already that the early Toṇḍamān who constructed the temple for Venkatēśa at Vēngāḍam and arranged for the festivals and the worship in the temple, must have been a Toṇḍamān chieftain of Tiruvēngadakkōṭṭam and the localities near about; and this is supported by the fact that Māmūlanār could speak of the celebration of festivals in Tirupati. This must have been even earlier than the bringing of all Tondamandalam under one authority that central authority being placed at Kānchi. We have therefore to take it that Tondamandalam was one ethnical unit; but consisted of a certain number of chieftaincies, whether it be actually 24 or not, and had been gradually politi-

cally united to be regarded as one kingdom under the rule of the chieftain at Kānchi. That is the stage in which we find it under Tondamān Ilam Tiraiyan, and the opening period of the inscriptions when the authority of the Āndhra dynasty was still in full force. We see one or two Āndra governors in the locality probably coming after the Tondamaṇḍalam had been unified as stated above. This unification followed perhaps the Chōla conquest involving as a consequence, the systematic introduction of agriculture and of an agricultural civilisation consequent thereon. Just about this time, we have inscriptional evidence for a line of rulers, who may be father and son, and perhaps the second came two generations after the first. The first of these rulers is credited with having carried out a policy of promotion of agriculture, plough-oxen, and ploughs themselves together with money. The son seems to have followed in the same course, and was probably the acknowledged ruler of the whole region. It is inscription of his daughter-in-law Chārudēvi which records a gift to the temple of Vishṇu Nārāyaṇa, thereby putting it beyond a doubt that temples to Vishṇu were in existence, and worship of Vishṇu in temples was not unknown. If Chārudēvi could do it, be it remembered that she did not build the temple but merely made a grant to an existing one, what is there to prevent another ruler who may have been previous to her by a few generations having constructed a temple and arranged for worship and the conducting of festivals through the year? With the appearance of these we seem to arrive at the establishment of Pallava rule in Kānchi, and of Pallava dominance in Tondamaṇḍalam. Of course, when well established the Pallavas also called themselves Tondamāns, and kings of Tondaiyar (*Tonḍdaiyarkōn*) and so on. This could be explained by the fact that, having succeeded to the rule of the country of the Tondaiyar, Tondamaṇḍalam, they could very well describe themselves as Tondamans. Whether the term Pallava actually took its origin from the Tondai creeper with which, according to the story, the Tondamān prince born to the Nāga Princess by the Chōla king, was decorated was what gave the name, is perhaps more than we can say definitely although some of the early inscriptions would give that explanation. Be that as it may, we find Pallava rule beginning betimes, almost immediately after the rule of Tondamān Ilam Tiraiyan, and we could mark three separate groups of rulers, as indicated before, from that period down to the later years of the 6th century. The point for consideration at present is why these rulers who have left some



inscriptional records of their own in various other places, have left none in the shrine of Tirupati. We cannot say exactly why. Tirupati must have been in the age of the Pallavas as inaccessible as in the earlier, and even down to the much later period of the Chōlas, and the practice of recording in inscriptions gifts to the temples had not become so much a vogue as yet. That seems to be enough explanation, and, at any rate, that is all that we are in a position to offer. The absence of inscriptions therefore cannot be held as an argument against the existence of the temple itself. The temple may have existed without as yet having become sufficiently important, or sufficiently popular to merit that recording, and, as we have stated already, that way of recording itself has been comparatively rare in these early days. When we come to the great Pallava dynasty, we are able to see that temple worship had become popular and a well recognised institution. Numbers of temples both to Vishṇu and Śiva and to many other Gods of the Hindu Pantheon do find mention in the Pallava territory. We find the statute of Simhavishṇu and his queens, and his son Mahēndravarman and his queens in the Varāha cave in Mahābali-puram, and in all probability, the Vishṇu shrine in the locality was perhaps already in existence, not in the form of the present temple, but perhaps in the form of a smaller shrine. It is the great Narasimhavarman that attempted the laying out and beautification of the city which perhaps was not carried to completion because of a political revolution. The great Nandivarman Pallavamalla was the builder of a great temple to Vishṇu in Conjeevaram itself, and his son has left records of his benefactions to the temple at Triplicane and at Tirupati. Nandivarman of Tellāru, his grandson was the patron of Perundēvanār, whose work Bhāratavenbā, we already mentioned, makes prominent mention of Vēngadam and Kānchi. So before we come to Nrpa-tungavarman we have more or less indirect references to Vishṇu temples and Vishṇu worship, and just a few occasional references to the temple at Vēngadam itself. In the light of the works of the Ālvārs alone, we ought to hold that Vishṇu worship was prevalent and popular. We have enough of secular evidence in what has been stated above. We need not therefore, be unnecessarily sceptical about the statements of the Ālvārs in regard to the matter.

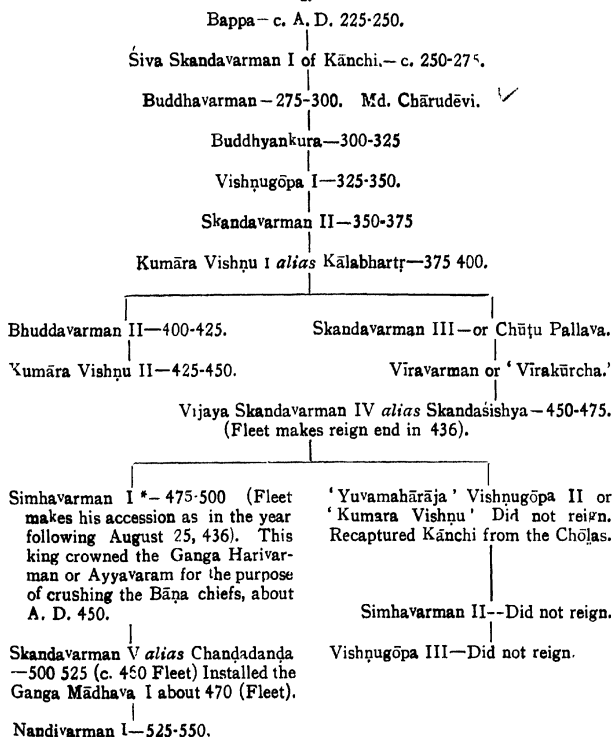
**The General Course of South Indian History to A.D. 800.** The general trend of South Indian History during the first eight centuries of the Christian era may be set down in general terms

as follows. The Āndhra rulers, whose authority during the best periods of their history extended over the region beginning southwards from Ajmer and Pushkar in the north down to the western districts of modern Mysore, had an alternative capital in the basin of the lower Krishna at Amarāvati wherefrom they stretched southwards, and, perhaps at one time, made an effort to extend their authority successfully even down to the southern Peṅṅār. It is perhaps this effort of the great Āndhra Yagñasrī that set up a vigorous opposition from the Tamils. When ultimately the Āndhra power collapsed at the beginning of the third century, some of the enterprising governors of these eastern provinces of the Āndhra probably made an effort to gradually fix their hold upon the territories of Tondamaṇḍalam. The gradual pressure from the Āndhra empire seems to have set up a popular movement resulting in the migration of the somewhat less civilised people who seem to have completely upset the Governments of South India and introduced what may well be regarded as the period of anarchy to which the later inscriptions refer in unmistakable terms. This is the movement of the people called Kalvar or Kalavar, and they must have moved down from the region round and about Vengadam if not from the whole of the Tondamaṇḍalam. The supervision of the Chōla dynasty seems to have been more or less complete, and the Pāṇḍya power suffered substantially, if not exactly to the same degree, so that there seems to have been something like a break in the established order for a number of generations, say six to eight. Emerging from this a new Pāṇḍya dynasty had to re-establish its claims to what normally belonged to them, some time about the end of the 6th century, and through a course of struggle lasting for more than two centuries restored themselves to their former position. The materials at our disposal generally give evidence of another such recovery on the part of the Chōlas. It looks as though the Chōla power had not been completely destroyed, although for the moment it was so thoroughly crippled that it failed to show itself during the centuries. It was in the course of this movement that the so-called Pallava state of Kānchi came into existence and successfully established its authority over the territory extending from the river Krishna down to the southern Peṅṅār. In the course of this effort they seem to have shifted their capital. Kānchi was certainly an important city and was regarded as the capital of Tondamaṇḍalam in an earlier period. During the next following centuries the dominating power of South India became the ruling power at Kānchi known Pashaetalva, generally referred to in Tamil works relating to

the period, as the kings of the "northern territory", as distinct from the three crowned kings of the south. The period of struggle which culminated in the establishment of this dominant position of the Pallavas is the period covered by the Pallava dynasty of the Sanscrit characters, as the epigraphists call them, beginning almost with Vishnugōpa of Kanchi referred to in the Samudragupta inscription and coming down to Simhavarman II, the father of Simhavishnu. The two centuries and more therefore of this dynasty is the period of the building up of the Pallava power in the South.

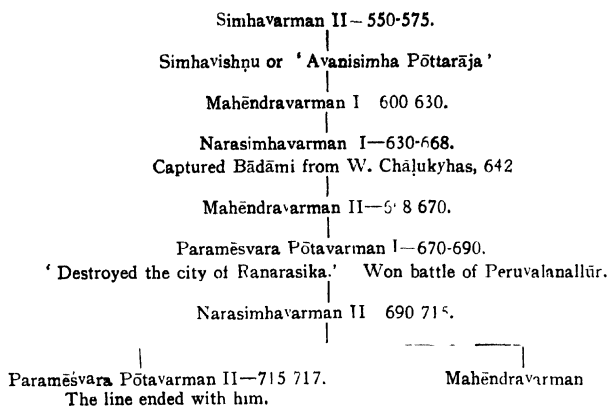
PALLAVA KINGS.

I.

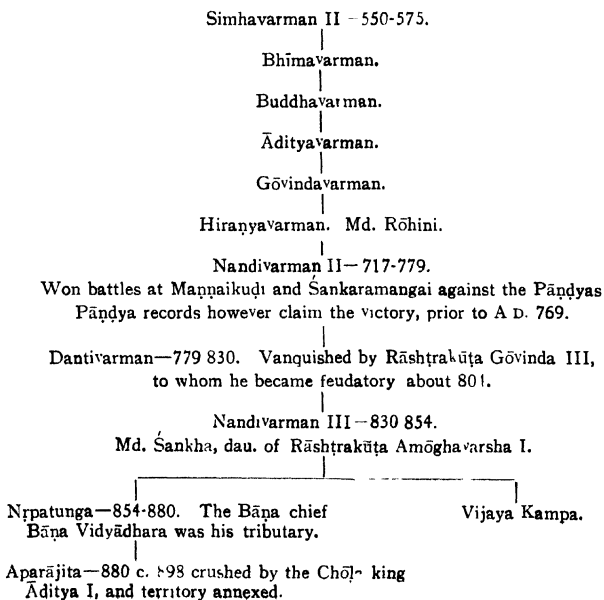


\* For Fleet's date see J. R. A. S. 1915, p. 571 f. especially p. 485.

## II.



## III.



**The period of Pallava ascendancy still leaves Tirupati in obscurity.**

With Simhavishṇu the son of Simhavarman II, we come to the period of the Pallava history when a great dynasty of Pallava rulers, as set forth in the tables above, held rule over South India and established a dominance which they had to make good as against the Chālukyas of Badami, the contemporary Dakhan power whose southern frontier was more or less continuously in touch with the northern frontier of the Pallavas; the whole block of territory between the Krishṇa and the Tungabhadra in the upper part of its course, and the northern Peṇṇār in the lower, happened to be the debatable land between the two powers. It was more or less the rivalry between the Āndhras and the Tamils of the earlier period forward almost undiminished during the period of the great Pallavas. The first South Indian power to recover from the devastating irruption of the Kalvars was the Pāṇḍya, and naturally the Pāṇḍyas challenged the title to supremacy over the Tamil land set up by the Pallavas. The struggle seems to some extent somewhat embittered not merely by the political rivalry of the dynasties, but by racial bitterness, and, to some extent, even cultural hostility. This great dynasty of Pallavas, from Simhavishṇu almost down to the end of the reign of Nandivarman II may be said to have held their own. Their title however was seriously challenged by the rising power of the Pāṇḍyas who, almost about the same time as the beginning of this dynasty, recovered to some considerable degree their original position and prestige to make a successful attack on the Pallavas. This Pallava-Pāṇḍya struggle was a feature of this period of Pallava history, and culminated almost in the simultaneous extinction of both the powers as dominating South Indian politics. We have already stated that the Pallava sovereigns of this dynasty though engaged primarily in war were not negligent of their duties as civil rulers. Their achievement is on the whole very considerable both in useful public works and in the pious acts of benefactions to religion. Notwithstanding this we do not find them to have done anything worthy of record to the holy shrine at Vēṅgaḍam, notwithstanding the fact that the shrine had attained to great fame early in its history. This can be explained as due more or less to Vēṅgaḍam being on a frontier in dispute between the pallavas and their northern neighbours for one reason. Almost the first Chōḷa to establish his authority over the territory of the Pallavas has had to do a good deal of fighting on this frontier—in fact, as his inscriptions state it—he laid down his

life in battle at a place called Tondamānārrūr, not far from Kālahasti on the Svarnamukhi river. This was the great frontier of dispute between the Āndhras and Tamils at one period and the Pallavas and the Chālukyas in the succeeding period. Vēngadam, ordinarily accessible only with difficulty, has had this further difficulty added to it, and therefore was not as much frequented as a place of pilgrimage as other places within the frontiers of the Tamil land.

**Absence of records explained.** The visit of a pious pilgrim, a mendicant or a poor familyman, would not lead to the leaving of records in the temple. It must be a visit of ruling families, either royal or feudatory, or powerful and important officials which would lead to placing their bequests on record. The reason stated above would make such visits almost impossible when the frontier was in dispute. Then again the practice of recording inscriptions had not yet become so common as we have already noticed, and therefore the absence of records of this period in the temple need not surprise us, and certainly will not justify the inference that the temple either had ceased to exist or ceased to be of importance. Either inference would be unwarranted on the mere basis of this fact. The two centuries following proved to be again a period of transition, and therefore it is that even during this period we are not likely to have such records in volume to furnish much information regarding the temple. We shall have to come into the full light of the period of Chōla ascendancy before we get any useful inscriptional information.

**Vishnu-Worship and Temples to Vishnu.** Before closing this section, however, we may note down such inscriptional references as have come down to us in regard to Vishnu shrines and Vishnu worship in this region of the country. The first inscriptional reference, in point of time, is the record known as the British Museum plates of Chārudēvi.\* This is a Prākṛit charter issued in the reign of Mahārāja Vijaya Skandaraman by Chārudēvi wife of Yuva Maharaja Vijaya Buddhavarman and mother of Buddhyanura. It is a grant to a temple of Nārāyaṇa at a place called Dālūra. The next one is what is known as the grant of Simhavarman.† The record opens frankly with an invocation to Vishnu in the name of *Bhagavat*, and purports to have been issued from the camp at Mēnmātūra, and is a grant of Simhavarman,

\* *Epiq, Indica*, VIII. p 143.

† *ibid*, p. 159.

son of Mahārāja Vishṇugōpa, who in turn is stated to have been the son of Mahārāja Skandavarman. The next one is what is known as the Uruvappalli grant <sup>1</sup> of Yuva Mahārāja Vishṇugōpavarman who is described as a worshipper of Vishṇu (*Parama Bhāgarata*). It is a grant to the temple of God Vishṇuhāra at the village of Kandukūra. The next one is what is known as the Mahēndravādi inscription <sup>2</sup> of Guṇadhara. It is an inscription of the great Mahēndravarman and the shrine is called Mahēndra Vishṇugṛha on the bank of the Mahēndratatāka in the city of Mahēndrapura, all of these names having reference to Mahēndravādi. The next one is Mandagappaṭṭu <sup>3</sup> of Vichitrachitta, another name of Mahēndravarman. It refers to the construction of a cave-temple to Brahma. Īvara and Vishṇu by Mahēndravarman. The next one is the series known as the Vaikunṭhaperumāl inscriptions in the temple of Vaikunṭhaperumāl constructed by Nandivarman II, Pallavamalla.<sup>4</sup> The temple is in Conjeevaram, and the inscriptions describe the circumstances under which Nandivarman came to the throne of Kānchi. The next one is what is known as the Tandantōṭṭam plates of Kōvijaya-Nandivikramavarman.<sup>5</sup> This makes provision for the conduct of worship in the local Vishṇu and Siva temples, and for the reading of the Mahābhārata in the temple. A similar provision for the Mahābhārata in the temple is referred to in the Kūram plates of Paramēśvaravarman I, three or four generations earlier. The next reference is the inscription of the temple of Ādivaraha at Mahābalipuram <sup>6</sup> dated in the 65th year of the same sovereign Nandivarman II, Pallavamalla. The next one is what is known as the Tiruveḷḷarai inscription <sup>7</sup> of Dantivarman in the Punḍarikāksha Perumāl temple near Trichinopoly. The next one is an inscription of the 9th year of Dantipōttaraśar in the Vaikunṭhaperumāl temple at Uttaramallūr,<sup>8</sup> which is much nearer. Then we come to the Triplicane inscription of the same sovereign in the *garbhagrha* of the temple. This is dated in the 25th year of Dantivarman Mahārāja <sup>9</sup> and refers to a donation to the temple. The next one is one of the 21st year of the same king in the Vaikunṭhaperumāl temple at Uttaramallūr.<sup>10</sup> The next one is a

1 *Ind. Antiquary*, V, p. 50

2 *Ep. Ind.* VI, p. 152 ff.

3 *Ep. Ind.* XVII, p. 14.

4 *South Ind. Ins.* IV, p. 10 ff.

5 *S. Ind. Ins.* II, p. 517

6 *Epig. Colln.* 666 of 1922.

7 *Epig. Coll.* 541 of 1905 *Ep.*

*Ind.* XL, 156.

8 *Ep. Coll.* 74 of 1898.

9 *Epig. Ind.* VIII, p. 291.

10 *Ep. Coll.* 61 of 1896.

reference in the 51st year of Vijaya-Dantivikrama to the Perumā naḍigaḷ at Tiruviḷangōvil in Tirucchōhinūr in Kuḍavūr-Nāḍu, a sub-division of Tiruvēṅgaḍakkōṭṭam.\* If this Vijaya-Dantivikrama is the Dantivarman son of Nandivarman II this would be the earliest record in this region of the Pallavas. The next is a record in the Ulagaḷanda-Perumāḷ temple at Conjeevaram dated in the 18th year of Nandipōttarayar, victor at Tellāru obviously Nandivarman III.† The next one is in the Venkaṭēsapperumāḷ temple at Tirumukkudal in the Madhurantakam Taluk of the 24th year of Nrpātungavarman.‡ It is a gift of gold to the temple of Viṣṇu, which was taken charge of by the assembly of Śiyyapuram, the modern Śivaram near Conjeevaram. This spread of the inscriptions, and the number of Viṣṇu shrines coming under reference would indicate the prevalence of Viṣṇu worship, at least as one of the popular religions of the country. But in all these there is still the remarkable omission of Tiruvēṅgaḍam as a Viṣṇu shrine, which omission may be explained as being due to causes already indicated above.

**The Telugu Cholas and Tondamandalam.** The region with which we are concerned, which for convenience, we may call the region of north Tondamaṇḍalam extending northwards of Kānchi and taking into it all the territory almost up to the river Kriṣṇa, has always been ~~the debatable frontier of history~~ for the Tamil country. We have already noticed that it was so between the Āndhras and the Tamils before the Pallavas came into power. In the days of the early Pallavas this constituted their territory principally, their expansion taking place generally towards the south. With the advent of the great Pallavas in the latter half of the 6th century a change had come over this region also. In the earlier period this was included in the great Bāṇa country, Perumbānappaḍi as it was called in Tamil, to the west of which lay the land of the Gangas. But at this period a new power sprang up in the region to the north-west which early acquired possession of the south-western viceroyalty of the Āndhras. These were the Chāḷukyas who early acquired this region and established themselves at their capital in Vātāpi, the modern Bādāmi in the Bijapūr taluk. Their expansion into this region itself was something of an aggression into territory to which the

\* *Ep. Coll.* 262 of 1904.

† *Ep. Coll.* 12 of 1895; *Madras Christian College Mag.* VIII, p. 102.

‡ *Ep. Coll.* 179 of 1916.



Pallavas felt themselves entitled legitimately as the successors of the Āndhras. There sprang up a natural rivalry between the two powers and the frontier line moved to and fro according to the exigencies of the wars between the two. While there were two great powers well balanced one against the other and contending for mastery indecisively, the districts in the middle changed possession; but still in their own interests they had to remain attached to the one power or the other, but subordinate and feudatory. When these powers showed a tendency to weaken by the exhausting wars, the natural tendency to independence would show itself more prominently, and so it did. While the empire of the Chālukyas was weakening towards its fall, and before the establishment of the powerful dynasty of the Rāshtrakūṭas in their place, the central powers seem to have found an occasion to assert themselves. The Baṇas seem gradually to disappear from the scene, while the bulk of their territory got absorbed into the empire of the Pallavas; the northern portions seem to have remained in the hands of a feudatory dynasty which claimed Chōla descent. Probably they sprang from a family of Chōla rulers who might have been planted in the north in early time; but they came into prominence only in the 7th century. Their territory was 'a seven thousand country' with the Cuddapah district for its centre, and these were known as the Telugu Cholas later on. They ruled over Mahārājavādi Seven-thousand extending from Cuddapah eastwards to take into it the district called Pottappinādu round Kāḷaḥasti, the region with which we are directly concerned. The territory of these Chōlas who at a particular period came to be more closely associated with Pottappi, was one new state which comes to notice when the Pallava power wore away.

**Rise of new powers on this Chola-Chalukya frontier.** In the course of a struggle we already adverted to, between the Chālukyas and the Pallavas success lay with the Chālukyas in the earlier period. They were able to take so much of Pallava territory that the great Chālukya ruler Pulikēsan felt justified in appointing a younger brother Viceroy over the eastern districts extending from the Pallava frontier right on to the Krishṇa and beyond, thus laying the foundation unconsciously it may be, of the kingdom of the Eastern Chālukyas. When the Rāshtrakūṭa usurpation took place in the middle of the 8th century in the Chālukya kingdom itself, this viceroyalty remained by itself alone without being absorbed into the Rāshtrakūṭa territory not only to maintain its

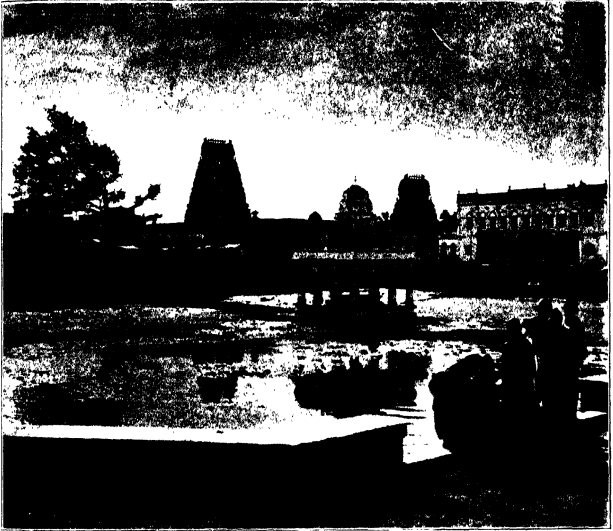
independence but to become so aggressive as to be a source of weakness and danger to the Rāshtrakūṭas. When after two centuries of expansion and empire, the Rāshtrakūṭas suffered a usurpation by a Chāluky feudatory of theirs, setting up another state and founding the later Chālukya dynasty, the Eastern Chālukyas had begun some how or other to collapse simultaneously and become a minor power; but still they held the territory immediately north of the Telugu Chōlas, sometimes claiming suzerainty over them, so that they were oftentimes in contact with the Pallava frontier in the north. So during the period when the Pallava power was actually overthrown and the Chōlas established themselves as the leading power, these states were also coming into notice, along with the Gangas of Mysore proper and of the Nolambas, a dynasty which claimed relationship with the Pallavas in the Ceded Districts: so that when the Chōlas effected the conquest of Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, they had to deal with all these powers and bring them one after another under their influence either by peace or by war to assure peace to their empire. We shall see these, particularly the first two, the Tamil Chōlas and the Chālukyas, showing themselves prominently in the history of the region with which we are directly concerned.

**The Cholas become the leading power in South India.** From the end of the 6th century onwards, as we have already noted, the Pallavas had to maintain a two-faced struggle for existence: one all along their northern frontier against the Chālukyas, and the other practically all along their southern frontier against the the Pāṇḍyas. Sometimes the southern power and the northern joined to the great detriment of the Pallavas in between. Notwithstanding the difficulties of the position and the successful wars that their enemies conducted against them, the Pallavas managed to hold their own from the days of Simhavishṇu who laid claim to have conquered the Chōlas down comparatively late in the reign of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. Pallavamalla had to fight hard against the Pāṇḍyas, and succeeded in maintaining himself ultimately by perhaps getting into a marriage alliance with the Rāshtrakūṭas who superseded the Chālukyas in the middle of the 8th century. It is from thence that the Pallava decline may be said to begin. On the northern frontier the usurpation of the Rāshtrakūṭas and their preoccupations with the rulers of Mālva on the one side and the Eastern Chālukyas on the other, gave the Pallavas the much-needed respite on that side. But simultaneously the vigour of the Pāṇḍya war increased,

They were able to keep the Ceylonese out of the struggle, and succeeded in pressing the Pallavas close till finally the Pāṇdyas were able to march victoriously through much of the South Arcot District under their great ruler Varaguṇa II. About this time a civil dissension within the Pāṇḍya territory brought the Ceylonese into the struggle. Taking advantage of this, the Pallavas managed with the assistance of their feudatories all round, particularly the Gangas, in pressing the Pāṇḍyas south from the banks of the Kaveri which had become the scene of this Pallava-Pāṇḍya wars generally. It is in this engagement that the name of the Chōla power figures on the side of Pallavas naturally. Very soon after, in fact within a decade of this victory, the Chōla somehow found the position wholly unsatisfactory and took upon himself to lead the forces of the victorious power allied with the Pallavas against the last Pallava himself, and won a decisive victory against him, and put himself in the position of the leading power among the southern states. The Pāṇḍyas, being otherwise occupied in their home struggles and against the Ceylon invasions, left these very much to themselves. The Pallavas who managed to hold their own even as against the powerful Pāṇḍyas seem, after their last great struggle against the Pāṇḍyas, to have weakened considerably, perhaps owing to the dissensions within the family aided by the disloyalty or the changeable loyalty of the feudatories. We are not able to see clearly the details of the struggle but the fact that the inscriptions of the Pallavas are scattered all along the territory, and three or four Pallava names occur as rulers without any reference to a common authority at the centre, would seem to indicate that there were dissensions in the Pallava succession after Aparajita, or while yet he was holding rule. This, together with the disaffection of the feudatory states, naturally paved the way for the assertion of his authority by one of the feudatory states, with the prestige of former greatness and perhaps the present power, acquired through two centuries of careful piloting of their policy and the building up of their resources. The first Chōla of this modern dynasty, Vijayalaya stands out thus the most powerful among the feudatories of the Pallavas, who does not seem yet to proclaim himself as the successor of the Pallavas in their position as the leading Southern power. The advent of his son Āditya puts a new vigour into this kind of a struggle, and one plain fact which emerges out of the darkness of the period is the signal achievement of his, that he brought the whole of the Tondamaṇḍalam under Chōla authority.

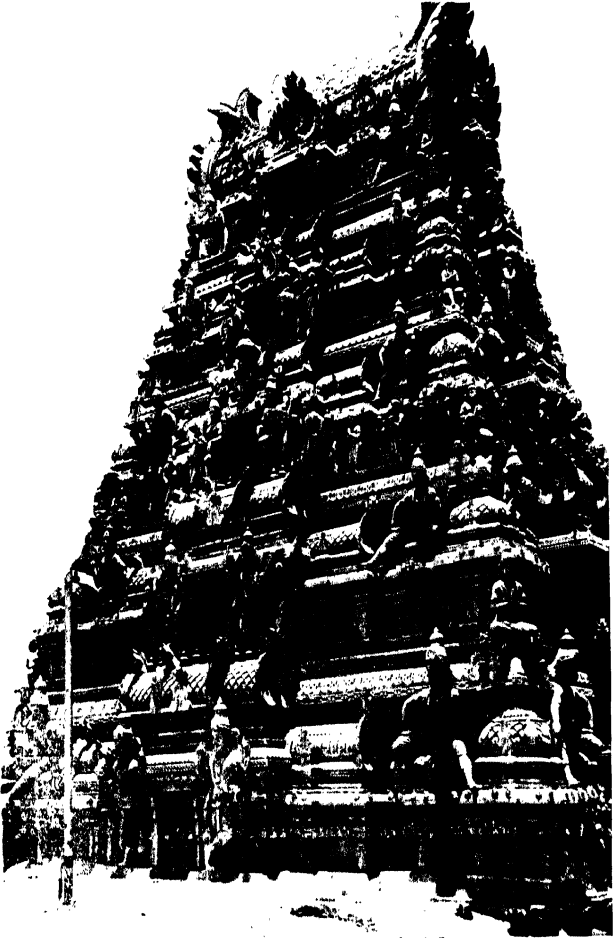
That is a clear statement. The achievement of his predecessor fell short of a supersession of the Pallavas all round although he established the position of the Chōlas as a rising South Indian power. When Āditya came into possession of his father's conquests matters were ripe for him to advance northward and take possession of the home territory of the Pallavas, which would set the seal upon the succession of the Chōlas to the leading position of the Pallavas in South India.

**Temple organisation as revealed in the Pallava inscriptions.** Among the inscriptions so far published by the Tirupati Dāvasthānam there are just eleven inscriptions which relate to the Pallavas. Of these the first two inscriptions refer themselves to the reign of a king Dantivikramadēva. The first of them belongs to the 51st year of the reign. This would bring us to somewhere about A. D. 833-34, that is, just the generation following that of the latest Ālvār, Tirumangai Ālvār. The inscriptions both of them are gifts of money for the purpose of maintaining a perpetually burning lamp for the image of the temple at Tiruvēngadam installed in Tiru-Ilankōvil. Ilankōvil is a term we have come across with in the works of the Mudal Ālvārs as referring to the temple on the hill at Vēngadam. Whether we should interpret Ilankōvil here also that way may be regarded open to doubt, as the record is in the temple at Tirucchānūr. It is however probable that the gift was made and put on record here for the service on the hill shrine. These two inscriptions already indicate the existence of a complete organisation of the administration of the country that we find much more fully described in the large number of records of the following period. Here Tirucchōhinūr is referred to as belonging to Hudavūr Nadu in the Tiruvēngadakkōṭṭam. The gift is made by an officer of the Chōla country who made the donation. From this and a number of inscriptions in the group we find Tiruvēngadakkōṭṭam belonging to the Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, or, as it was later called Jayaṅkondachōḷamaṇḍalam, divided into four nādus, of which Kudavūrnāḍu comprised the villages round Tirupati, while the villages round the town of Chandragiri, a few miles to the west are grouped in Vaikunthavalanāḍu. Farther west the countries dependent upon Chittoor now, are grouped together in the division Tuyyānāḍu. The country to the east of Tirupati and round about Kālahasti goes by the name Ārjūrnāḍu, obviously from the Toṇḍamānārjūr or Toṇḍamanpērārjūr, not far from Kālahasti itself on the river Svarṇamukh. Apart from these we see the temple already under an organisation under which people



TIRUCHIANUR-TEMPLE AND TANK

*(To face page 118)*



PADIKAVALI GOPURAM, TIRUMALAI

*See page 173*

at distances could make their donation and deposit their capital with properly constituted authorities in the confidence that the maintenance of a perpetual lamp, extending over a long period of time, would be safely attended to. The village is already under an organisation with something like a Secretary (*Śrī-kāryam*) to carry on the actual work. Inscription 4, also from the Tiruchchōhinur temple, refers to a deposit in gold with the *Śrī-kāryam*, and the gift was to be announced publicly and should be maintained in the register as the *Ūrniyōyam*, that is, the command of the people of the town. This is intended for the benefit of the god in Iḷankōvil, of the god installed in *Mantrasāla*, and the god in Tiruvēṅgaḍam. No. 6 is a provision for feeding two Brahmans in the temple. No. 7 is a record of Saka 820, A. D. 898, and refers to the revenue *puṇavu* of the village of 1,000 *kaḍi*, and whatever was due to the government of the village, giving us clearly to understand even in this imperfect condition of the record, that the rural organisation was pretty much the same as what we find described more fully in later records. Records 8 and 9 which are included among the Pallava inscriptions ought really to belong to the next following period. These refer to the 14th year of Kō-Parthivēndravarmaṇ, which seems to be the designation of the Chōḷa prince Āditya II, Karikala, as he is called. We cannot say for certain that he lived on to the 14th year of his reign. But anyhow the number of records that have recently come to light would show that the prince Āditya II of the Chōḷas probably had this title and held the government of the northern region under his father Sundara Chōḷa. These two records relate to gifts by a certain lady, Samavvai, the wife of a Kaḍava (Pallava) chief named Śaktiviṭṭankan (Śaktiviḍangan in Tamil), a subordinate of Parthivēndravarmaṇ. The lady herself is described as the daughter of a Pallava *Pērgaḍai*, which means a high officer under a Pallava chief, or it may be interpreted as a Pallava chief who held the high office. Śaktiviṭṭankan is a name merely, and he was of Pallava descent who had married apparently, a Kannaḍa chieftain's daughter who held the high office under the Pallavas of *Pērgaḍai*, a Kannaḍa title like the Tamil *Perundaram*. The title of the lady was Kaḍavan Perundēvi, and the gift is made to "the god standing at Vēṅgaḍam." She made an image of silver with a number of jewels and ornaments, of which a list is given, the value of which is set down at 47 *kaḷañju* of gold. She made this gift, and, after having performed an ablution of the God, made over to the temple authorities, 3,000 *kuḷi* of land as measured

by the rod of the *ghatikā* (a settlement of learned Brahmans) of 16 spans, making up three *puṭṭi* of land. These were acquired from various parties, of which the *Sabhā* of Tirucchōhinūr is one. A Lakshmana Nambi, the manager of a *Maṭha* is another. The god of Iṅankōvil is the third. These were acquired by the payment of the prices to the parties concerned. A further payment was also made to the *Sabhā*, and the God' concerned for making it tax-free, and the land was then made over to the temple for certain purposes of service on particular occasions of the year. The proper carrying out of these is entrusted to the managers of the *Maṭha* in Tiruvēṅgaḍam. The lands would have to be taken care of and looked after by the *Sabhā*, and this disposition was to last as long as the sun and the moon, and the whole arrangement is put under the direction of the Śrī Vaishnavas. The next following grant is altogether similar and refers to the gift of 4,176 *kuḷi* of land made over similarly to the managers of the *Maṭha* for use for the purpose of the festival on the occasion of the *Mārgaḷi-Dvādaśi*, the *Dvādaśi* or the 12th day of the growing moon in the month of *Mārgaḷi*, December-January. The two other records included in this section really belong to a much later period though they were grants by Pallava rulers, and may be held over for a later stage for consideration. These two should perhaps be so treated; but, as coming so close to the Pallavas and as indicating fully the organisation at the time, it is of advantage to take them over here. It will thus be seen that from these few inscriptions we find that the temple is provided already, in the days of Dantivarman Pallava of the Triplicane inscriptions, with the organisation for the management which we find in regard to these temples generally in the period following. Not only is the temple provided with the requisite machinery of management, but we find already the administration of the division in full swing with the assemblies of the villages, with various departments of accounts, the *Sabhā* managing lands, selling them to parties, taking payment and making them tax-free, and administering them as trust lands for the purposes for which they were dedicated by the donors. We could not well regard the temple organisation as having been just then brought into existence, as we find it in these records. Notwithstanding therefore the paucity of information, we would be justified in taking it that the organisation and worship in the temples had already been sufficiently well established and long in use.



## CHAPTER X

### INSCRIPTIONS OF THE CHOLA DYNASTY.

**Chola inscriptions in Tirucchanur: Parantaka I and Parantaka II.**  
Passing on to the dynasty of the Chōlas we have two records of Parāntaka I, both of them in the temple at Tiruchānūr. We have already mentioned before that, on the establishment of the Chōla power after the overthrow of the last Pallava by Vijayālaya, it took another campaign under his son and successor Āditya to bring the whole of the Toṇḍamaṇḍalam under the Chōla authority, and that this Chōla ruler Āditya successfully brought the whole of it under the authority of the Chōlas. From one of his titles, it is inferable that he died at Toṇḍamānāṟṟūr near Kaḷahasti, probably in a campaign in the northernmost border of this territory. We may infer from this that before his death, he had successfully brought the whole of the Toṇḍamaṇḍalam under his authority including the most northerly Tiruvēṅgaḍakkōṭṭam. His son and successor Parantaka came to the throne in A. D. 906, and had a long reign of 48 years which would take his reign to A. D. 952-3. Under Parantaka therefore we may take it that Toṇḍamaṇḍalam formed part of the Chōla empire. The existence of two of his records in Tirucchanūr is not surprising. The first of them belongs to his 29th year, that is about A. D. 935. The document refers to the agreement by the *Subhā* of Tirucchanūr to burn a perpetual lamp in the temple as long as the sun and moon last, that is, for all time, on behalf of an officer apparently, who paid the money. This officer is described as belonging to Malaināḍu (Cāēra country) and to Koḍungalūr (Cranganore). He deposited 40 Kaḷaṅṅju of gold as weighed by the current weight of the town. The whole charge is placed under the protection of the devotees of our Lord God (*Emberumān Aḍiyār*). The other record relating to the reign is again for the burning of a lamp. It is too far gone to make anything more out of it. The two records already referred to as belonging to a Parthivendravarman, the son of Parāntaka II, indicate that the state of things that the two inscriptions of Parantaka I exhibit, continued pretty much the same under his successors for two or three generations, so that we may take it that, notwithstanding the wars of which we have records in this part, the Chōla authority was maintained

more or less continuously. Parantaka's queen was a Chēra princess, and that an inhabitant of the Chēra kingdom should have come all the way from Koḍungalūr to make this charity would not be anything surprising. This *Koḍungalūrān* was probably an officer in the service of the Chōla monarch, and felt called upon to make this charity in the course of his official tours. In this and the earlier inscriptions, the place is called Tirucchinūr as the name of the place. One would infer from this that the name was derived from Jōgimallavaram, a part of Tirucchinūr, the *Jōgi* being transformed in Tamil *Śōhu*. Sanskrit *Yōga* assumes the form *Yōgu* in Tamil; in fact the term in that form occurs in the *Prabandha*, and a further transformation from that into *Śōhu* is not impossible. But the possibility is not enough in this case. We must know first of all that Jōgimallāvaram had been a place known by that name earlier than Tiruchukanūr. That place seems to be called Tiru-Parāsarēśvaram corrupted into Tiru-Palādhīśvaram. We should also know beforehand that the place came to be called Jōgimallavaram in Telugu, and when and why it was so called. The Paurānic association of the one place with Parāśara and the other with his grandson Suka both of them Rishis, would be quite all right. But we have to demonstrate that the more popular names had the anterior vogue before making this important inference. My recent visit to the temple goes to confirm what I thought was the true explanation. The Siva temple is actually a few furlongs from Tirucchanur, and the temple is much shrunk from its original dimensions in a hamlet containing a few houses. The sanctum and the vestibule in front are all that are all left over, and serve as the general stow-away for all the extra things of the few houses, that of the temple priest and a few others, immediately adjacent to the temple. I found a few cattle also being stalled quite close. The sanctum does contain the *lingam* over the usual pedestal. I was pointed out that there was a representation of a *lingam* and a *yōgi* performing penance just in the pedestal. Śiva is always represented by the *linga*; what the particular *mūrta* or figure is intended to be has necessarily to be indicated otherwise, and the indication is given in this fashion in one of the cornices in the stone pedestal. That gives the name Yōgimallāvaram for the place, that is, God Śiva presenting himself to the *Yōgi Arjuna* in the form of a mallā or wrestler, to test his strength before granting him the boon of Śiva's *Pāsupata*, for which he performed penance. If this is the *mūrta* intended to be indicated there according to the temple

tradition, the name *Yōgimallāvaram* among the people would be perfectly clear. While therefore one might admit that this designation, having regard to the character of the image, is possible from the beginning of the temple, it is always open to sacerdotal tradition to give the temple a name, even at the outset, as *Parāśarēśvaram*, so long as the local tradition connected the locality with *Parāśara*, and *Śiva's* presence there is taken to be due to the penance of this venerable *Rishi* in the locality. It is quite possible that the two villages were connected with each other, as even now the space between the two is not worth mentioning. They might have gone together into the same unit for administrative purposes.

**Inscriptions of Rajaraja I. A. D. 985—1016.** Passing down we come to the reign of *Rājarāja* of whom we have a number of records, namely five, Nos. 14 to 18 of the Dēvastānam Inscriptions, Volume I. Of these a certain number happen to be copies made of the older inscriptions under the orders of *Vīra Narasimha Yādavarāya* when the inner shrine of the *Venkaṭeśvara* temple was either repaired or renewed by a certain *Tiruppullāni Dāsa*. We shall refer to this fact again. But for the moment we are concerned with the records as documents referable to the reign of *Rājarāja* I. The first of these, No. 14, refers to the 16th year of *Rājarāja*, that is the year A. D. 1001. and registers a gift of an ornamental plate for the forehead for God *Tiruvēngadādēva* by a *Devi Ammanār*, meaning queen. She is described as a daughter of a *Chēramān*, a *Chēra* king, the wife of a king who died in the golden hall, *Ponmāḷikai*. This designation is given to *Parāntaka II*, *Sundara Chōla*, father of *Rājarāja* I, who had married a *Chēra* princess, although she was not the mother of *Rājarāja*. She lived in the reign of *Rājarāja*, and apparently as a respected member of his household as the queen-mother for 31 years at least. The gift referred to weighed 52 *kaḷañju* of gold, and had set in it four rubies, and six diamonds and 28 pearls. As if to make clear any doubts, she is called *Parāntakadēvi Amman*, the queen of *Parāntaka*. No. 15 also refers to *Rājarāja* I, and gives a part of the historical introduction which had become the fashion in his reign; and this document contains one of the *praśastis* (*meḷkkīrtti*) associated with *Rājarāja* I's inscriptions, and details his conquests. It refers to the gifts by an officer who belonged to the *Chōla* country, and to *Āvūrkkūṟam* on the southern side of the *Kāveri*. His name is given as *Aruḷakki*, with an official title *Mūvēnda-vēlan*. The rest of the inscription is gone. No. 16 seems to refer

to the 29th year, and has reference to the donation of a perpetual lamp to Tiruvēṅgaḍamudaiyān, the God on the hill. There is the figure 29 which cannot be said to refer to the year of the ruler, as it is not quite in place for that. The next following is an inscription which comes from Tirucchānūr where the same officer paid 40 *kaḷaṅju* of gold, apparently for the burning of a perpetual lamp. Even that document is imperfect. The next one belongs to the 23rd year of Rajarāja, and is found in the Parāśarēśvara temple at Jōgimallāvaram. This is a gift by a Brahman officer of the Chōḷa country who belonged to Nenmali Nāḍu and the Brahman village of Aruvaikkōvai. His name is given as Kōḍinaṁbi Angāḍi with a title Gangaikoṇḍa Śōḷa Brahma Mārāyan (Mahārāja Gangaikoṇḍa Chōḷa Brahmaṇa). He deposited 26 *kaḷaṅju* of gold weighed by the measure, specifically in use in regard to charitable gifts, for the purpose of an ablution to God on the occasions of the Uttarāyaṇa Sankarānti, the first day of Uttarāyaṇa every year coming about the middle of January. These inscriptions of Rājārāja refer to donations by his officers to the God on the hill, and to the Viṣṇu and Śīva temples at Tirucchānūr. Two of them attempt to record the Official introduction, one by a plain recital, that is No. 15, and the other, No. 18, by a mere reference in the terms "with the usual prefatory *meykkīrtti*", or historical recital of his glorious deeds. That is so far as the reign of Rājārāja is concerned, A. D. 985 to A. D. 1016

**Records of Rajendra Chola: I A. D. 1011—1044.** Then follow two inscriptions of Rājēndra Chōḷa, his son. One of them from the temple on the hill, and the other at the foot of the hill in the Kapilēśvara temple. This does not contain the *praśasti* or the official laudatory passage, and begins straightaway with the 7th year of Rājēndra, the number of days in the year, omitted probably by inadvertence of the sculptor who engraved the inscription. That is, however wrongly read as the 7th day of the first year. The usual way of specifying these dates is, first to give the year, and then proceed to mention the date. The record here therefore mentions the year 7, followed by the day. The number which has to follow this is omitted. This would correspond to the year A. D. 1018. This is a very interesting document and refers to an ~~official enquiry~~ conducted in regard to the arrangements for the conduct of worship in the temple of the God at Tiruvēṅgaḍam. The officer concerned is the lord of Kottamangalam. Tiruvēṅgaḍakkōṭṭam is here referred to as a part of Perumbāṇappāḍi in Jayankoṇḍachōḷamaṇḍalam. He

held the enquiry in Tiruchukanūr belonging to Kuḍavūrṇāḍu, and Tiruchukanūr is here described as a *dēvadānam*, gift to God. The officer held his court in the front hall of a building that he presented on a previous occasion, and held an inquisition into the management of the temple affairs. He made the enquiry from an officer of the survey and classification (*vakaiśeyvadu*) of land of Kuḍavūrṇāḍu. He is described as a *Śirudanattu Perumakan*, which would mean the chief official belonging to the class *Śirudanam*, and his name is given as Kaḍappañkoḍaiyan, which would ordinarily mean belonging to Kaḍappañ-kudai, the name of a village or a town, and the servants of the temple *Dēvar Kanmi*. It came out on the enquiry that the *Sabhā* of Sirumundiyaṃ, another village gifted to the temple, took possession of the gold offered, according to inscriptions recorded in stone, and agreed to burn 24 perpetually burning lamps including one to be burnt with camphor. Of these the *Sabha* of Tirumundiyaṃ was burning only two lamps and could not burn the rest according to agreement, and requested that 20 *kaḷañju* belonging to the capital be recovered from the inhabitants of Tirumundiyaṃ, and, along with three more *kaḷañju* from the temple treasury, should be made over to the *Sabhā* of Tiruchukanūr, so that they may, without fail, burn the total number of lamps in the temple on the hill. This was the decision given by the officer (*Adhikāri*) and this decision was accepted by the *Sabhā* of Tirumundiyaṃ, which was again accepted by the treasury of the temple at Tiruchukanūr, and the requisite number of lamps was undertaken to be burnt by the officials of the temple and those engaged in the religious service to the temple as long as the sun and moon should last. This was the accepted decision of the Śrī Vaishṇavas. The other record refers to the Kapilēśvaram temple at the foot of the hill known as the Kapilatīrtham; and refers to the raising of a building by the Lord of Kōṭṭūr with the title Rājendra Chōla Brahma-Māraṇyan with the official title *Munayadaraiyan*. From this time on to the date of Kulōttunga I we have no records forthcoming. This would leave an interval between the year A. D. 1018 and the third year of Kulōttunga I, A. D. 1073, the date of the earliest record of the ruler, which would mean a period of about half a century.

**Inscriptions of kulottunga I, the Chalukyachola: and his son vikrama chola.** With the inscription No. 21 in the Parāsarēśvara temple at Jōgimallāvaram, we come upon the reign of Kulōttunga Chōla, whose reign period is counted from A. D. 1070 to A. D.

1148. This Kulōttunga, as he called himself afterwards, was a prince of the dynasty of the Eastern Chālukyas, and was the son of the Chōla princess Madhurāntaki, the daughter of Rājendra Chōla I, who was married to the Eastern Chālukya Rājarāja, who was again the son of Rājarāja's daughter married to the Eastern Chālukya prince Vimalāditya, so that Kulōttunga was a Chōla Chālukya prince, heir to the throne of the Eastern Chālukyas by birth, and became king of the Chōlas by an act of usurpation. He was a remarkable Chōla sovereign and is counted among the great Chōlas deservedly. It is, however noteworthy that, in the records round Tirupati and in several others of his earlier years, he is given all the Chālukya titles some of which are titles of feudatory princes. Among them peculiarly the title "*Samadhigata Panchamahāśabda*", was assumed by the Eastern Chālukyas from the time of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana, the first member of this dynasty. It began as a title of the feudatories entitled to go about with the band playing, the band being composed of musical instruments, the sounds produced emanating in five ways, according to the ancient classification of the various instruments constituting the band. The privilege of going about with the band playing was generally conferred upon those newly raised to dignity, as a mark of distinction. The first of these, No. 21 of Volume I describes him as a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* (lord of a great division only), as an ornament of the Chālukya race, as the lord of Vengi, as the beloved of the Gōdāvāri river, and the supreme lord of Kānupākka, etc. All these may be regarded as peculiarly Eastern Chālukya titles. What follows is a matter for personal distinction, the fearsome one with the use of the sword (*Karavāḷa Bhairava*). Then follows the title *Vēnkaṭanātha Purandhara* which seems to imply that he was a ruler over the region dominated by Vēnkaṭanāthapura (Tirupati). He is said further on to have destroyed the stronghold of Kaṭakapura, probably Cuttack in Orissa, the capital of the ancient Kalingas. With all this follows what is generally a feudatory title *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*. He is given the further title *Mahārāja Śri Vīra Rājendra Chōla*, and refers itself to the third year. He is given the title *Rājendra Chōladēva*, to which sometimes is added the prefix *Vīra*, which, in the few instances in which it occurs in his age, ought to be interpreted as a mere attribute meaning valiant, and not as forming a part of the name, if for no other reason, for the simple reason that this is not uniformly given as his title, as in the case of the uncle whom he succeeded, Chōla Vīra Rājendra. The

record is nothing more than a grant made for the purpose of maintaining two perpetual lamps. No. 22 is a record in Tirupati which is too far gone to make anything out of, except that it mentions Śrī Rājēndradēva referring in all probability to this Rājēndra Kulōttunga. The next following document which is in the Śiva temple at Jōgimallāvaram is a document of importance, as it gives one of those usual *prāśastis* of Kulōttunga recounting all his exploits both as a prince and as a ruler. It is a record of the 24th year of Kulōttunga which would mean A. D. 1094. It is a grant made by somebody for burning four perpetual lamps in the temple for which, at the rate of 32 cows a lamp, 128 cows were taken possession of by a certain number of Śaiva Brahmans engaged in service in the interior sanctum of the temple; and that is the purpose of the record. The province concerned is described as Rājēndrachōḷamaṇḍalam instead of the usual Toṇḍamaṇḍalam or Jayankōṇḍachōḷamaṇḍalam, and the sub-divisions are mentioned as usual. No 24 is a record of the same temple. The first part of it is gone. It refers itself to the 35th year, and records a grant made by one Kaṇṇan Vāsudēvan who is given the title *Śōḷa Brahma-Mārāyan*, who destroyed darkness and acquired something by his own strength. He acquired a certain piece of land in the *dēvadānu* village Munnaippundi, otherwise called Śivapādasēkharanallūr by paying five *māḍai* of gold, and getting the particular bit of land tax-free. The importance of the record consists however in the procedure that is indicated. This Kaṇṇan Vāsudēvan made the request of the superintendent of the *Māgāni*, a small revenue sub-division. He apparently got the order from the king himself who, by word of mouth, sanctioned the transformation of the village into a tax-free temple-gift land, in evidence whereof a number of officers of the settlement department affixed their signatures. Seven or eight such names are mentioned in detail. The land became a free-gift land to the temple from the 35th year of Kulōttunga onwards. The next one No. 25 comes from the same temple and refers itself to the 41st year of Kulōttunga. The record is in an imperfect state of preservation and refers to the sale of a certain bit of land to the Mahādēva, that is, to the temple. Among the other details mentioned are the temple, the digging of a tank in the near vicinity of Kālahastisvara. The signatures are also gone. No 26 is in the temple on the hill. But enough of it is left to show that it begins with one of the *prāśastis* of Kulōttunga whose name itself is mentioned. No. 27 is in the same temple and the bit

of the *prasasti* itself clearly refers unmistakably to the reign of Kulōttunga. It refers to the gift of milk and curds for the God by a lady, the wife of an officer who had a title beginning Rājendra. The interesting point to note in this is the God in the temple is referred to as "Tiruvāyppādi Tirumalai Ālvār", which would mean the lord of Tiruvāyppādi (cowherd villege) on the hill. It is a clear recognition in the reign of Kulōttunga I that the God was regarded as an aspect of Krishna Vishṇu, as by the early Ālvārs. Unfortunately the precise date is not available in the record that the temple on the hill was recognised to be a temple of Krishna on the hill. No. 28 again in Tirupati can be taken to be a record of Kulōttunga. The next following one is also his, but there is nothing of importance in it, and so also No. 30. Almost the same might be said of 31 and 32. In these records of Kulōttunga amounting in all to 12 records we are given the indication that, in the days of Kulōttunga, the region was directly under the Chōla government undoubtedly, from the days while yet Kulōttunga was only a Chālukya prince down to a comparatively late period in his reign. The shrines in the locality a Vishṇu shrine at Tirupati, the Siva shrine at Tiruparāsarēśvaram near Tirucchānūr, the temple even of Kālāhasti find mention. The Śiva temple at Tiruparāsarēśvaram comes in for great benefaction. There is only one record of his successor Vikrama Chōla, who came to the throne in A. D. 1118 and ruled for about 17 or 18 years, so that his reign period would be A. D. 1118 to A. D. 1135. In this one record, Vikrama Chōla is given all the Chālukya titles almost exactly as in the records of Kulōttunga, even though the record happens to be one of his 16th year, that is, A. D. 1134. The division is again referred to as Rājendraśōlamāṇḍalam, and relates to a gift to the Tiruparāsarēśvaram temple of oil for lighting the lamps on the occasion of the festival in the month of *Vaikāsi*, May—June. The piece of land in gift is referred to as being to the north of the *Dēvadāna* village, Munnaippūṇḍi.

During the period therefrom, A. D. 1017 to A. D. 1135, we have a fairly large number of inscriptions referring to the temple on the hill, and the Śiva and Vishṇu temples at Tirucchānūr as also a reference to the great Śiva shrine in the neighbourhood, Kālāhasti. We may therefore take it that these were certainly all of them in existence and received donations from various people, some of the more important donors being actually officers of government under the Chōlas. The more important donations



seem, however, to have been to the Śiva temple at Yōginallā-varam (Tiruparāśarēśvaram), and hardly any important one by way of major donations of large gifts or additions to buildings, etc., to the Vishṇu temple on the hill, or at Tirucchānūr. Being more or less donations by private individuals we can hardly argue that it indicates partiality, one way or the other, of the government. The fact may, however, bear the inference that enthusiasm for Śiva worship was rising perhaps among the people generally, but certainly among those occupying positions in life. On the basis of these facts it would be difficult to go further and say that there was anything like a movement of a Śaiva character which could do damage to Vishṇu worship and Vishṇu temple as such. There is one noteworthy point, however, that, since the days of the great Gangaikōṇḍa Chōla, the region seems to have passed out of view of inscriptional information for half a century, and then when it does come into view, it comes into view as the territory of the Chōla-Chālukya prince Kulōtunga, and the character of his earlier inscriptions in the locality would seem to warrant the impression that it ceased to be, if not formally, at any rate practically, intimately associated with the Chōla empire as such. We might perhaps account for it by the keen contest between the Chōlas and the Chālukyas of the west during the period.

We stated already that it was the policy of Rājarāja to bring about peace between the empire and its neighbours on all frontiers with a view to the coming struggle between the Chōlas and the Chālukyas, the two imperial powers face to face on the somewhat indefinite frontier of the north-west of the Chōlas, and south and south-east of the Chālukyas. The peace with the Eastern Chālukyas sealed by a marriage alliance, probably had this coming great struggle in view; but that Rājarāja anticipated this and made his arrangements accordingly is not left to us in doubt at all, as he put his son and heir-apparent the Gangaikōṇḍa Chōla in charge of this north-western frontier and the war, thereby creating him a sort of a superior viceroy, not so much in charge of the territory, but in charge of the war on this frontier. Rajēndra, the Gangaikōṇḍ Chōla had to do a good deal of fighting on this frontier, and the war continued almost with the same vigour under his sons, three of whom succeeded one after the other on the Chōla throne, before the Chōla-Chālukya Prince Kulōtunga, we might almost say usurped the empire. During this period of war, the frontier districts, among them the region with which we are directly concerned, must have been constantly liable

to attacks and invasions, and required special provision to guard against the enemy incursions; and one way of doing that perhaps was to include it in the sphere of the wardens of the northern frontier of the Chōlas, the more so, as that particular frontier was in charge of a dynasty of rulers intimately related to the Chōla family. It is not so much the transfer of this division or *Maṇḍalam* to the Eastern Chālukyas, as a mere transfer of charge and the guardianship to whomsoever was in charge of the southern portion of the Eastern Chālukya territory. It seems to be thus that the Chōla-Chālukya prince Kulōttunga came to be in charge of it in the earlier years of his reign as these districts were a centre of the war zone. We can understand from the fact that the immediate successor of the Gangaikōṇḍa Chōla had to march across the whole of the Mysore territory, which then was more or less under Chōla control, to Kampli in the Bellary district, not far from Hampi where are the ruins of Vijayanagar, and thence all the way through the Chālukya territory proper to Kolhapur in the heart of the Chālukya dominions. He fell in battle and his younger brother, who brought up reinforcements and beat back the enemy, had to fight hard to maintain his position. When he was succeeded by Virarājendra, he had to continue the same war; but we find that that war had to be continued over more extensive fields. Virarājendra claims a victory over the *Kuntaḷas*, the western Chālukyas, at Kūdalsangamam, wherefrom he is said to have marched successfully to Bezwada (Vijayavādi, as it is called in these inscriptions) and went further north. We find inscriptions of about this time in the Telugu country proper at Drākshārāma, and elsewhere in the neighbourhood, of the prince Vikramāditya, son of the Chālukya emperor Sōmēśvara who was the reigning monarch. There is also the additional fact that the Chālukyas about this time, appear to have created a new viceroyalty in charge of a prince of the blood round the region of Kampli. These facts taken together would indicate clearly that the war between the two empires was quite as active in the region across Tiruvēngadakkōṭṭam of the Toṇḍamaṇḍalam. It would therefore be nothing surprising if the peaceful activity of people moving about on their normal official duties, holding enquiries and making donations, by the way, to temples and recording them in inscriptions remain suspended. That perhaps is the reason why between the comparatively early date in the reign of Rājendra, the Gangaikōṇḍa Chōla, down to the third year of prince Kulōttunga, we find no inscriptions in this locality, and

this distraction must have continued even when Kulōttunga had succeeded as the Chōla emperor. Kulōttunga and his contemporary the Chālukya Vikramāditya VI had both of them alike to make war the prime concern of their policy. It was rather late in their reigns, after a continuous struggle lasting for a whole generation as it were, that they realised that this war was likely to prove interminable, and as such detrimental to the actual interests of everybody concerned. Then they came to an understanding, implicit or expressed, we do not know for certain, to let the Mysore plateau remain with the Chālukyas; and the two emperors contented themselves with keeping within their own frontiers and pursuing the arts of peaceful administration, for the remaining period of their lives. Kulōttunga died somewhere about the year A. D. 110 and Vikramāditya followed six years after. While there was a succession of capable rulers in the Chōla empire, the Chālukya empire was not lucky to the same extent, and gradually weakened away towards its decline. Vikrama Chōla had to be a viceroy of the Chōlas in the ancestral territory of the Eastern Chālukyas, from where he had to march south to take over the Chōla empire. All this period therefore was a period when the empire was preoccupied with war.

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## CHAPTER XI.

### THE AGE OF THE VAISHNAVA ACHARYAS.

**Interval of absence of inscriptions.** The period extending from the death of Vikram Chōla down to the early years of the reign of Rājarāja III, must have been for this region a period of the rise to prominence of the feudatory chieftains, to power and authority. There were two sets of those who play a prominent part in the later years of Kulōttunga III and throughout the region of Rājarāja III, becoming independent rulers of the locality afterwards. Whether we could consider this activity on the part of the feudatories gradually to make themselves independent, as the actual cause of the absence of inscriptions, we cannot say for certain; but it seems likely, as, early in the reign of Vikrama Chōla, that region was to some extent distracted between loyalty to the Chōlas and the Western Chālukyas. That disturbance must have been the cause of the ultimate establishment of independence by the local chieftains. This was made possible by the preoccupation of the imperial Chōlas with their wars in the south, and the activity of the Hoysālas, who acquired a firm hold on the Chōla territory in the period immediately following.

**The Acharya Nathamuni, The First Acharya:** The two centuries since the end of Pallava ascendancy early in the 10th century, almost down to the beginning of the period with which we are concerned happen to be the period of active life of the Vaishnava Achāryas, as distinct from the Ālvārs. The teachings of the Ālvārs could not have been anything particularly systematic, and even the works which have come down to us could not have been known so widely in those early times. There is, however, a tradition which finds mention in the *Guruparamparas*, the traditional accounts of the lives of these Ālvārs and Achāryas, that Tirumangai Ālvār during his life-time arranged for the recitation of these once a year on the occasion of a particular festival in Śrīrangam in December—January of each year. Apart from the mere work of individual teachers, teaching a few pupils of theirs, there seems to have been no particular provision for the propagation of the Vaishnava teaching in any organised form. The need, however, seems to have been felt to some extent, and provision had to be made sooner or later. The credit for organising

such is due to the first Vaishṇava Āchārya known by the name Nāthamuni. He seems to have belonged to the village of Mannār-kōvil in the South Arcot District where he lived most of his life, spending some time also in the adjoining village called Kurukaikkāvalappan Kōvil in the South Arcot District, just about a mile off the Chōla capital Gangaikondaśōlapuram. He probably was a practitioner of Vaishṇavism, and a teacher of local reputation like so many others. It so happened that a set of Vaishṇava pilgrims were going about worshipping in the Vaishṇava shrines, and they came to the latter place where Nāthamuni was engaged for the time being in teaching his pupils, and practising *Yōga*. When he heard them recite just one of the tens of the *Tiruvāymoḷi* of Nammālvār, he was struck with the verses, and he asked the pilgrims to repeat them; and, having learnt from them the ten, he also learnt from them that it was only a ten taken from out of the 1,000 of Nammālvār, and the pilgrims heard it recited in the temple at Kumbhakoṇam. They learnt it off from there and knew no more about the work or the author. Nāthamuni was naturally curious to secure the whole if possible, as he had heard probably of Nammālvār and of his *Tiruvāymoḷi*. He went down to Kumbhakoṇam, and got from there no more information than he already possessed and the one ten which he had already taken down or got by rote from the pilgrims. He learnt however that it was possible that at Nammālvār's native place, Ālvār Tirunagari as it is called, in the Tinnevely District, it is possible he could find people who knew the whole of the work. So he started on his pilgrimage to Ālvār Tirunagari. After futile attempts to gain information from anybody who knew anything about the whole work, he went into the temple and sat in *Yōgasamādhi* in front of the sacred tamarind tree under which Nammālvār is said to have practised Yōga. He then chanced upon some one who had learnt this from Madhurakavi, the direct disciple of Nammālvār, and he is said to have secured the whole work. He brought it over to Śrīrangam and there revived the annual festival instituted by Tirumangai Ālvār, which since had fallen into desuetude owing to the impossibility of bringing the image of Nammālvār all the way owing to heavy rains and floods. Having done this, he started on a pilgrimage to the holy shrines. It is said in the *Garupamparas* that he travelled north as far as the Himalayas visiting some of the Vishṇu shrines in these regions, and passing down southwards there-from, he visited Ahōbalam, and then

Tirupati. He went away from Tirupati feeling that the arrangements for worship there were not as good as they should be. We are told nothing further than this in his life so far as Nāthamuni is concerned. He is said to have been born in the year of *Kali* 3684, which would mean A. D. 582-83. This obviously is too early a dating for him, having regard to the dates of the others given in this very account, if nothing else. There is further the fact that the *Guruparamparas* have to make up the dating in a way which perhaps gives us an idea roughly of the actual period in which he lived. He is said to have been 340 years in *Yōga* to acquire the *Tiruvāymoḷi* from Nāmmālvār himself direct. The 340 years, or say roundly three or four centuries, perhaps prove the gap between the Ālvār and the first Āchārya Nāthamuni. Perhaps this may indicate roughly the time in which he flourished, some time early in the 10th century A. D.

**The Successors of Nathamuni: Alavandar and Ramanuja.** His grandson Ālavandār (Yamunaitturaivar or Yāmunāchārya), said to have been born almost at the far end of the life of Nāthamuni, and lived on to see Rāmānuja as a young man, made a similar pilgrimage to the shrines of holy reputation among the Vaishnavas and visited Tirupati similarly. He found apparently the same defect in regard to the arrangements for worship, particularly the fact that there was no satisfactory arrangement, such as, providing for a flower garden, for the supply of flowers, etc., for the daily worship of God in the temple. As that was considered one of the necessary objects for the offer of worship, he wanted to know if any among his disciples would brave the rigours of a life on the hill, and do what was necessary to provide this essential need of daily worship. One of his own grandsons who had attained to manhood and had reached the stage of householder volunteered for this service, and moved himself away with two of his young and unmarried sisters to set up life on the hill. This is Tirumalai Nambi, as he is called, and that is perhaps more a title than an actual name. He settled down there, laid out a garden, and cultivated such flowers and plants required for worship, and further took it upon himself to provide water daily for the ablution of the image from the waterfall some distance away on the hill known by the name *Ākāsagangā*. One of the young sisters that he took with him was married to one Kēśava Sōmayāji of Śrīperumbūdūr. The offspring of this marriage was Rāmānuja. Rāmānuja's date of birth, according to the traditional account of his life, is *Kali* 4118, A. D.

1017. The other date given of course is Śaka 937 by a chronogram. So Rāmānuja's life would be cast in the 11th century mostly, extending, it may be, into the 12th to some extent. Among the cardinal events of Rāmānuja's life happen to be at least two visits to Tirupati which in the nature of the case would be nothing very unusual, although according to other accounts, he is said to have paid as many as four visits. We shall have to consider this matter in some detail later. One of his visits was for the purpose of being taught the *Rāmāyana* by his own uncle Tirumalai Nambi, who had received this exposition from Ālavandar specifically. During another visit, he is said to have got the local ruler to build the Gōvindarāja shrine at Lower Tirupati, and set up the image of Gōvindarāja, which was cast out of its place in the great temple at Chidambaram into the sea. During the time of Rāmānuja, and while he was still teaching in Śrirangam, he felt the need again of an enterprising young man going and settling down in the temple for the flower service, probably because Tirumalai Nambi was growing too old for it, although the *Gurupramparas* do not state it so. One of his disciples who happened to be an arrival from the district round Tirupati volunteered for this service, and this person is Anantāvar, who figures in the accounts of the Tirupati temple, of which one prominent one is the Venkaṭachala Itihāsamāla by one Anantārya. We shall examine this work in some little detail later. In the time of Rāmānuja there seems to have been considerable improvement in the kind of organisation and the requisite agency for looking after the general management of the temple which already existed, and for the conduct of worship in the proper form. For this period we have some inscriptional information also which we shall have to consider together with the traditional information.

**Management of Temples and organisation of worship: The Business of worshippers.** In these accounts of the lives of the Achāryas, Tirupati gets to be mentioned as already a holy place of reputation which the Achāryas felt called upon to visit in the course of their pilgrimages. There is no mention of any ruler of the locality, either governors under a higher or a suzerain authority, or even rulers of the locality who claim to be ruling on their own account. Temple worship and provision therefor seem to have been more or less a matter for the devotees to provide for, and it seems to be only private generosity, whether of the ordinary people or those in authority, that made provision for this. In this period that point must be clearly noted. When the assistance of

local rulers was sought, and when these rulers intervened, there again in the great majority of cases, the donations, made by these very rulers for various purposes, seem to have been made in their personal capacity and not as rulers exercising authority, except where they interfered to correct a wrong or do justice between different parties disputing for privileges or other matters connected with the temple.

**Ramanuja's connection with Tirupati according to Sri Venkatachala Itihasamala.** The above account is as far as the *Guruparamparas* go. But Śrī Venkaṭāchala Itihāsamālā, a work compiled by one Anantārya contains a detailed account of Rāmānuja's doings in Tirupati. Rāmānuja's connection with Tirupati may be said to begin with Tirumalai Nambi, whose sister Rāmānuja's mother was. As was stated above, on the authority of the *Guruparampara* account, Tirumalai Nambi went and settled down at Tirupati with his two young unmarried sisters for doing service to the God on the hill, as desired by his grandfather and teacher Ālavandar. He remained there almost as a permanent resident, and it is from there that the hand of his sister was sought and obtained by Rāmānuja's father whose own native place was Śrīperumbūdūr, not far from Tirupati in point of distance. Apart from such visits as he might have made on occasions of domestic functions where the mother's presence may have been called for in Tirupati, the first visit of Ramanuja to Tirupati, in his character as a Vaishṇava teacher at all, was when he went there to get from his uncle the esoteric teaching of the Ramayāna as one among the several cardinal items of learning that he had to acquire to equip himself for the high office of the chief Vaishṇava teacher of the day. On that occasion he is said to have stayed for a year with Tirumalai Namb, and learnt the Ramayāna from him and returned to Śrīrangam.

**Ramanuja's second visit to Tirupati:** The second occasion that necessitated Ramanuja's visit to Tirupati was later. The worship originally organised at Tirupati was in accordance with the system of the Vaikhanasa Āgama, and was being conducted by a descendant of the first temple priest Gopinath. In the course of years, in fact centuries after, there seems to have been some irregularity in the conduct of worship, for which the local ruler punished the priests in charge, who, in consequence took themselves away from the place; and there seems to have followed as a result a certain period of neglect of this work. In consequence



the temple seems to have remained without a recognised guardian, and some Śaivas in or about the locality seem to have got into possession of the temple; at any rate, set up claims to it. There apparently was not a sufficient community of Vaishnavas to resist this claim effectively, and the local ruler, described as a Yadavaraja, with his head-quarters at Narayanavaram, wished to put the matter on a satisfactory footing after due enquiry. It was on that occasion, probably on the representation of a few Vaishnavas in the locality, that he sent for Ramanuja from Śrīrangam to come to his court and meet the Śaiva divines who set up claims to the temple, and enable him to arrive at a correct judgment as to the fact whether the temple at Tirupati was a Vishṇu shrine or a Śiva shrine. Rāmānuja responded to the invitation, and explained the matter satisfactorily at the assembled court, meeting the arguments of the Śaivas in support of their claim, and ultimately established, to the satisfaction of the Raja, that Venkatēsa at Tirupati was beyond doubt a representation of Vishṇu and not of Śiva. He created a favourable impression upon the local ruler, the Yadavaraja, so that he was able to make use of the good offices of the Raja for the purpose of installing, in a temple at the foot of the hill, the image of Gōvindaraja, whose shrine in the great Śiva temple at Chīdambaram had been ordered to be destroyed, and the principal image thrown into the sea, by the Chōḷa monarch for the time being, a zealous Śaiva. Some of those connected with the temple however, managed to get away from the place carrying the movable images of the shrine, and had arrived in Lower Tirupati for safety. Through Rāmānuja's influence, the Yādavaraja set apart an unoccupied portion of the town at the foot of the hill, built the shrine of Gōvindaraja there, and laid out an Agrahāra (Brahman settlement) round it, making the necessary arrangements for the conduct of the service in the temple. The removal of the Gōvindaraja image from Chīdambaram is said to have taken place in this account just a little before Rāmānuja's successful mission in connection with the character of the shrine of Venkaṭachala at Tirupati. He is said to have done several other things in connection with the worship and festivals in the temple at Tirupati before he returned from there. If the Vēnkaṭāchala Itihāsamāla is to be believed, Tirumalai Nambi was still alive and active in Tirupati as well as Anantārya, his own disciple whom he had deputed for the service of God at Tirupati. Anantārya was to look after the affairs of the temple under the direction of Tirumalai Nambi, now very old.

**Ramanuja's later visits:** Rāmānuja is said to have visited Tirupati again at a very advanced age, and that is said to have been his last visit on account of the great age to which he had attained by the time. The actual age is given as 102 years, and this is equated with the *Kali* year 4,220, and the Śaka year 1,041. He took advantage of his being there on this occasion to make certain improvements in the arrangements that he had already made by giving the one *Sanyāsin*, who was to look after the affairs of the temple disinterestedly, two or three assistants who were to be bachelors looking after certain departments of work. He also instituted the chanting of the *Prabhandā* hymns in the proper form, and for that, he arranged that a special person should be appointed to be in charge. This became afterwards the head *Sanyāsin* with the title *Śatakōpayati*. He was assisted by four bachelors who had the management of the temple. This was to be supervised and controlled by the *Yādarāja*, who, in all matters relating to the temple, was to act with the advice of *Anantārya*, Rāmānuja's own disciple, who is, in this account, said to have attained to the age of 66. On the basis of this arrangement, we may take it that Tirumalai Nambi had passed away.

There are one or two items of further arrangements spoken of in connection with matters more general, and not exclusively in regard to Tirupati, which would indicate that he had come to the last years of his life. That is about as far as we are concerned with the history of the temple at Tirupati with respect to Rāmānuja. But what we have noted already from the *Guruparamparas* that Nāthamuni paid a visit as did his grandson *Yāmunāchārya*, are borne out by the account in the *Vēṅkaṭāchala Itihāsamāla* as well. In the absence of confirmation from inscriptions we have to make the best of these accounts and arrive at our own conclusions as to the historical character of these incidents.

**Examination of the Guruparampara and Itihāsamāla accounts.** We have already noted that there are no inscriptions in Tirupati and the places dependent on it, during the period, and, among the valid reasons for this absence was one that probably this region was gradually passing under the authority of local chiefs who were rather inclined not to recognise the central authority and who wished to set themselves up in independence ultimately. The *Yādarāja* who figures in these accounts was probably a chieftain who belonged to the family of *Yādarāyas*, some of whom became famous later on in this locality, the best known name being the

powerful chief Vira Narasimha Yādarāya, feudatory of Kulō-ttunga III and his successor Rājarāja III. But before we proceed to examine this, we must study one or two preliminary questions in regard to the statements in the *Vēnkaṭāchala Itihāsamāla*, and clear the position so far as these statements are concerned. According to this authority, the first visit to Tirupati was undertaken for the purpose of the Rāmāyaṇa teaching of Tirumalai Nambi. Another detail is mentioned in connection with this, and that is a reference to the grant of an *Agrahāra* called Bālamandya a village in the vicinity of Tirupati by a Viṭṭhalarāja, a disciple of Rāmānuja, which would mean that this, the first visit of Rāmānuja to Tirupati, should have taken place after Rāmānuja had returned from what is now Mysore, to which he had to betake himself in fear of the Chōla monarch's anger, because of the Vaishṇavas of Srīrangam, the disciples of Rāmānuja, not subscribing to the Saiva doctrine that "Śiva is the supreme Deity." Then the second visit comes in rather close to the destruction of the Gōvindarāja temple at Chidāmbaram, and for the third visit the *Itihāsamāla* gives specific dates. We shall have to examine this carefully in the light of what is known of the life of Rāmānuja with a view to appraising the actual value of these statements for purposes of history. The *Guruparampara* date for Rāmānuja's birth is the Śaka year 939, in the Christian era A. D. 1017. The same *Guruparamparas* give us the date that, in the Śaka year 1021, the temple at Tirunāraṇapuram was built, and the image duly installed with the countenance of this Viṭṭhalarāja, who had already become a disciple of Rāmānuja. This date would correspond to the year A. D. 1099. Of course, the actual date given for his third visit is based apparently upon this *Guruparampara* date, and therefore works out correctly for this date. But our difficulty centres round certain known historical facts, two of which relating to Rāmānuja are established facts of history. The first of these two facts is as to when Rāmānuja had to take himself away from Srīrangam for safety, and in consequence, came into contact with, and secured the good-will of, Viṭṭhaladēvarāja, the ruler of that territory at the time. Viṭṭhaladēvarāja is obviously the name of Bittidēva, which is the Kannada form of the Sanskrit Vishṇudēva. Of course after getting into association with Rāmānuja, he is given the Vaishṇava form of the name Vishṇuvarḍhana, which is not altogether far from the original name of the monarch, the addition merely indicating that he had become a Vaishṇava and promoted the cause of Vaishṇavism.

Taking the *Guruparampara* account itself, it mentions this Vitthaladēva as the ruling monarch at the time, and he is brought into contact with Rāmanuja while he was still in residence at the village Tonḍanūr, a few miles from the railway station of French Rocks of to-day, in connection with a domestic matter of Vitthaladēva's family. It seems a daughter of this ruler was possessed, and all the Jaina divines at court and elsewhere, were not able to raise the ghost and free the young lady from its clutches. Rāmanuja is supposed to have effected this successfully, and in gratitude therefor the ruler became a disciple of Rāmanuja giving up Jainism which was his former religion. It is after this incident that Rāmanuja got to know of the image buried at Melkōṭṭai and installed it in a temple built for the purpose in the locality. The precise date given for that is, as we have already noted, at the commencement, the equivalent of A. D 1099. It is this date that actually runs against what is known from inscriptions and history. At this date A. D. 1099, Vitthaladēva was yet a prince, and his father who gives himself the titles of a feudatory of the Chālukya empire under Vikramaditya VI, had just died. He was succeeded in the position by an elder brother of Biṭṭidēva holding only a subordinate position like that of his other brother. It was about A. D. 1106 at the earliest that he became ruler in his own right, even in a subordinate capacity as a feudatory of the Chālukya empire. We have inscriptions of date A. D. 1117 stating that the temple of Narāyaṇa at Bēlūr was completed,\* and the image of God was installed in it. The year before that A. D. 1116 Vishṇuvaradhana's general Gangaraja successfully drove the Chōlas out of Mysore and captured Talakkad.† If Rāmanuja met him as ruler in the locality in which he is said to have spent his time of exile in Mysore, it must have been after A. D. 1106. It is very probable that Biṭṭidēva was in no position to do anything for Rāmanuja or Vaishṇavism till much later when his whole attention was centred on releasing Southern Mysore from the grip of the Chōlas. There seems to be therefore a discrepancy of about 15 or 16 years in regard to this particular date.

**The Chola Contemporary of Rāmanuja.** There is one other detail in connection with this matter which we get from the *Guruparamparas*, namely that Rāmanuja returned to Śrīrangam, from this locality where he had resided for about 25 years, on hearing that the Chōla monarch for the time being, having had

\* *Epigraphica Carnatica*, Hassan, Vol. Bēlūr, 58 and 41

† *Epigraphica Carnatica*, Vol for Mysore, Malavalli, 31,

an attack of carbuncle, died from the effects of it. Of course, the Vaishnavas regard this as a visitation from God Vishṇu for his disservice, and dub him *Kṛmikanṭha* Chōla. The chōla contemporary of Rāmānuja at this period, and the Chōla who was responsible for Rāmānuja's taking himself away from Śrīrangam to the Mysore country, could have been no other than Kulōttunga I. who was by no means a fanatic Śaiva. He may have been a Saiva and he may have been zealous in the pursuit of his religion; but we have indubitable records that he was anything but a fanatic, as arrangements were made for the worship of God Ranganātha at a particular festival at Śrīrangam, and the inscription is dated in his reign\*, and mentions him as the ruling sovereign. This would mean that in very Śrīrangam, which was the place of Rāmānuja, Kulōttunga allowed the freedom to the Vaishnavas to make their own arrangements for worship even to the extent of providing for the recital of certain sections of the Prabandha. Notwithstanding this, it is not impossible to conceive that he invited Rāmānuja for a discussion, or religious disputation, as against a Saiva controversialist, and punished the two Vaishnavas who went instead, in the manner described by putting their eyes out, not so much on account of differences in religion as to punish the impertinence of the answer that was actually given by the stout-hearted disciple of Rāmānuja, Kūrattālvān, who met the thesis that "Śiva is the Supreme" by an almost blasphemous play upon words that the measure Drona was higher than the measure Śiva, Śiva being the name of God and of a grain measure alike. Then it was felt that Rāmānuja's position in Śrīrangam was dangerous, and he had to get away from there. If he remained anything like 25 years out of Śrīrangam and returned there to only after the death of the ruler, the ruler under reference could be no other than Kulōttunga I. who died some time about A. D. 1118-20, A. D. 1118 being the earliest known year of his successor Vikrama Chōla, who was a Vaishnava. It is probable that Rāmānuja's building of the temple at Mēlkōttai may have been some time after A. D. 1106 and before A. D. 1116. The date A. D. 1099 for this seems impossible

#### **Date of foundation of Tiru-Narayanapuram-Melkotta by Ramanuja.**

In the traditional accounts of the *Guruparampara*, while it is possible that there should be errors in regard to the precise dating of events, as these were compiled generations later, the general trend of the story is likely to be more or less correct. On this

\* *South. Ind. Ins.*, III, 70, pp. 148-152

assumption we may take it that Rāmānuja went away to what is now Mysore, and remained there for a period of about a quarter of a century more or less as the accounts state it. He might have remained there, and even gone about teaching and collecting together a number of disciples devoted to him. It would be impossible for him to have constructed a temple like that at Mēlkōṭṭa, not a big temple that it now is, but even a comparatively small shrine, without the countenance of the local authority, and therefore we may well take it that that was undertaken after Ramanuja had gained the good-will and perhaps even the esteem of a devotee of Vishṇu in the Person of Viṭṭhaladēvaraya. As we have a specific date for his building the Vishṇu shrine at Bēlūr in A. D. 1117, we may perhaps safely take it that the temple at Mēlkōṭṭa was founded just a few years earlier, say, about A. D. 1015, when certainly Biṭṭidēva was the ruler, and was actively engaged in the locality round Mysore in the course of his conquest of that part of the country from the Chōḷas. This would mean a discrepancy of about fifteen or sixteen years in the date given by the *Guruparampara* for the foundation of the Mēlkōṭṭa temple. This event perhaps happened somewhere about A. D. 1115, rather than A. D. 1099. It is the *Guruparampara* of the Tritīya Brahmatantrasvāmin that gives the date Śaka 1021 precisely for this. But the other *Guruparampara* of Pinbaḷaḡiya Jīyar sets down the date as Śaka 1012, making the year *Bahudānya* like the other one, which is impossible, as *Bahudānya* equates with Śaka 1021, and cannot therefore with Śaka 1012. A discrepancy in the precise date therefore seems not merely possible, but is proved by this difference between the authorities. If Rāmānuja returned to Srirangam soon after hearing of the death of the Chōḷa, who was responsible for sending him away from there, it must have been at the earliest after A. D. 1118, it may be after A. D. 1120, which would agree fairly well with the date somewhere about A. D. 1115, for the foundation of the Mēlkōṭṭa temple.

**The period of Ramanuja's exile from Srirangam.** The statement in the *Vēnkaṭāchala Itihāsamāla*, which seems to couple Rāmānuja's first visit to Tirupati, to learn the secret teaching of the *Rāmāyaṇa* from his uncle, with the fact he had already got the grant of land of Bālamaṇḍya, a village near Tirupati from Viṭṭhaladēvaraya seems highly improbable. Rāmānuja was, under the instruction of his great grandfather Ālavandār, being gradually equipped for the position of the chief Vaishṇava teacher at

Śrīrangam by acquiring from the eight disciples of Ālavandār who each one had been entrusted with the esoteric teachings of the one or the other of the main Vaishṇava scriptures, and had begun acquiring these comparatively early in his life, after having been duly installed in Śrīrangam. It seems unlikely that this took place so late as after his return from Mysore. It was probable that he had acquired this before his name could be put forward as a Vaishṇava teacher of reputation, whose subscription to the Śaiva doctrine could be regarded as of decisive importance. So Ramanuja's first visit to Tirupati must have been pretty early in his life soon after he left Conjeevaram and went and settled down in Śrīrangam as yet not quite the chief Vaishṇava teacher; while Anantāvar's going over to Ramanuja to be his disciple might well have been after his return from Mysore. That an *Agrahāra* had been established in Balamandya at his request by Viṭṭhala dēvanaya, is itself improbable as this village was near Tirupati which was not then in the Hoysāla territory. Anantarya may have been one of the principal Vaishṇavas who might have settled in that *Agrahāra*. The *Itihāsamālu* statement seems to confound the two as apparently Anantarya was asked to go and settle down in Tirupati, probably because Ramanuja's uncle, Tirumalai Nambi, had reached to ripe old age and could not be expected to continue his service, which involved a considerable amount of physical strain, for long. Counting therefore the 25 years' stay of Ramanuja in Hoysāla territory backwards from the date A. D. 1120, it would bring us to some time about A. D. 1095, for him to leave Śrīrangam under fear of death through the ill-will of the Chōla emperor. There is no obvious objection to this date from the circumstances of Ramanuja's history, which would mean that he left the Chōla country about A. D. 1095 and returned to it soon after A. D. 1120.

**Ramanuja's epoch-making visit to Tirupati.** His second visit is the really epoch-making visit to Tirupati. We stated already that he was invited to go there by the Yadavarāja for the time being, as his name is not specifically mentioned to us, to argue on behalf of the Vaishṇavas against the claims set up by the Śaivas that the temple on the hill was a Śiva temple. It was also stated that this contention was raised as worship in the temple had been neglected for some considerable time by the *Vaikhānasa* priests having abandoned the place, and the prescribed worship in the temple having been given up. It was this that gave the opportunity for the Śaivas to take over the worship and claim

possession of the temple. That might well have happened in the latter part of the reign of Kulōttunga I; and in consequence of the same wave of Saiva fanaticism which turned out Rāmanuja from the Chōla country. It was about that time that Kalahasti had become a great centre of the Saivas. Rāmanuja's cousin, the son of the other sister of Tirumalai Nambi, who, as Gōvinda Bhatta, was a fellow student of Ramanuja who had afterwards become a fanatical Saiva and was in residence in Kalahasti. He was so fanatically attached to Saivism that Tirumalai Nambi found it very difficult to wean him from his attachment to Śiva and reclaim him to the fold of the Vaishnavas as the story has it. He had just then been reclaimed and Ramanuja was able to take him with him after completing his *Rāmāyaṇa* studies with Tirumalai Nambi, according to the *Guruparampara* account. Therefore there was a considerable amount of Saiva fanaticism in the locality, and, if the actual Vaishṇava priests at Tirupati failed to discharge the functions, it was possible for the Saivas to step into their place, and claim the shrine as their own. Since Rāmanuja moved away from Śrīrangam, the body of Vaishnavas at the place had been somewhat cowed down and could not put forward or sustain a claim to speak for the Vaishnavas as a whole. It was probably the return of Ramanuja to Śrīrangam, and the accession of a Vaishṇava ruler like Vikrama Chōla to the Chōla throne, that put new heart into the Vaishnavas and made them claim the temple on the hill as their own. This must have happened some time after Rāmanuja returned to Śrīrangam, and had sufficient time to install himself in his place and make his position secure there. As a matter of fact the *Venkaṭāchala Itihasamāla* states it that while Rāmanuja was still in Tirupati the news of the removal of the image of Govindaraja in the Gōvindaraja shrine in Chidambaram reached Tirupati. Rāmanuja heard of this from those who had run away for shelter to Tirupati, carrying the movable images from the shrine. For this event a precise dating is possible, as it is actually mentioned in Tamil literature in three separate works of the poet Oṭṭakkūttar, who was tutor and governor to Kulōttunga II, the son and successor of Vikrama Chōla who ascended the throne in A. D. 1135, and whose abhishēka must have taken place probably that year. So about A.D. 1135 ought to be the time when the images should have reached Tirupati. At that time Ramanuja was high in influence at the court of the local ruler, Yadavaraja, and had been ordering things at Tirupati, largely not only for the conduct of worship as of old,



but even to provide the temple with all that was necessary to carry on regular worship throughout the year, the periodical worship, provision for festivals, improvement of the town itself with a view to these, and much else that went to improve the amenities of the town to make it possible for the people there to live comfortably all the year round and render the services to the temple which must have become much more constant and regular. It was then that the Yadavaraja undertook the building of the Gōvindaraja shrine and lay out the Agrahāra which he called Rāmānujapura. Therefore then the second visit of Rāma-nuja to Tirupati should have taken place some eight or ten years after his return to Srirangam, say, after A. D. 1130. If the Yādavarāya, whose capital is said to have been Nārāyaṇavaram not far from Tirupati, had been a ruler of such influence in the locality as to have helped Rāmānuja, we can well expect some record of his doings, which would normally be set up in the temple in the form of inscriptions. There is no inscription referable to the time of any Yādavarāya, and the only record of the period is the one inscription of the 16th year of Vikrama Chōla dated A. D. 1117, and this has reference to the Siva temple at Tirupalādiśvaram. Śri paraśarēśvara, in lower Tirupati. We shall have to find an explanation for this.

**Ghattideva, the Yadavaraya contemporary of Ramanuja.** We have records of a Yādavarāya of the time with whom we can, in our present state of knowledge, safely equate all these doings to assist Rāmānuja to put the daily and annual functions in the temple on a footing of assured purpose from time to time. The actual circumstances under which this was called for has already been stated. From all that was said before, it would be clear that, so far the organisation for conducting worship in the temple of Tirupati seems to have been more or less of a private matter and left entirely to the community concerned to manage. It seems to have been entirely the doing of the Vaishnavas of the locality interested in the matter as actual worshippers of the deity installed in the temple. Except the earliest incidents connected with the almost legendary Tondaman Chakravarti, there is no mention of any state authority or royal personage having done anything towards this organisation of worship in the temple, or provision therefor, through all the long period of history that we have covered. It seems to have been left entirely to the Vaikhāṇasa priestly family, or it may be a few families, who had been brought in there for conducting the worship accord-

ing to that school of Vaishṇava Āgama worship. In our comparatively scanty, and broken pieces of information, which are put together, there is no reference to this particular so far. Such grants as have been made to the temple—and there have been a number—were more or less private grants which were allowed to be managed by the residents of the locality, *Stānattār* as they are called, who had the management of the temple in their own hands, as in fact was the case—actually in respect of shrines in villages right up to the end of the last century almost. Royal or official interference of a necessary or compulsory character, would be invoked only on occasions of extraordinary trouble, or dissension beyond the power of the local people to settle. The intervention sought of the local ruler, Yādavarāya, was in this case of that particular character, on the basis of such information as we have access to for the present. There is an inscription of the 17th year of Vikrama Chōla, which would bring us to the date A. D. 1135, of a Yādavarāya by name Ghattidēva who was ruling in this locality, very probably as a governor—~~to~~ may be a feudatory—of the ruling Chōla for the time being, and that is Vikrama Chōla. In the records just a few years later, he assumes the title—probably he was given that title—Kulōttungaśōla-Yādavarāya, which would mean he continued to hold the office under Kulōttunga II, the son and successor of Vikrama Chōla. More than that, he apparently continued to be conducting the administration loyally, and earned the appreciation of his sovereign so far as to have been conferred this title of honour. This is a point of some importance in this context, as that would go a great way towards explaining why he did not put on record any inscriptions in the temple of what he did by way of organising worship, and even making benefactions to the temple. This Ghattidēva seems to have been the actual ruler during the period with which we are concerned, as his records seem to go down to A. D. 1150. He is said to have had the title Yadava Narayana, which perhaps need not be given a Vaishṇava significance. Some time latter we hear of a son of his' a Rajamalla Yādavarāya, otherwise Bhujabala Siddharasa; but his records take him to rather late in the reign of Kulōttunga III. Therefore we may take it safely that it was this Ghattidēva, the feudatory of both Vikrama Chōla and Kulōttunga II, that was actually the Yādavarāya who called in the assistance of Rāmānuja to settle the dispute in the Tirupati temple. Not only that, he interested himself further in putting the whole course of

temple management and worship in order through Rāmānuja and the community of Vaishnavas in Tirupati. We may perhaps take it that he did not, as rulers of his standing before him did, think of putting on record what he did to the temple at Tirupati, as he might have felt such a thing might have been displeasing to the sovereign, who showed himself to be an enthusiastic follower of Saivism personally, and what is really more, what he did to the Vishṇu temple both at Tirupati on the hill, and the town below, were acts which might have been regarded as going against some of the acts of the suzerain. It is just possible that Kullōttunga II as a Hindu sovereign might not have actually objected to his doing what he actually did, but it would be justifiable if the Yādavarāya felt shy that these acts of his may not be actively approved at headquarters. This Ghaṭṭidēva Yādavarāya therefore, the first name among the Yādavarāya rulers to come to our notice in inscriptions early in the 12th century A. D., seems to have been the actual ruler, who was contemporary with Rāmānuja.

**The probable time of the second visit of Ramanuja.** Having regard to all these various circumstances, we are entitled to infer that the most active part in the life of Rāmānuja in Tirupati must be the years following the accession of Kullōttunga II to the Chōla empire. This was his second visit. According to the *Vēṅkaṭachala Itihāsamāla*, he paid a third visit when he was 102 years of age, and then regarded it as no more possible for him to be visiting Tirupati as frequently as hitherto, and made certain arrangements in order to assure permanence to the arrangements that he had made, and returned to Śrīrangam. The same work says that he paid afterwards two or three flying visits before he died. In the traditional *Guruparampara* accounts, he is supposed to have lived 120 years, the length of a *mahādaśā*. Without taking it too literally, we might regard Rāmānuja's was a long life running past a century, it may even be some years more than that, and without attempting to be too precise where perhaps too much precision may not be possible, we may say roughly that the active period of Rāmānuja's life covered a century from A. D. 1050 to A. D. 1150. Going by the precise statements given above, his 102nd year would correspond to the year A. D. 1119 which we have shown to be impossible for the precise events recorded, of which we can be certain in regard to dating. If in A. D. 1119, he was 102, he must have lived on 18 years longer which would mean that he

passed away some time about the year A. D. 1139, which, having regard to the precise dating of the accession of Kulöttunga II, would make it much too early. But if we take in the 15 or 16 years of discrepancy by way of antedating that we have noted already, it would mean that he actually passed away in A. D. 1155, and this date, it is just possible may be correct.

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## CHAPTER XII.

### ORGANISATION OF WORSHIP AT TIRUPATI BY RAMANUJA.

**The occasion for Ramanuja's work in this line.** The main items of his arrangements for the conduct of worship in Tirupati, and what he did for the improvement both of the shrine and town, may be summarised as from the *Vēnkuṭāchala Itihāsamāla*. The purpose for which Rāmānuja was invited to Tirupati on this occasion was to meet the arguments of the Śaivas at the Court of the Yādavarāja, in justification of their claims to the possession of the temple on the hill, as a shrine dedicated to Śiva and as such entitled to Śaiva guardianship. They put forward that certain peculiar features of the temple, both in the features of the image itself and in the details of the worship conducted, constituted a claim to the image being regarded as that of Śiva, and the shrine therefore a Śaiva shrine. It is hardly necessary, for our present purpose, to go through the whole series of arguments which Rāmānuja urged in reply to give satisfaction to the Śaivas, quoting largely from the Paurāṇic and other authorities, and drawing largely on the *Prabandha* works also. He was therefore able completely to satisfy the Yādavarāja that the features pointed out were features by no means peculiar to Śiva alone, and forms of Viṣṇu with those features are not impossible either of contemplation or of representation. But even then, the Śaivas had recourse to this final argument that the Yādavarāja had been prejudiced against them, not by force of the arguments of Rāmānuja, but by some kind of an occultic influence which they actually averred Rāmānuja exercised over him. To put the matter beyond all doubt, it is said that Rāmānuja suggested that the ultimate decision might be left to God himself, and it was then that they got prepared the weapons peculiar to Śiva and Viṣṇu which were to be placed in the sanctum of the temple when the night worship should be over, and the sanctum locked up and sealed, so that nobody might have access to the place. It was agreed that whichever of the weapons the image of the God had assumed when the shrine should be opened in the morning, would indicate the nature of the deity there. Certain accounts, of a popular character generally say that Rāmānuja assumed the form

of a serpent, as he was himself an emanation of Ananta, the serpent, and set the conch and the disc in the hands of Vishṇu overnight. But the *Vēnkaṭāchala Itihāsamāla* is quite content with merely saying that Rāmānuja spent the night in contemplation upon the deity, and in prayer that the deity might prove the truth by assuming the Vaishṇava weapons, as he had no honest doubt whatever that the deity was a Vaishṇava deity, and had been so regarded almost from the time that the image was found and a temple was erected to house it. That done, it was his responsibility as head of the Vaishṇavas, and of the Rāja, who was the ruler of the locality, to see to it that whatever had to be done in the temple had been laid down, with proper arrangements made for carrying them out through the year. Naturally this would involve arrangements for the worship as it had so far been conducted continuously, and wherever necessary to revive items of temple ritual, which may have fallen into desuetude. Some few new items which seemed to Rāmānuja very appropriate were also introduced in his time and continued ever since.

**The details of Ramanuja's organisation.** Of the seven divisions of the work, *Śrī Vēnkaṭāchala Itihāsamāla*, the first three sections or *stabakas* as they are called, are concerned with the discussion as to the Vaishṇava character of the image. The remaining four *stabakas* are taken up with what Rāmānuja did for the temple, and, after him, his disciple Anantārya. Since inscriptions of the next following century do mention the gardens and other features named after Rāmānuja and Anantārya, we may take it that Ramanuja's doings there and Anantārya's presence are matters which need not be regarded as historically doubtful. Nos. 171 and 173 from the Tirupati temple mention, without a doubt Anandalvan, and No 175 mentions equally clearly the *Tirunandavana* (flower-garden) of Ramanuja. Rāmānuja's effort therefore as to what he should do consisted first of all in the publication of the Yadavaraya's award that the shrine was a Vishṇu shrine and to restore to it the rituals of worship, etc., according to the Vaikhanasa Āgama as of old, after performing the initial purificatory rite of the great ablution of the temple, etc. He is said next to have repaired the tower rising over the temple called *Ānanda Nilaya* in accordance with the prescriptions of the same Āgama. He is said to have made a gold necklet containing an image of Padmavati, and put it round the neck of the God and restored the image to its position. This is the first part. The next item that called for his attention was the perfor-



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mance of the weekly ablutions, and the kind of face-mark with which the God's image was to be decorated. The ablution given to the God on every Friday was in accordance with the Ānanda Samhita of the Āgamas of the Vaikhānasa. The upright face-mark for the God (Ūrdhva Puṇḍra) was prescribed to be of the camphor mixture called Pacchaikarpūram, and for three days from Monday onwards, of the white earth generally called Nāmam. All the jewels and wearing apparel of the God were to be removed on Thursday, and the God was to be dressed only in flowers completely. He instituted, that during this process the Nācchiyār Tirumōḷi, one of collection in the Prabandha was to be recited. For the continuance of the worship in the proper form, and, according to the practices of the Vaikhānasa Āgama, he entrusted the work to such of the descendants of the early Vaikhānasa priest Bimbadhara, who, having received the purificatory ceremony of Vaishṇava initiation from himself, were to conduct worship. He made arrangements for the installation of images of the Ālvārs; but, as several of these by themselves, had stated that it would be profanation to walk up the hill, Ramanuja arranged to install their images in Tirupati at the foot of the hill in the shrine of Govindarāja which had recently been constructed.

**The Building of the Govindaraja Temple.** The most important item of Ramanujaj's work on this occasion, was the building of this Gōvindarāja shrine. The temple on the top of the hill was dedicated to Vishṇu in the form in which he is believed to reside in Vaikunṭha (Vishṇu's Heaven). There the God is in the standing posture, with all the attributes and attendants usual to him, in Vaikunṭha. The Gōvindarāja in Chidambaram was believed, and the belief continues even now, was the representation of God as he sleeps on Ananta, the great serpent, on the 'ocean of milk'. It is upon this feature that the young Chōḷa monarch made a pun in his remark that the natural home of that God was the sea, not the front yard of 'the temple of Naṭarāja. So when the movable images from Chidambaram had been brought by the Vaishṇavas, and the Yādavarāja undertook to build a temple to house them, Vishṇu, as he lay abed on 'the ocean of milk', was installed in the temple at the foot of the Tirupati hill. The Yādavarāja not only built the shrine at the end of the town, but built houses round it on the four sides, and, presenting them to good Brahmanas, made an Agrahāra round the temple calling the place Rāmānujapura, which became

thereafter an important locality, as he took care to provide everything that was required to constitute a good town out of it. Rāmānuja arranged for a small shrine for Gōdā within the temple, and taking that occasion the Yādavarāja instituted two annual festivals in that temple, one in *Āni* (August—September) and the other in *Mārgaṣi* (December—January). Having done this, the Yādavarāja invited Tirumalai Nambi and Anantārya to come and reside in the houses which he had built in Lower Tirupati.

**The Temple water supply.** The temple on the hill had been provided, soon after the foundation of the temple, with wells for the temple services and for the purpose of the garden by one Rangadāsa. They had fallen into disrepair and got partly destroyed. Rāmānuja restored these two wells. On the bank of the step well, he set up images of Śrinivāsa and Bhūdēvi, and arranged that the flowers etc., used in the temple service should be thrown into the well as sacred to Bhūdēvi. Then there seems to have been a difficulty for the supply of good water, and one of the services rendered by Tirumalai Nambi ever since he settled down there, was to bring the supply of water from Papanāsa, some distance away. On the occasion of Ālavandār's visit, Tirumalai Nambi was not able to bring the water owing to illness, and, to avoid the inconvenience for the future, Ālavandār obtained divine sanction to use the water from the kitchen-well dug by Rangadāsa within the temple premises for the kitchen service. This was called Sundarasvāmi well, the water from which was accepted as equivalent to the water from the Papanāsa by God himself by Ālavandār's prayer. According to the original story, which is recorded in all the *Purāṇas*, the image of the God was discovered under a tamarind tree by the Śūdra Rangadāsa, and when the Toṇḍamān Chakravarti afterwards wanted to build a shrine, he had to take note of this, and in planning the temple, he found this original tamarind tree and another *Champakā* tree, the flower from which was used for worship, were near each other and limited the extent of space on which the temple could be constructed. As the Toṇḍaman Chakravarti was much exercised about it, the trees moved away from each other and widened the space, and thus solved the difficulty. Having heard the story, Rāmānuja made arrangements for the worship of these trees within the premises of the shrine.

**Nāga jewels on the Arms of God's image.** The next item that called for Rāmānuja's attention was a *Nāga* jewel (jewel in the shape of a cobra), which was worn on only one arm of the God

Venkatēśa. When he wanted information as to how it came about, he was told the story that a Gajapati King by name Vira Narasimha, was at Tirupati in the course of a pilgrimage, which he had undertaken to Ramēśvaram. Finding that the temple was without a tower, he wanted that a great tower should be built, and, having ordered the building, he went forward on his pilgrimage, and when he returned to Tirupati, work on the tower had already reached the first stage. At this stage, he had a dream, when he was in Tirupati, that Ananta, the great serpent, appeared before him and complained that, by way of devoted service to God, he was overloading him, as the whole hill was his own body, and wished to be spared the trouble. After taking advice, he stopped the tower at the stage which it had reached, and in token of Ananta's appearance before him, got a representation of him made as a jewel, and placed it on one of the arms of the God which the God himself had accepted. At the same time he was also informed that not one but a pair of Nāga jewels were presented to God Venkatēśa on the occasion of his marriage with Padmāvati by his father-in-law Ākāśarāja. Having regard to this Rāmanuja asked that the gold Nāga jewels should be on both hands of Venkatēśa.

**Shrines to Narasimha.** Another of the institutions of Rāmanuja is said to be the Nṛsimha shrine within the premises of the temple. The Paurāṇic story in regard to this is that God Śankara performed a penance to Vishṇu-Nṛsimha who appeared before him and granted his prayer. This is said to have taken place on the west bank of the Swāmi Pushkaraṇi, and an attempt was made later to build a temple to Śiva on the spot. The Vaishṇavas of the locality objected on the ground that a Śiva shrine should not be build there as God himself had ordered otherwise, on the authority of the Purāṇas. According to their story, when the original temple was constructed and subsidiary shrines made for Vishṇu and his attendant deities, Śiva requested that he might also be allowed accomodation on the hill. God Vishṇu himself, to whom the request was preferred, allotted to Śiva a place at the foot of the hill on the banks of the Kapila Tirtha, and hence they argued it would be sacrilege to build a shrine to Śiva anywhere within the limits of the hill. Rāmanuja agreed, and, in order to solve even future difficulties arising therefrom, provided a shrine within the walls of the temple for Nṛsimha as this aspect of Vishṇu was fearsome and frightening to ordinary people. He therefore provided a shrine within the sanctum of the temple

under the tower *Ananda Nilaya* for Nṛsimha, and ordained worship there. He also arranged for the setting up of an image of Nṛsimha where Mārkaṇḍeya was supposed to have had a vision of Nṛsimha himself in front of the Nṛsimha cavern which led by a secret passage to the hill. Rāmaṇuja set up an image of Nṛsimha and built a shrine for the image, and arranged worship for that also.

**Miracles in favour of Anantārya and their Perpetuation.** Then follows the story of two miracles that God Śrinivāsa is supposed to have performed in respect of Anantārya. The first has reference to a hollow in the chin of the image, which, according to the story, is said to have been caused by Anantārya in the following circumstances. Anantārya was engaged in digging a small tank for watering his garden. He used to make his wife, then pregnant, carry the baskets of earth on her head to be thrown at a distance. God took pity on her, and, in the form of a young bachelor, used to carry the basket on his head and relieve Anantārya's wife of the labour. Anantārya felt displeased that this impertinent bachelor was depriving him and his wife of the merit of service to God. When the bachelor would not give up what he was doing, notwithstanding several requests, he became wild and hit him with the butt-end of the shovel with which he was digging. The bachelor disappeared, and when Anantārya went into the temple for worship in the evening as usual, he noticed the bleeding wound on the spot where he hit the bachelor. Taken aback by this, he immediately ran out and brought in a herb to stop the bleeding, and making a powder from out of it filled in the wound and thus stopped the bleedidg. Pleased with this service of Anantārya, God agreed that, as an item of daily worship, that depression should be filled with the camphor mixture, which is used for his acemark, and ordered that the shovel itself should be hung up in a prominent place in front of the temple. The other miracle was that Anantārya was cultivating a flower-garden with the greatest care near the temple. He found that at the flowering season, the flowers were are all collected and used and thrown about, leaving comparatively little of it for his own purpose in the morning. Being very wroth that somebody should be doing this, he kept watch to discover who it was that was actually doing it. After six or seven failures, he discovered one night a princely young man and a young lady to match, were diaporting themselves in the garden and playing with the flowers, etc. The old man ran about to capture the

young man who dodged him and disappeared into the temple. But he managed, however, to catch the young lady and tied her up to the next champak tree. As became her, she begged of him to release her, and pleaded that he should take hold of the man and punish him, and not her, whom he might regard as his own daughter, and let go. Anantārya would not let her go. When the day dawned, and the temple servants entered the sanctum, Śrīnivāsa intimated to them what actually took place, and when the story reached Anantārya, he was transported beyonds bounds, and, taking the flower basket full of flowers and carrying Padmāvati, the goddess, on his head, he entered the temple, and set both of them before God. This story is said to have been related to Rāmānuja, and he ordered that thereafter on the occasion of the Purattāsi festival, the God may be taken to the garden on the seventh day, and that Anantārya may be presented with a garland of flowers, etc, on the eighth day on the occasion of the festival of the car.

**Footmarks of Srinivasa under the Tamarind Tree.** The next institution of Rāmānuja is the footprints of God under the tamarind tree half way up the hill. It was stated already that Rāmānuja went to Tirupati to learn the orthodox teaching of the Rāmāyaṇa from his uncle Tirumalai Nambi, who under direction of Alavandār had been in residence on the hill serving God. Since Rāmānuja would not go up the hill and resided in Lower Tirupati, the Nambi had to come down from the hill, and they so arranged it that they met somewhere half way up the hill where there was a big shady tamarind tree. The Rāmāyaṇa teaching went on under this tree. Tirumalai Nambi was sorry however that the discharge of his duty to Rāmānuja and the community deprived him of the afternoon worship of God, a duty which he regarded as due from him. In this perplexing position, God appeared before him in a dream and told him that He would appear before him at the mid-day worship where he was, and while Rāmānuja and the Nambi were engaged in the Rāmāyaṇa lesson, and, at the correct moment of worship in the temple on the top of the hill, the footmarks of God appeared in front of these two with the smell of flowers and basil, and such other articles of worship as were thrown at the feet of God. Rāmānuja thereafter arranged that the spot should be held as a place of worship and everybody who goes up the hill, on reaching this spot should offer worship to Śrīnivāsa, crying out the name of Gōvinda. Even Chandālas were allowed to go and offer worship there, after having bathed in a tank called Chandāḥa-tīrtha.

**Arrangements for worship of Rama, Varaha, etc.** Rāmānuja was also responsible for installing within the temple of Srinivāsa an image of Sri Rāma as He offered refuge to Vibhishana just before the war of the *Rāmāyana*. This manifestation of God was made in response to the prayer of a certain *Yōgi* by name Viśvambara who lived on the banks of the river *Vaigai* (Sans. *Kṛtamālā*) to the south-west of Madura, at a place called *Kalavinkam* in Sanskrit (Tam. *Kuruvitturai*). Owing to disturbances in the locality later on, the *Vaiṣṇavas* were directed to carry the image for protection to *Vēṅkaṭāchalam*. The image was brought to Tirupati as Tirumalai Nambi and Rāmānuja were engaged in the study of that part of the *Rāmāyana*. Happy at the coincidence, Rāmānuja arranged to set up the image of Rāma as He appeared on that occasion, with the addition of an image of Sita also, and provided a place of worship for these in the temple.

The next item in this line is Rāmānuja's enforcing the old-time worship of *Varāha* on the west bank of the *Svāmi Pushkarani* before offering worship at the temple of Srinivāsa. In ordering worship at the temple of Gōvindarāja, Rāmānuja also ordained that, as in *Vēṅkaṭāchala*, the temple priests, after the performance of the last item of worship overnight, should be presented with garlands in the shrine of *Vishvaksēna*, the guardian deity before locking up the door for the night.

**Festival in memory of Tirumalai Nambi.** The sixth section of the work has reference to the association of Tirumalai Nambi and Anantārya with Tirupati. In regard to Tirumalai Nambi we have already stated how and when he went to Tirupati, and what service he was rendering there on the hill. One of the items of service to which he devoted himself was the carrying of water from the *Pāpanāsa*, a few miles away, for the daily ablution of the God. He used to carry the water-pot on the head reciting the *Periya Tirumōḻi* of Tirumangai Āḷvār on the way. One day he noticed suddenly that the weight on the head was diminishing gradually, and discovered when he looked at it that the pot was empty. Turning back he discovered a young hunter was drinking off the water by deftly making a small hole in the earthen pot by means of an arrow. To the Nambi's angry question whether it was proper that he should do what he did, as the water was intended for God's service, the hunter answered with a provoking nonchalance "O, Grandfather, do not be distressed about the water. Here a little way down is a holy pool of water, from



VARAHASVAMI TIRUMALAI

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AKASAGANGA-TIRTHAM

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which you can carry the water for the temple service". So saying he went a little way ahead and pointed to the Akāsaganā, and said "This is the holy Ganges water itself, and you might bring this daily for Our service". So saying the hunter disappeared. Wondering at the exhibition of God's grace to his devotees, he became even more devoted than before, and was thereafter carrying water from the Akāsaganā instead of the more distant Pāpanāsa. Since God himself chose to call him grandfather (Tāta), the term Tātārya was added as a cognomen or title. His descendants thereafter were entitled Tātāryas or Tātāchāryas in consequence. Tirumalai Nambi had a son whom he had named Rāmānuja. On his premature death, he adopted a son whom he named Kumāra Tirumalai Nambi, whom the Nambi used to call Tāta for brevity. It would appear that this young man was extremely friendly to everybody and received the sobriquet of Tōlappa (the friendly one). Hence the family came to be known as Tōlappa Tātāchārya. When Tirumalai Nambi passed away, Rāmānuja instituted the festival in his honour on the day following the Adhyayana Utsava during which the Prabandha used to be recited. The festival consisted in bathing the image of God, seating the image in the Mangalagiri hall, with water brought by Vaishnava Brahmans from the Akāsaganā chanting the Prabandha of Tirumangai Ālvār all the way in procession, and presenting Soṭakōpa (the sin-destroying crown surmounted by a pair of sandals).

**The Pavilion of Yamunacharya.** In regard to Anantārya we have already stated that he came to Rāmānuja as a disciple from his native place Bālamaṇḍya in the country near Tirupati, and that he volunteered service to go to Tirupati on Rāmānuja's requisition. His service consisted in making a flower-garden and supplying flowers for the purpose of the daily worship of the God. Having heard that Yāmunāchārya during his stay there at Tirupati had a little cottage near the temple from which he supplied flower for the God, Anantārya built a mandapa there in which he set up an image of Yāmunāchārya. Anantārya used to bring the flowers there, string them up and take them over for service to the temple. He had a son whom he named Rāmānuja who used to assist his father in this service.

**Ramanuja's regulations as to residence at Tirupati, etc.** The other festivals instituted by Rāmānuja are collected together in the 7th section. Rāmānuja had to make certain regulations in regard to residence at Tirupati, as that was considered an act of desecration on the authority of the Purāṇas and Prabandhas.

which he adopted in his own conduct. So he laid down that those who were engaged in the immediate service of God should alone reside on the hill, all else even among the devotees living at the foot. The second regulation was that those resident there, and the pilgrims that go there, all of them should take for food what was provided by the temple after the temple service was over. The third regulation was that those resident on the hill should not grow flower-plants for purposes of household worship, but should use only those used for worship in the temple. The next regulation was that when one of the residents on the hill is about to die, he should be taken down the hill before death. The next regulation laid down is that the animals and birds on the hill should not be killed in hunting as they were regarded as creatures specially devoted to God. The next rule laid down is that those going up the hill should not use vehicles for carrying them, and should not wear sandals or other protection for the feet. The whole precincts of the hill were marked as all the distance from the *Kapila Tīrtha* at the foot of the hill to the *Svāmi Pushkariṇi* on the top, with a radius all round the *Svāmi Pushkariṇi* of one *yōjana*, seven to eight miles. It was also laid down that, within this area, no temples should be built for any other God. These regulations that Rāmānuja made were put before God himself for His approval by Tirumlaai Nambi and Anantārya, and promulgated accordingly.

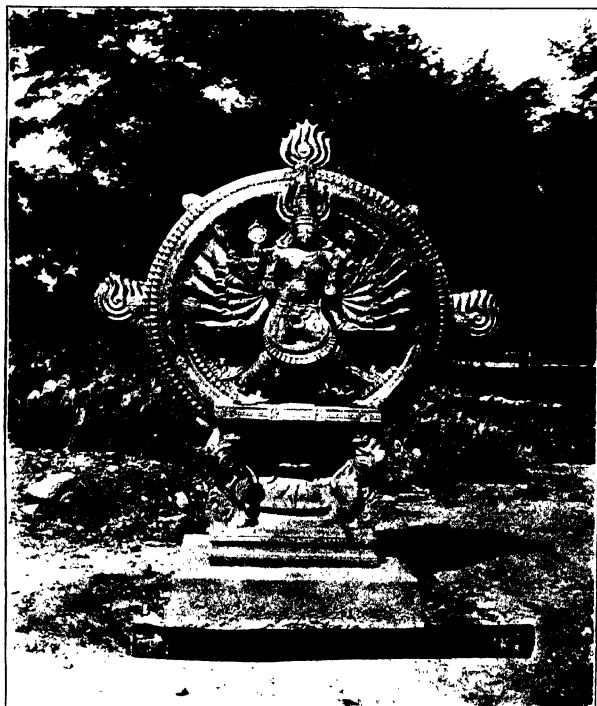
**Appointment of bachelor superintendent.** For the purpose of carrying out these regulations and seeing to the regular conduct of worship, etc., Rāmānuja wanted a disinterested person as superintendent. He therefore arranged that a bachelor of good qualifications should be nominated for the purpose. The person chosen must be a man of learning, should be capable of advising the local ruler, and should be free from any desire. He therefore nominated a bachelor accordingly, as prescribed in the *Pāramēśvara Samhita*, gave him the image of Rama for worship, and entrusted him with the Hanumān seal, a seal with the device of Hanumān on it for sealing up the treasury, and was given the key with which to lock up the temple for the night. In ordering the affairs regarding the temple, he was to take advice of Tirumlaai Nambi and Anantārya all the time that their advice was available. This bachelor was also given a pennon with a bell-mark as his ensign, and the Yādavarāja was to support his authority.

**Final arrangements of Ramanuja during his last visit.** When again he visited Tirupati for the last time almost, he found this



SVAMI PUSHKARINI

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VISHNU'S DISCUS AT THE FRESH WATER TANK  
IN TIRUPATI TOWN

arrangement working satisfactorily so far. Tirumalai Nambi had passed away some time since, and Anantarya was getting old; and he therefore found the work too much for the bachelor Sanyasin. He thought it was necessary to give him two or three assistants, as there was work enough for three or four. He also wanted that a special service should be instituted such as is described in the Tiruvāymoḻi of Nammalvar. With a view to this in particular, he set up a Sanyasin under the name Ṣatakōpa Yati, who was given charge of what the bachelor had hitherto been doing. Then choosing four bachelors from among the disciples of Anantarya, he appointed them to assist this Sanyasin. Advising the Yāḍavarāja to see to the affairs of the temple being managed satisfactorily and instructing him to act according to the advice of Anantarya, Rāmānuja left Tirupati finally for Śrīrangam. For the future he ordained that the management should be Anantarya's as long as he lived, and after him some one of his descendants. The Ṣatakōpa Yati representing Ramanuja himself, and some representatives of Tirumalai Nambi together, should have the whole management. He also wanted that one of the representatives should be of the Ṣaṭamarshaṇa Gōtra as representative of Nathamuni and Yamunacharya.

**Arrangements for the recital of prabandha.** Some time later Rāmānuja passed away, and, on hearing this, Anantarya set up an image of Rāmānuja with the permission of God Śrīnivāsa, and instituted a festival with the recital of Rāmānuja Nūṟṇāḍādi (the centum on Ramanuja) during the Adhyayana Utsavam. On one occasion one Śrīrangarāja who used to recite the Prabandha in Śrīrangam and was also accustomed to instructing Rāmānuja himself in the Prabandham went on a visit to Tirupati. On the occasion of his worship in the sanctum, he sang the Tiruvāymoḻi of the Ālvār. At the end of it, God commanded him to sing a few verses from the first Ālvār, and, having received the holy water and prasāda, he returned to Tirumalai Nambi and Anantarya. Since his visit the Adhyayana Utsavam in Tirupati was organised, and the chanting even of Periyālvār's Tirumoḻi. He then left for Śrīrangam. To continue this work a special man was appointed who came to be called Śrī-Ṣaila Vignāpti Kārya (the official to make petitions to the God of the hill) on the analogy of Śrīrangarāja Vignāpti Kārya, whose function was the recital of the Tiruvāymoḻi.

**Critical review of the account.** These, according to the Itihāsamāla, were the arrangements that Rāmānuja made in Tirupati

for the conduct of worship in the temple. As would naturally be expected there is in these things a certain amount of miracle mixed up with several matter of fact arrangements. It would be rather difficult to rationalise over the miracles where we are actually concerned with the devotees who believed in them. Any process of rationalisation of these would seem therefore to be out of place. We may or may not believe in these. We have nothing by means of which to say categorically whether Rāmanuja and his companions believed in them or not. We shall have to leave them there. Even where they are miracles, the institutions based on them remain. Therefore we might pass over the miracles side of it without further notice, and consider, so far as the history of the temple is concerned, whether Rāmanuja did or could have done all that is ascribed to him. We have already indicated that, in less than a century of time, some of these institutions get to be referred to in inscriptional records in parts of the Tirupati temple which may not be altogether late structures, Tirupati having received comparatively little addition till much later times. From what we have already stated above, we have enough justification for taking it that Rāmanuja did play an important part in the organisation of worship in the temple at Tirupati, and that he had occasion to do it at the time indicated. The *Venkaṭāchala Itihāsamāla* seems to be a work composed at a period much later than Rāmanuja, it may be; but even so, it records the traditions coming down to the time, and, at the very best, it would be a mere effort at explaining the institutions that actually existed in the temple. So the institutions were there, whether the origin of these had anything miraculous to support it or not. For instance, the miraculous occurrences in connection with Anantārya a modern reader may well consider could not have been readily believed in the time of Rāmanuja. Even this would be taking too much for granted. Devotees do believe in miracles, and, if they do believe in them and set up institutions in consequence, it is none of our business to call the institutions of festivals themselves unhistorical. We shall perhaps see, in the course of the whole history of the temple, that these institutions existed, at least there are records mentioning them—almost from a century after the date of Rāmanuja. We shall discuss those details when they come before us in our further consideration of this history. For the present we may take it that many of these institutions had either been in existence before Rāmanuja, or had been newly brought into existence by Rāmanuja, or were by him, put on a footing of permanence.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### THE LAST CHOLAS AND THEIR SUCCESSORS.

**A Gap in our knowledge, A. D. 1150-1235.** The period of active life of Rāmānuja comes to a close in the middle of the 12th century, and the last date for him may therefore be taken to be roughly A.D. 1150. The first Chōla inscription of this period that we come upon in the region of Tirupati is that of Rājarāja III referable to the year A.D. 1235. Between these two dates, there seems to be a gap, as it were, of about three generations. We have seen already that a Yādavarāya ruler of the locality was of great assistance to Rāmānuja, and had rendered valuable services both to Rāmānuja and to the temple at Tirupati. According to the inscriptional records of the period, we find a Yādava Ghaṭṭidēva holding a position both under Vikrama'Chōla and his successor Kulōttunga, and the available records of his do not seem to go much beyond A.D. 1140. But these records indicate that he had sons, one of whom has left records referable to a period somewhat late in the reign of Kulōttunga III which would take us to the eighties of the 12th century. These records have reference to one son. Possibly he had others who may have held the subordinate government in succession to the father, although no records of them have so far come down to us. The history of the locality therefore seems to be deeply associated with the fortunes of these Yādavarāyas, as we see one Vira Narasimha Yādavarāya, with the Chālukya titles, wielding great power and exercising authority over an extensive area including the region with which we are concerned. The names of a number of Yādavarāyas, including that of Vira Narasimha, occur in a large number of inscriptions in Tirupati itself and places dependent upon it and adjacent to it. To understand the history of the Tirupati temple therefore it would be necessary to understand the history of these Yādavarāyas.

**Rise of the feudatories: Yādavarāyas among them.** But the Yādavarāyas were not alone exclusively connected with this region. There are a few records of Telugu Chōlas as they claim descent from the ancient Chōla Karikāla, sometimes called Pottappi Chōlas, and another dynasty which goes by the name Telugu Pallavas, as they claim descent from Mukkanti Kāṣṣṭhi, sometimes Trinētra Pallava, giving themselves the gotra and the

titles of the Pallavas of Kanchi. It is in this tangle that we find the intrusion of a certain number of records connected with the Hoysālas—and two or three of the greater officers of the Hoysāla Vira Ballāla figure even in the inscriptions at Tirupati—a fairly clear indication of the extension of Hoysāla influence, if not of actual suzerain authority over the region. This complication has to be clearly analysed before we can deal with the history of Tirupati during this period. Very unfortunately our information for the period from inscriptions generally is comparatively scanty. We do not know much about what was taking place in the Chōla empire itself under the Chōlas, Kulōttunga II. and his successor Rājārāja II occupying between them the period A. D. 1133 to 1163, when the succession passed to a collateral branch of the Chōla dynasty under Rājadhīrāja II, whose period of reign was A. D. 1163 to 1178. He was followed by the great ruler Kulōttunga III. A. D. 1178-1216, followed by his son Rājārāja III, A. D. 1216 to 1246 followed by Rājendra III, whose records reach up to A. D. 1267 as active ruler, and A. D. 1279 nominally. We have noticed already that the territory with which we are particularly concerned had been associated with Vikrama Chōla as a prince, more or less intimately, and perhaps opened the way by virtue of his special connection as viceroy of this region for the accession to power of a new family of rulers certainly related to the Eastern Chālukyas, and may have belonged to a collateral branch of the ruling family. They very probably continued to hold the region in a feudatory capacity, but like feudatories generally, not keenly regardful of the suzerain authority, when the holders of that authority themselves got involved in a struggle for existence. This attitude seems to have come about more or less gradually, as a new feudatory power began to assert itself in the region of South Arcot District. They come into prominence somewhat later in this period, but were gradually building up that position in the region round Cuddalore. The most distinguished member of this dynasty who contributed very largely to the decline of the Chōla authority under Rājārāja III was a person known by the name Kō-Perunjiṅga. The rise of this feudatory power immediately to the North facilitated to some extent the assumption of independence or semi-independence in the feudatories farther north. Hence it is that we find the Yādavarāyas gradually giving up all references to the suzerain authority in their records, from the reign of Kulōttunga Chōla II onwards, though not always and uniformly. Tirupati and its history got therefore in a way



peculiarly associated with the fortunes of the Yādavarāyas, whose history we shall have to consider as a necessary preliminary.

**The actual feudatory families.** We suggested already that the Chōla-Chālukya war between Kulōttunga I of the Chōlas and the Chālukya Vikramāditya VI, which perhaps came to an end in the last years of the 11th century, and perhaps received a definitive determination of the frontier between the two by A.D. 1116, helped to bring into prominence these feudatory families. The names of several of these could be traced in the inscriptions of the reign of Vikrama Chōla definitely. Under his successor Kulōttunga II almost the same families are found mentioned prominently. They occupy positions, no doubt of importance, but there is one little noteworthy feature in connection with them; they seem as yet capable of being transferred from one sphere of activity to another. While therefore they might be regarded as feudatories holding portions of land under the rulers in different localities, so long as this transfer was possible they must be regarded more or less as officials. But we could see, in the course of the generation following the early years of Kulōttunga II, the gradual change that the families get associated with their territories, and their authority being even confined to the actual territories over which they wielded authority. This it is that transforms them from a body of officials, however great, into regular feudatories holding particular portions of territory and changing their fealty to their suzerain as circumstances changed. This transformation is undoubtedly a gradual process, and was taking place, during the reigns of both Kulōttunga II and Rājārāja II—a period, which is essentially one of peace. While the Ganga frontier thus got definitely settled as was stated before, the frontier immediately to the north of the Chōla territory was not exactly in that condition. Over the eastern Chālukya territory proper the power of the Western Chālukya-Vikramāditya spread rapidly during the period of the war; and while considerable success had been attained in the reign of Vikrama Chōla in the recovery of all these territories where Chōla officers held rule during his reign acknowledging his authority without question, a number of families gain prominence as feudatories. The families that figure in the inscriptions of this reign are the Pallava family of Kūdal (Cuddalore) in the South Arcot District; immediately to the north of them, the family of the Sambuvarāyas was coming into prominence in the Palār basin between Vellore and the farther north; then there was the family of the

Malayamāns round Tirukkōvilūr, sometimes called Śādirāyana. We also hear of a lord of the Senjiyar, people in the territory of Senji (Ginji). Further north of these a number of chieftains are referred to under Vikrama Chōla named the Sālukkis of Tōḍa-maṇḍalam. Further north of these were the Pottappi Chōla. Then figure the names of a certain number of chieftains called Gāṅgēyas. Then comes the Mahāmaṇḍalēvara Ghaṭṭidēva. Even farther north the lord of Kollipākka happens to be mentioned. This Ghaṭṭidēva belonged to the family of the Yādarāyas, who claim descent from the Sāsikula Chālukkis. One of them by name Nāraṇadēva is traceable in the records of the reign of Vīraśeṇḍra. All these families in the locality continued more or less in the reign of Kulōttunga, and his successor. Only we see certain changes due to transfers. But otherwise it becomes clear that, in this period, there were a large number of powerful feudatories who interposed themselves between the Chōla headquarters and the local administrations, which gradually developed so as to make themselves intermediate powers, more and more identifiable as local rulers, throwing the authority of the Chōla rulers into the background.

The Yadavaraya family in this period. Of these feudatory families the one that is most frequently associated with Tirupati is the family of the Yadavarayas who seem to have been imperial officers of great importance to begin with, and exercising authority over a vast extent of the empire of the Chōlas. Among them Vira Narasinga Yadavaraya with various titles, indicating more or less his gradual rise to importance, is the most distinguished. But there are a certain number of other Yadavarayas besides whose names also figure, as in fact the names of the members of other dynasties such as the Gaṇḍagōpālas, the Telugu Chōlas and even others. These various names appearing in the inscriptional records of Tirupati during the same period would go to indicate that they were all officers of dignity, under the empire of the Chōlas or Pāndyas according to time, who made donations to the temple, perhaps without being necessarily associated with the rule of the locality containing Tirupati. But the records of the Yadavaraya Vira Narasinga and just one or two others would indicate that, in their particular case, the association was very much more than that of officials who were donors of importance. We may therefore take note of the names of this dynasty that figure in this connection, with their dates as far as they are ascertainable, so as to be able to locate them properly.

We referred already to the Yādava ruler Ghattidēva as probably the Yādavarāya who assisted Rāmānuja in various matters connected with the hill-shrine of Tirupati in connection with the claim of the Śaivas, and the arrangements that he made subsequently. It was also probably he who assisted Rāmānuja to build the shrine of Gōvindarāja in Lower Tirupati and who laid out the *Agrahāra*, Rāmānujapuram, round it in honour of Rāmānuja although we have not come upon any record of these associations of Ghattidēva. His known dates, the 17th year of Vikrama Chōla and the 16th year of Kulōttunga, or A.D. 1115 to 1139 would leave but little doubt in regard to the matter. From the last date A. D. 1139 almost to the year A. D. 1235 there is a gap in these inscriptional records which we could hardly fill. That is just the period of the rule of Rājarāja II succeeded by Rājādhirāja and then again by Kulōttunga III. The whole of the reign of Rājādhirāja and the first years of Kulōttunga were occupied completely with the war of Pāndya succession in which the Chōlas took one side and the Ceylonese the other. So the imperial preoccupation was altogether this, and we might almost say the face of the Chōla monarchs remained set towards the south during the whole of this period, with the exception of the few years of Rājarāja II, whose reign appears to have been one essentially of peace. Then the name of a Yādavarāya that we come upon with dates in the 7th year of Kulōttunga III, and in the 11th and 15th years of Rājarāja III or the period A. D. 1185 to 1231, is that of a Tirukkālattidēva Yādavarāya, not to be mistaken with the Telugu Chōla of the same name. We have a son of his by name Śiriyapillai with the title Virarākshasa Yādavarāya, and date A. D. 1193. A son of Ghattidēva by name Rājamalla Yādavarāya appears with dates in the 31st year of Kulōttunga III and the 21st year of Rājarāja III, A. D. 1209 to 1237. He is followed by a son of his with the date in the 19th year of Rājarāja A. D. 1235 by name Kāsānmai, rather a peculiar name, and then we come to Vira Narasinga Yādavarāya.

Yadava Vira Narasinga and his successors. This name occurs as that of an important officer of the Chōla empire under Kulōttunga III and the earlier years of Rājarāja III, his authority extending practically all over the region of Tondamandalam. The authority that he exercised perhaps would bear the inference that he was something of a superior governor, whose authority prevailed over that of local governors of the divisions under him, which in

his time, would have been practically the northern half of the Chōla empire. The earliest record of his that we know of refers to the 31st year of Kulōttunga III, that is A. D. 1209, and the latest takes us on the 14th year of Rājarāja III which would mean A. D. 1230; and then there is one of the 12th year of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I which would mean A. D. 1262—63, so that he seems to have wielded his authority and held his position during the long period A. D. 1209 to 1263 at least. His inscriptions are numerous in the temple of Tirupati itself, and he had undertaken and executed some large works in connection with the temple. There are three other names of Yādavarāyas that occur, Ghaṭṭidāva II, during the period A. D. 1224—27 in the reign of Rājarāja III, Tiruvēngadanātha Yādavarāya, whose dates are from the 8th to the 12th year taken to be his own. But these dates might as well be those of Vira Narasinga, whose son-in-law he seems to have been from an expression in one of the inscriptions, *Maruhanār* occurring in inscription No. 102, which ought to be applied to him. We shall revert to that later. He is followed by another Śrīranganaṭha Yādavarāya, whose dates are comprised between the years A. D. 1336 and 1355. It will be seen that, considering merely the dates, these last three Yādavarāyas figure in the period in which Vira Narasinga's authority prevailed, as was stated above. While these may have been princes of the royal family of the Yādavas, their spheres of office must have been those of local governors under the supervision of the higher officer Vira Narasinga Yādavarāya. We shall now proceed to consider what light the inscriptions throw upon their associations with Tirupati.

**Inscriptions of the Yādavarāyas under Chola rule.** Notwithstanding the fact that several of these Yādavarāyas were contemporaries of Kulōttunga III., and could be ascribed to his reign, there are no inscriptions in Tirupati which refer themselves to the reign of Kulōttunga III explicitly. This is probably, to be accounted for by the fact that in the earlier years of Kulōttunga and for the far greater part of his reign clearly, he was occupied in the south with wars against the Pāṇḍyas and the Ceyloneese; and though subsequently we know that he was very active and brought the empire back substantially to allegiance to him, it is just possible that the northern portions of the empire had not been so completely brought back again to the same sense of duty as the other portions of the empire. Consequently these northern chiefs conducted themselves as if they were their own masters. We shall refer, as we proceed, to such inscriptions as may be referable

to his reign from the mere dating whenever it is possible. But among the inscriptions included in Volume I of the *Dēvastānam* Inscriptions, the first is No. 34 referring itself plainly to Rājārāja III, and probably to his 5th year, which would mean A.D. 1221, and refers to the digging of a tank in *Tirucchānūr*, where the inscription is found, by an officer of the treasury by name Pāṇḍyataraiyan. The grant itself refers to the gift of a piece of land to the temple. No. 35 refers to the 7th year of Rājārāja, and refers to the temple at *Yōginallāvaram*, and refers so the same officer as above, whose son-in-law Vira Narasingadēva Yādavarāya is said to have been. It refers to a grant by his officer in honour of one Nārāyaṇa Piḷḷai, who fell in the battle of Uratti, fighting on the side of the Yādavarāya, and seems to imply that he laid his life in defence of the Yādavarāya. The Pāṇḍyataraiyan brought the piece of land for gold under the new tank Nārāyaṇa, and made it over to the temple for the offer of worship at *Ardhayāma* (overnight), and for taking out the God in procession. This was made over, under sanction of a letter from Piḷḷaiyār Yādavarāyar, that is, Vira Narasinga Yādavarāya, and acknowledged as such by the Vaishṇava Brahmins in charge of the temple. Vira Narasinga Yādavarāya, it should be remembered, figures here as the son-in-law of the officer concerned. The battle of Uratti must have taken place before the 7th year of Rājārāja, and probably was fought for by the Yādavarāya on the one side as against enemies. The next one, No. 36 comes from the same temple and is dated the 9th year of Rājārāja. This is an interesting grant and refers to an arrangement made in the 23rd year of Rājārāja I by a Jayamkoṇḍa Chōḷa Brahmamārāyan, who paid 26 *kaḷaṅju* of gold for the purpose of celebrating an ablution on the *Uttarāyaṇa Sankramaṇa* (about the middle of January) day every year. This had apparently not been done. When the matter was brought to the notice of Vira Norasinga Yādavarāya, he made the necessary enquiry, and, finding the facts as stated, ordered that the money might be taken over into the treasury of the temple, and arrangements made for the celebration of the festival by the *Sabhā* of the village. The next inscription has reference to the same year, and seems to refer more or less to the gift in the previous grant for the ablution of the God on the *Uttarāyaṇa Sankramaṇa*, and gives details of how the income had to be expended, and is an acknowledgement by the *Sabhā* of their responsibility in regard to this matter. The next one No. 38 belongs to the 14th year of Rājārāja, and refers to the same

temple and the same officer Pāṇḍyatariyan, who is described as a treasurer, son of one Andār, who was a lion to those of other faiths, and as holding the office of the Superintendent of the *Maṭha* attached to the temple, and refers to a gift of land under the tank Vira Narasingadēva, in whose name it was repaired and put in order by his father-in-law, the Pāṇḍyataraiyan referred to. The revenues in paddy and in gold from some of his land was made the capital for the celebration of certain festivals in the temple. The land was made over to the *Uravar*, the governing body of the town, who agreed to conduct the festival for all time from the income. This was agreed to by the governing body of Munna'ppūṇḍi, and attested by the accountant of the temple under the *Mahāsabhā* of Yōgimallāvaram. The next following inscription has reference to the temple accountant, mentioned in the above record, who is said to have set up an image of *Garṣṇā*. The document is incomplete. That again is a document in Yōgimallāvaram With No. 40 we come on to the Gōvindarāja shrine, which, it will be remembered, was actually constructed, at the instance of Rāmānuja, by a former Yādavarāya to house the images carried away from Chidambaram when the ruling Chōla ordered the Govindarāja shrine to be removed from there. The document is prefaced, "in accordance with the oral orders of the King," and is dated in the 19th year of Rājarāja III. It states that on a particular day in the month of *Kārttika* of the year, the *Periyanāṭṭavar* (the big assembly of the division) assembled in the Iḷangōvil of the locality, what is now the Alamēlumangā shrine, and refers to a resolution that they came to. The resolution had reference to the provision by the *Periyanāṭṭār*, for the daily offerings to Tirumangai Ālvār, who is described as *Kārālar Karpakam* (the wish-giving tree among the Kārālar), Kārālar being an agricultural Kallar community. A shrine had been built for this Ālvār in the Gōvindarāja temple, and, as a provision for the daily worship had been omitted to be made, this omission had been made good by a certain number of people. It is interesting to note the first name is Srī Śaṭakōpadāsa, (a devotee of Nammālvār) and Kōlli Kāvalidāsa (the first part has reference to Ālvār Kulasēkhara). The third name is one Aruvar-anayakōvil Pillai, and the last is a Kalikanṛidāsa (the first part being one of the names of the Tirumangai Ālvār himself). A certain amount of land was made over for the purpose, the cultivators of which had to make over a certain measure of paddy for each *paṭṭi*. This was made over in the name of Gōvinda

Perumāḷ to the managers of the treasury of Tiruvēṅgaḍamudaiyān, the God on the hill. This was the order of the governing body of Tirukkuḍavūr, and was to be a perpetual grant. This charitable gift received the approval of the *Periyanāṭṭavar*, the governing body of the *Periyanāḍu*, and was attested by their *Vēḷān*, that is, the hereditary writer of the division. No. 41 is an imperfect document, but refers itself clearly to the days of Rājarāja, and makes mention of the Yādavarāya as well as the Nārāyaṇan 'who fell formerly', apparently referring to the Nārāyaṇa Pillai who fell in the battle of Uratti. No. 42 is an inscription in the temple at Tirupati, and refers to the 6th year of Allun Tirukkāḷattidēva. The other details are gone, but what is left is enough to indicate it was a grant by Madhurāntaka Pottappi Tirukkāḷattidēva. From this we pass on to the documents referring to Sundara Pāṇḍya I.

**The reign of Rājarāja III and the decline of the Chola power.** We have already stated that the Chōla Kulōttunga III ceased to rule in A. D. 1216 or somewhat later, but was succeeded by Rājarāja III in that year, either as joint ruler or in his own right. Rājarāja's rule extended from that date to the year A. D. 1246 without a doubt, and there are documents referring to his reign for a number of years afterwards even. We come upon inscriptions of a certain Rājendra III from A. D. 1246 onwards, or even somewhat earlier. Whether he succeeded Rājarāja III and what his actual relation to Rājarāja was, we do not know for certain. But from what we gather from the inscriptions of the time, it looks as though he were a brother of Rājarāja III who played his own part in the last years of Rājarāja III's feeble reign to regain to some extent the power and prestige of the ruling family of the Chōlas. The Pāṇḍya wars, which had remained the preoccupation of Kulōttunga III through practically the whole length of his reign, seem to have continued more or less notwithstanding the drastic punishment inflicted upon the defeated Pāṇḍya by Kulōttunga. The great humiliation the Pāṇḍyas suffered only whetted their appetite for revenge, and, throughout the reign of Rājarāja III, he had to suffer humiliation at the hands of the Pāṇḍya, almost from the outset of his reign. Jaṭavarman Kulāśekhara Pāṇḍya was the last contemporary of Kulōttunga III, and was succeeded by Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, who came to the throne in A. D. 1216. Māravarman almost immediately set out on an invasion of the Chōla country and claimed to have conquered it, burning the capitals of Tanjore and Uraiyūr. All

through his reign and that of his successor Māravarman Sundara Paṇḍya II, the Chōḷa territory and Chōḷa authority were alike reduced to the lowest position. This attack from outside was taken advantage of by the discontented feudatories within, among whom the Kādavas with their head-quarters, first at Cuddalore and then at Sēdamangalam, played the chief part. There were some loyalists among the feudatories farther north, who fought against the Kādavas and their allies. Among them figure the names of Vira Narasinga Yādavarāya, and a certain number of other chiefs in his neighbourhood. This war against the Kādava was not so very much to restore the authority of the Chōḷa emperor but to prevent the Kādava lording it over them, and showed respect for the central authority as a matter of form more or less. The position of the Chōḷa emperor became precarious in the 2nd or 3rd year of his reign, and it was the timely intervention of the Hoysāla ruler Narasimha II, who was related to the Chōḷa family, that saved the situation for the time being, by releasing Rājarāja from prison into which he was thrown by the Kādava. The attack therefore from the south by the Paṇḍya, and from the Kādava in the interior immediately to the north of the country alike, made the position of the Chōḷa monarch precarious in the extreme, and, in the next following years, the Hoysālas found it necessary to be constantly on the alert in his defence. They felt it necessary therefore to establish themselves near Śrīrangam where, on the northern bank of the Coleroon, they fortified the town of Kaṇṇanūr, and erected for themselves a capital which they named Vikramapura. It was through the good offices of the Hoysāla that Rājarāja was able to maintain some semblance of power. When Rājendra III comes to notice we see him acting as if he were impatient of this tutelage of the reigning Chōḷa monarch, and, as if he were exerting himself to vindicate the Chōḷa prestige and authority, as against the Hoysāla and the Paṇḍya together. But the years were years of constant war and turmoil, so that there was not much chance of the Chōḷas being left in peace.

**Jatavarman Sundara Paṇḍya.** In these circumstances Jaṭavarman Sundara Paṇḍya I ascended the throne in succession to Māravarman Sundara Paṇḍya II. He was a powerful ruler and very warlike. He started on a campaign against the Chōḷa territory, but primarily against the Hoysāla monarchs who seem to have been, at the time related both to the Chōḷas and the Paṇḍyas. In the course of a decade, he had succeeded in defeating



the Hoysālas, and along with them the Chōlas, the Kādava feudatory of the Chōlas and even the more powerful among the feudatories farther north who held possession of Kānchi and the territory dependent thereon. Marching farther north, he brought into subordination to him, the northern provinces of the Chōla empire reaching as far as the Krishṇa and celebrating the anointment of heroes in as far north a place as Nellore. So during his reign he had successfully brought the Chōla empire under his authority; and those of the feudatories of the Chōlas who were prudent, had to acknowledge his authority and pay allegiance to him. The inscriptions referring to his time naturally therefore have to be issued more or less with his countenance, if not his authority almost. The inscriptions in Tirupati which refer to him give evidence of the completeness with which he imposed his authority over the Chōla empire.

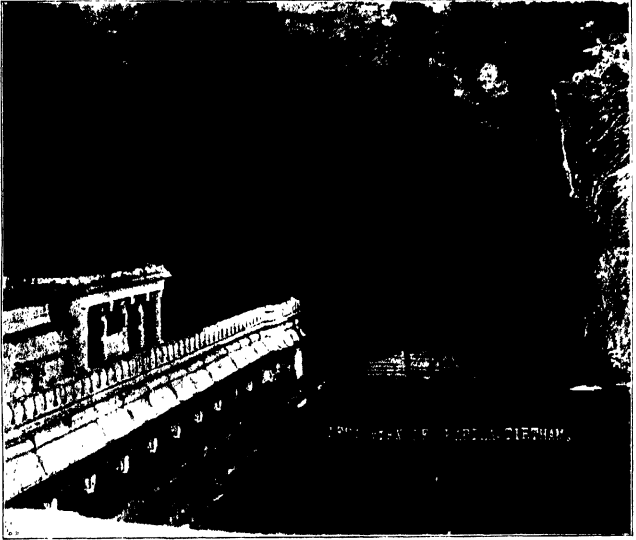
**Sundara Pāṇḍya's Inscriptions.** The first record in this volume of inscriptions ascribed to him is No. 43 in the hill shrine at Tirupati. There is nothing in the record to indicate that it was of Sundara Pāṇḍya's, the only reference being that it was a letter (*ōlai*) written by a Yādavarāya, on the authority of a communication from the Nāyanār. Presumably therefore the Yādavarāya referred to is Vira Narasinga Yādavarāya, and the Nāyanār is probably Sundara Pāṇḍya. The despatch was received by the governing body of Kuḍavūr Nādu, Toṇḍapādi Parṟu, Aharappaṟu, and a person described as Vāriya Vimānattān who exercised supervision over something. Then it records the action that they took, with effect from the third year, in connection with the Tiru-llānkōvil, the Vaiṣṇava temple at Tirucchānūr. It is the grant of the revenues to the temple, the details of which are gone. The next one, 44, is from the same place. It refers, of course, to a communication from Nāyanār Vira Narasinga Dēva, and refers to the grant, as dating from the 12th year of Sundara Pāṇḍya, a clear indication of the recognition of his authority. It is the granting of the land as *sarvamānya*, detailing the revenue derivable therefrom, to constitute the funds from the income of which a certain kind of food-service was to be made to the God in the temple. No. 45 of the same place begins with a clear *Prabasti* in Sanskrit of Sundara Pāṇḍya, which credits him with the achievements usually ascribed to him in his inscriptions. They may be set down as some of them seem to be not quite so usual. He is described as an ornament of the *Sōmakula* (dynasty of the moon), a *Mādava* of the city of Madura, destroyer of the family of

Kērala, one who caused the destruction of the city of Lanka, a second Rāma, a hammer that broke the hill of the Chōla family, a *Kūṭapākalā* fever to the Kāṭaka (this word is gone in the inscription), the destroyer of the various hill forts of enemies, a wild forest fire burning to destruction the forest of Vira Gaṇḍagōpāla (Vira here being perhaps a general epithet as the person who suffered in this event is known as Vijaya Gaṇḍagōpāla), lord of the excellent city of Kānchi; and then follow the general titles, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, and Tribhuvanachakravarti, followed by the name Sundara Pāṇḍya. The document refers itself to the year opposite to the 14th year of the Perumāḷ, that is, Sundara Pāṇḍya. The grant portion is gone. No. 46 gives a different kind of *Prasasti*, only speaking of the prowess of Sundara Pāṇḍya. But the point of importance here is that it makes a distinction between Vijaya Gaṇḍagōpāla, whom he killed, and Vira Gaṇḍagōpāla to whom he gave the kingdom of the other. The grant portion here is gone. No. 48 refers to Sundara Pāṇḍya having killed a certain Āndhrēśvara. This is followed by a *śloka* that he established Vijaya Gaṇḍagōpāla; probably this Āndhrēśvara is no other than Vijaya Gaṇḍagōpāla. No. 49 refers to Sundara Pāṇḍya setting up a *kalāśa* on the temple at Kānchi. No. 50 is too far gone to make much out of it, except that he had an anointment of heroes after killing an Āndhrēśvara. No. 51 is a Tamil verse giving almost the same idea as No. 50 and refers to *Vaḍa Kānchi-maṇḍalam*, the equivalent of *Ādhi Kānchi* in the previous record. It seems to refer almost to the same event. No. 52 also is similarly gone except of course for a reference to the Kāṭaka, that is, the ruler Kōpperuṅginga of Cuddalore and Sēdamangalam, and a reference to a *Vīrābhishēka*. No. 53 is a reference to a *Gaṇapati*, certainly the Kākatiya ruler Gaṇapati. No. 54 refers to Chakravarti Sundara Pāṇḍya, and gives a part of the *Prasasti* containing the name Vira Gaṇḍagōpāla. No. 55 again is a fragment of the *Prasasti* in which his putting to flight a Karnāṭaka Rāja, and the re-establishment of some other king are mentioned. These are the records that have any reference to Sundara Pāṇḍya. The fact that they are all found on the hill shrine and are built in various parts of the temple indicates clearly that Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya's rule was well acknowledged by the rulers of this region who found it to their interest to declare openly their allegiance. So Sundara Pāṇḍya's authority prevailed in a real sense over the region of north Kānchi as it is described.

(See page 177)

SHRINE OF GOVINDARAJA, TIRUPATI





KAPILA TIRTHAM

*(To face page 173)*

The next two inscriptions Nos. 57 and 58 in this Section of Volume I of the *Dēvasthānam* inscriptions have reference to the building of the Ālvār shrine on the banks of the tank called *Kapila Tirtham* at the foot of the Hill. The first document merely says that the tower, the pavilion and the hall for the Ālvār were constructed by one Vanēduttakai Aḷagiyānof Tunjalūr in the middle division of Miḷalaikkūrṅam in the Pāṇḍya country. The next one is a Sanskrit *ślōka* referring to the Ālvār being e-tablished there, of the great services to humanity that he rendered by making accessible in Tamil the recondite teaching of the Veda, obviously a reference to Nammālvār; but the name is gone, as the document is not complete. It is not quite clear why these two documents are grouped in this section. It is likely that they refer to the time, although there is nothing to warrant that.

**Inscriptions of Gandagopala in Tirupati** The next section of this volume of inscriptions has reference to a number of chieftains belonging to the various families such as the Telugu Pallavas, Yadavarāyas, and others. These have to be brought in here as from such detail as may be available in regard to time, they are referable to this period and undoubtedly to this region. The first family is that of the Telugu Pallavas, two members of which figure prominently during the period. They seem to be, from certain Tamil records, undoubtedly brothers, namely, Vijaya Gaṇḍagōpāla and Vira Gaṇḍagōpāla. They seem to have been rulers associated with Kānchi, and the districts north of it. Of these two Vijaya Gaṇḍagōpāla was put to death, as the result of a battle, by Jatavarman Sundara Paṇḍya in the year A. D. 1250-51, and his territory, a number of records say, he made over to his younger brother, Vira Gaṇḍagopala. Records of Vijaya Gaṇḍagōpāla extend over a period of more than a decade previous to his death. His successor Vira Gaṇḍagōpāla ruled for a long period after A. D. 1251 continuing almost to the end of the century. The relation between these and Vira Narasinga Yadavarāya whose period was coeval, is not clearly stated in these records; but it seems to be more or less that these chieftains made their donations to the temple at Tirupati, although holding official positions which may not directly associate them with Tirupati. These documents, when they give dates refer themselves to these actual rulers without any reference to a suzerain. The first of such documents is No. 59 in the hill shrine referring itself to the ninth year. The beginning is gone and we have got only Gōpāladēva, presumably Vijaya Gaṇḍagōpāla as his name occurs immediately after. The

grant has reference to the gift of 33 cows and a bull for the purpose of a perpetual lamp in the temple by one Ammaiyyappan of the *Kaśyapa gōtra* who was on duty at the gate of Vijaya Gaṇḍagōpāla. No. 60 has reference to the ninth year, but the ruler's name is gone, and mentions a certain chieftain by name *Villavarāya* with possibly the name *Tirukkālattidēva*. No. 61 refers actually to Vijaya Gaṇḍagōpāla and to what seems his fourteenth year. It is in the Gōvindarāja shrine, and makes provisions for certain food-service during the *Vaikāśi* festival to the God on the hill. The grant was made over to the treasury of the temple, apparently the temple on the hill. No. 62 belongs to the hill shrine, and refers to a Śingadēva *alias* Villavarāyan, an immediate attendant who made the gift of a lamp, by name, *Sundarattōḷuḍaiyan*. No. 63 belongs to the hill shrine as well, and refers to a *Pirumāṇḍidēvi Arasiyār*, the princess (the consort of our Lord King), who made a gift. What that is, is gone. The record begins with Vijaya Gaṇḍagōpāla, probably in reference to the year, but that is gone. No. 64 again belongs to the hill temple and refers to a grant of cows for the lamp (same number of cows for a perpetual lamp). No. 65 in the same temple refers to a ruler Tripurāntaka. No. 66 similarly refers to a *Brahmaśeṭṭi* and a *Brahmamārāyan*. All else in the inscription is gone. No. 67 in the same temple refers itself clearly to Vijaya Gaṇḍagōpāla. Here again part is gone. A certain oilman Amarakkōn, probably a son of Kaṭṭāri, resident of Nārāyanapuram, made over 32 cows and a bull for the purpose of one perpetual lamp and a certain amount of money for a camphor lamp as well. No. 68 similarly refers to Vijaya Gaṇḍagōpāla, and refers to a grant of 450 *panam*, which was placed under the protection of the Śrī Vaishṇavas. No. 69 refers to a similar grant in the reign of Vijaya Gaṇḍagōpāla specifically. No. 70 is a similar grant also of a gift of 440 *varāhas* by the *Sāliyas*, dyers and weavers, of *Vikramapura* belonging to *Ātrēya gōtra*. No. 71 is a similar grant by the Śāliyars. No. 72 is the same and refers itself to the time of Vijaya Gaṇḍagōpāla, but the *gōtra* of the Śāliyars is given as *Vishṇu gōtra*. No. 73 is too far gone to make anything out of it. No. 74 is important as it refers to the festivals of *Chuttirai* and *Purattāsi* of *Tiruvēṅgaḍamūḍaiyan*. These were both of them festivals of long standing, the latter of which is referred to by the early Ālvārs themselves. It makes provision for a grant for a food-service as prescribed in the *Tiruppāvu* of *Āṇḍāl*. This festival was organised by Rāmānuja, and, according to the *Śrī Vēṅkaṭāchala Itihāsamāla*, it was not in

existence before. For the requirements of this service, a certain number of gold coins called *Gaṇḍagōpālan Mādai* were made over from the interest of which the annual expenses were to be met. No. 75 is mutilated. No. 76 refers itself to the time of Vijaya Gaṇḍagōpala as does the next one, 77. The first refers to a perpetual lamp on the day of the Uttarashadha *Nakshatra*, and the next one refers to a money gift. The other details are gone. No. 78 refers to the fifth year and *Lurattāsi* month, and a gift of three *mādai*. The other details are gone. No. 79 refers itself to the days of Vijaya Gaṇḍagōpala, and has reference to the flower-garden in the name of a Paṇḍya, probably Sundara Paṇḍya, and refers to the gift of 200 *kuḷi* of land. It refers in one of the following passages to Ramanuja and Emberumanar, and makes the gift of 500 *varahapaṇa* for certain items of expenditure. Record No. 80 is a Tamil verse glorifying Raja Gaṇḍagopala, and says in so many words that there was nobody who did not benefit by the liberality of Gaṇḍagopala among those "who put their hands below" for receiving his gift. It thus becomes clear that the grants, Nos. 59 to 80, almost all of them being in the hill shrine, refer themselves to the time of Gaṇḍagōpala, Vijaya Gaṇḍagōpala, obviously. As we already stated, his period of authority came to a close almost with the first year of Jaṭavarman Sundara Paṇḍya, and whatever the length of his reign we have records of about ten to twelve years. These records refer to a time before A. D. 1251. We pass on to the records of other rulers, those of the *Yadavarāyas* in particular.

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## CHAPTER XIV.

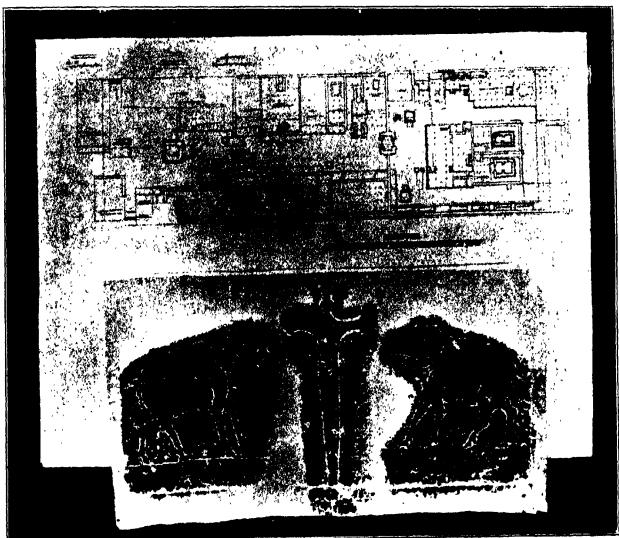
### THE YADAVARĀYAS.

**Yadavaraya Inscriptions in Tirupati.** The Yādavarāya inscriptions in Volume I of the Tirumalai-Tirupati Dēvastānam Inscriptions take up Nos. 81 to 117 followed by a batch of miscellaneous inscriptions going up to No. 177. The inscriptions thereafter refer themselves to the empire of Vijayanagar. We might take the Yādavarāya inscriptions first. The first record No. 81 comes from the temple of Tirupati, and is by one Tirukkālattidēvan, giving himself all the titles usual to the Yādavarāyas making it clear that he is not to be confounded with the Telugu Chōlas of the name, and is the grant of a *sarvamānya* village to the temple of Tirvēngadamudaiyān. This does not refer itself to any suzerain, Chōla or other, and does not even give a direct date, although it seems to refer to the nineteenth year of the reign. But one cannot be sure whether it is the nineteenth year of this Yādavarāya or any suzerain of his. We pass on to No. 82 in the same place, which seems to refer itself definitely, although the name is gone, to the reign of Tribhuvana Chakravartigaḷ Kulōttunga Chōladēva. The name of the Chōla, however, is gone, and refers to the fifteenth year. It is a gift by a Virarākshasa Yādavarāya, whose proper name, though given in the record, is gone. This probably refers to the Virarākshasarāya of other records, a son of Tirukkālattidēva, by name Śinga Pillai, prince Śinga, who had this title. The fifteenth year of Kulōttunga would correspond to A.D. 1193. If the nineteenth year of the previous record is to be taken to be the nineteenth year of Kulōttunga, it would mean A.D. 1197, four years after that of his son. It would be nothing strange as the records of this Tirukkālattidēva range from the seventh year of Kulōttunga III to the fifteenth year of Rājarāja, A. D. 1185 to A. D. 1231. The next following, No. 83, refers itself to the reign of this Virarākshasa, and of his Forty-first year. The word for forty is gone. If this forty-first year could be taken to refer to Kulōttunga III's reign, the actual date would be A.D. 1219. We cannot perhaps be quite sure about it, though the date of the previous record is explicitly in reference to the reign of Kulōttunga. Then we come to the most important name of the



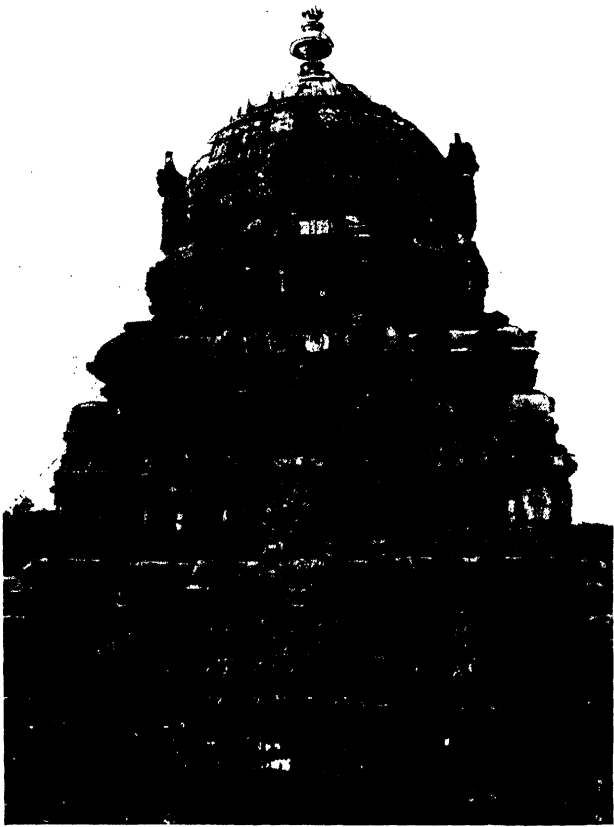
Yadavarāyas connected with this temple, namely, Vira Nārasinga Yādavarāya, whose records begin with his twelfth year, and take us down to his fifty-first year. We have records of his in other places beginning with the thirty-first year of Kulōttunga III, and going down to the fourteenth year of Rājarāja III. That is the period included between A. D. 1209 and 1230. We have also a record of his dated the twelfth year of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, corresponding to A. D. 1263, which would mean that his active association with the temple would cover the period A. D. 1209 to 1263, fifty-four or fifty-five years. But the highest date in his records happen to be the fifty-first year. While we may be sure that he lived in the reigns of Kulōttunga III, and Rājarāja, we cannot be certain about his dates. From No. 90 of this volume in the Gōvindarāja shrine, the year of reign is given as fifty-one, clearly as that of Vira Narasinga, and the name of the year is given as *Rākshasa*. This would correspond to A. D. 1255. But the previous record No. 89 couples his fiftieth year with the year Vikrama, which is impossible. We have to take it that the year is named wrong. We are not enabled to go any further as the other *Panchāṅga* details are not given in these records usually the records contenting themselves with referring to the year of the reign of the ruler; and the month and date and further details which would admit of calculation are not given. If his fifty-first year corresponded to A. D. 1255, his reign must have begun A. D. 1204, and as the last date is the twelfth year of Sundara Pāṇḍya, A. D. 1263, extended over a period of fifty-nine years, a length which may not be quite impossible and would cover the three reigns practically of Kulōttunga, Rājarāja and even Sundara Pāṇḍya. The first record in Tirupati of this ruler refers itself to the twelfth year when his queen Yādavarāya Nāchchiyār made over sixty-four cows and two bulls for two perpetual lamps. This was placed under the protection of the Śrī Vaishnavas of the temple. No. 85 is a record of the same queen, but of the fifteenth year, and is a gift for Gōvindarāja of one perpetual lamp for which she gave thirty-two cows and one bull. No. 86 again comes from the Gōvindarāja shrine and refers to the thirtieth year of Vira Narasinga. It is again a grant by the queen. She made a *sarvāmānya* of a village, part of which already belonged to the God of Tiruvēṅgaḍam, transforming the whole into a *sarvāmānya* (free of all imposts) village. The part that was now given was for the purpose of the Gōvindarāja festival in *Ani* instituted by herself, and for the expenses of the big car of square formation constructed

by herself for the God. She paid the sum due, making allowance for depreciation and destruction of property. No. 87 from the hill shrine is of the thirty-fourth year of the same ruler and is a gift for a perpetual lamp by one Malaikuniya Niṅṅān or Tiruvēngadanātha of Vira Nārāyaṇachaturvēdimangalam. No. 88 from the hill shrine is of peculiar importance referring itself to the fortieth year of the Yadavarāya. It begins with the information that, in the year referred to, a *Dēsāntari*, that is, a foreign visitor by name Tiruppullāṇidasa, undertook the rebuilding of the temple. He seems to have sought permission of the ruler for doing it, and got a communication permitting of his doing so, but ordering at the same time the copying out of all the inscriptions, in the part of the temple to be renewed, on the north wall of the shrine. This means it was only the inner shrine that was going to be put under repairs and the records found there were to be copied in the outer wall of the temple. Among the records so copied is a grant by the Chōḷa queen, the step-mother of Rājarāja, the queen of Parāntaka II, who died in "the golden hall", and a daughter of the Chēra. This again refers itself to the sixteenth year of Rājarāja when she made over fifty-two *kaḷaṅju* of gold set with six rubies, four diamonds and twenty-eight pearls. No. 89 is a record of the date fifty, but the year is wrong, and refers to a gift of lamps and garlands by the Sri Vaishṇavas. No. 90 is of the fifty-first year corresponding to A.D. 1255, as was said above. This, and the previous record, belong to the Gōvindaraja shrine. It refers to the making of a garden under the name Yādavanārāyaṇa, and for the purpose of this garden, a sheet of running water was to be impounded for growing the waterlily, and the water was to be drawn from the big tank in Tirupati. The document lays down that the water should be drawn by natural flow from the big tank as long as it was possible, and, when it became impossible, water should be drawn by water-lifts. The peculiar regulation is laid down that this should not be marked off by stones carrying the disc mark of Vishṇu. It is not clear why this unusual prohibition is made. There is reference to another flower-garden below the tank, and that was to receive the water supply as this one. The two gardens were to be under the management of those who were rendering service to the God on the hill, and the maintenance of this garden and the flower service were to be perpetual. The next one, No. 91, does not give any date, but mentions the Vira Narasimha Yādavarāya, and refers to his weighing



THE EMBLEM OF VIJAYANAGAR

(See page 219)



ANANDANILAYA VIMANA

*(To face page 179)*

himself against gold, making use of the gold to cover the temple *Vimāna* (tower over the sanctum) with gold; his victory over his enemies, and his bringing the whole world under his authority, are both mentioned in general terms. The weighing against gold was on the occasion of the repairs referred to in 88 above. No. 92 from the Gōvindarāja shrine contains a verse in praise of Yādavanāchchiyār, who is compared to the lotus-born Lakshmi. The rest of the record is gone. Obviously she made a gift to the temple. No. 93 of this ruler is from the hill shrine, and refers to the presentation of a perpetual lamp by a *Ḍēvap-perumāl* belonging to Nellore, otherwise called Vikramasimhapura. He made over the usual number of cows and a bull. No. 94 is a mutilated inscription and refers to a gift probably by somebody belonging to Nellore. The record speaks of a *Nāyanār Pillai Vira Narasinga*. That would mean the lord Prince Vira Narasinga. No. 95 comes from the temple at Tiruchānūr and refers to a gift of land, but the record is too far gone. No. 96 again comes from the same place and seems to refer itself to the Pāṇḍiyataraiyar, the father-in-law of Vira Narasinga, whose name occurs in several other records, and refers to the reclamation of land under a tank. No. 97 is from the same place referring to the same person and seems to refer again to a gift of land. No. 98 refers itself unsuately to a date 1230, the year *Kīlaka*. This could only be the Śaka year, and for Śaka 1230 *Kīlaka* is correct. It refers to an arrangement made by the Śrī Vaishṇavas of Viraśikhāmukhacchēri of the Nārāyaṇachaturvēdimangalam for feeding the pilgrims that came to worship at the temple on certain special days of the year. The record is in the Āṇḍāl shrine of Gōvindarāja which is one of the small outer shrines built at the inspiration of Rāmanuja within the temple. This brings us to the end of the records of Vira Narasimha Yādavarāya.

**The Yadavaraya's authority was one of supervision.** We see from these records that this Yadava ruler Vira Narasingarāya showed himself specially interested in the temple and arranged for a number of services both by himself and through his wife. These extended to the performance of a *Tulāpurusha*, which was made use of for decorating the temple *Vimāna*, probably after it was repaired by the pilgrim Tiruppullāṇidāsa. Between them, the husband and the wife arranged for a certain number of festivals and services both in the hill shrine and in the Gōvindarāja temple at the foot of the hill, not excluding even the temple at Tiruchānūr. There is a reference to this Yādavarāya queen

making a car for Govindarāja. During the period of his authority, as we noticed already, he was not merely a local governor. He exercised authority over a far larger area of the Chōla empire than the region of Tirupati, and probably as such, made these gifts to the temple. The record of Sundara Pāṇḍya's twelfth year, which would be of date A.D. 1263, refers to the issue of an order by this Yādava Narasingadēva in regard to the grant of a *sarvamānya*, although the record does not say who it was that made the gift; but the order confirming this grant was issued by this Yādavarāya, which would mean that under the great Pāṇḍya he occupied perhaps the same position of authority as under the last two Chōlas. With that we take leave of Vīra Narasinga. Great as his authority was, and his benefactions magnificent, we still see that he exercised no more authority than that of mere supervision and control over the affairs of the temple, the management having been really in the hands of those exercising it as of old, namely, the Śrī Vaishṇavas of the locality.

**Tiruvengadanatha Yadavaraya.** We next come to a Yādavarāya whose records give only his years and do not refer themselves to any other authority, and make it difficult to fix his position. There are however some details in his few records which would enable us to locate him in point of time. The first record, No. 99, of Volume I of the Dēvastānam Inscriptions, comes from the hill shrine, and refers to the year opposite the eighth year of Tiruvēngadanātha Yādavarāya. The document records that the village of Pongalūr in the Illattūr *nāḍu* was made a *sarvamānya* to God Tiruvēngadamudaiyān. The order communicating this was made by the Nāyanār, apparently the Yādavarāya, and was so conveyed by executing the document from the year nine and month *Āḍi* (July – August). The purpose of this *sarvamānya* was to carry out Singayya Daṇḍanāyaka's institution of a festival in month of *Āḍi* every year in the name of Rachayya Daṇḍanāyaka, and a food offering also in his name. The usual number of feudal and other dues are given here, many of which are found in other documents as well. These are generally payments of gold, payments in grain for small dues etc., and among the gifts called *kāṇikkai*, we find things like *Tirutṭāyār Kāṇikkai* and *Tiru-Maruhanār Kāṇikkai*, which would mean gifts in the name of the respected mother and the respected son-in-law. These seem more or less feudal dues of some kind; but who the *Tirutṭāyār* and *Tiru-Maruhanār* are it is not clear from this record. But what is of importance to us, however, is who the Śingana Daṇḍanāyaka

was, whose institution of the festival is on record here. We shall consider that in connection with the following records as well, two of which have reference to these. The next record No. 100 coming from the Gōvindarāja shrine refers to the twelfth year of the same Yādavarāya, and refers to an order received directing the gifting of certain land as *sarvamānya* for certain purposes, among others a Yādavanārāyaṇau *sandi*, although the part Yādava is gone in the record. There are two interesting points in this record. Like the other two that we referred to in the previous one, here we come upon *Akkan Kāṇikai*, gift for the elder sister, probably a payment similar to that of the others. Then there is one other which is perhaps more informing, a *vari* or tax going by the name Vallāladēva, that is, Ballāladēva, which would mean a tax levied and collected for the purpose of Ballāladēva, which could only mean payment to Ballāladēva as a sort of a tribute or something akin to it. No. 101 also from the Gōvindarāja shrine is of the twelfth year and seems to be a communication, exactly like the previous one, and No. 102 comes from the temple on the hill. It is a document of some importance and refers to the *stānattār* of Tirumalai to whom a representation was addressed in person by Śrīman Mahāpradhāni Immaḍi Rāhutta Rāyan Singayya Daṇṇāyakan. It was a request that a festival in the month of *Aḍi* and a food service called *Sitagaragaṇḍan* in the name of Singayya Daṇṇāyaka should be instituted. For this the *son-in-law* Tiruvēnkaṭanātha Yādavarāya made a *sarvamānya* gift of Pongalūr belonging to Illattūr-nāḍu, and renamed Singaṇṇanallūr free of all demands. It was also ordered that stones with the marks of the Vishṇu disc should be planted round the village to mark the boundary, and from the revenue drawn therefrom the expenses of these services be met from time to time. In addition to these two the food service for Vīra Narasiṅga-pperumāl and Tirumangai Ālvār at Tirupati must also be arranged for. Further thirty-two Śrī Vaishṇavas should be fed in the *Sitagaragaṇḍan Maṭham*. After meeting all these expenses the rest of the income should be applied for the maintenance of a flower-garden and a water-shed in the hill, in the name of Singayya, as also any other charitable service that may be required. These were placed under the direction of the Śrī Vaishṇavas and the order was directed to be put in stone and copper as a permanent record.

**Singayya Dandanayaka, a Hoysala officer.** Here Singayya Daṇḍanāyaka is given the title Immaḍi Rāhutta and the official

position of Mahāpradhāni. The food service instituted in his name is to be called *Sitagaragaṇḍan*, which would mean that he had the title *Sitagaragaṇḍa*. Who was this person a Daṇḍanāyaka, a Mahāpradhāni with the titles *Sitagara* and *Immaḍi Rāhutta*, who figures in Tirupati in this prominence? The very name *Sitagaragaṇḍa* (one who kept the profligate under control) indicates his Kanarese origin. Daṇḍanāyaka is a well-known title popularised into Daṇṇāyak, the title given to all dignitaries of rank, both civil and military, in the Kaṇṇada country. Mahāpradhāni is a well-known office under the Hoysāla rulers which occurs sometimes even in Vijayanagar records, but is not found in the records of the Tamil country, as in fact even the title Daṇṇāyaka. Singayya Daṇṇāyaka certainly was an officer of the Hoysāla ruler Vira Ballāla, whose reign covered the period A. D. 1292 to 1342. This Ballāla ruler began his reign with his father's Brahman minister, Perumāla Daṇḍanāyaka, who was a very distinguished officer under Nayasimha III, Hoysāla. His son was a Mādhava Daṇḍanāyaka, who held similar high office under Vira Ballāla with dates early in the reign, A. D. 1310-11, while the father's date falls in about A. D. 1292. This Mādhava Daṇḍanāyaka had two sons, Kētayya Daṇḍanāyaka and Singayya Daṇḍanāyaka who similarly held office under Ballāla III. It was Mādhava Daṇḍanāyaka, not his father, who acquired the *jāghīr* of Padināku Nāḍu within the Mysore territory of the present day, and had made what is now the village Terukkaṇāmbi in the Guṇḍlepet Taluk of Mysore, his capital. They were all of them Brahman officers of rank under the Hoysālas and the title Mahāpradhāni given to all of them is an indication that they wielded the highest authority in the state next the king. They became afterwards associated with Daṇṇāyakankōṭṭai below the Ghats, and came to be known as Daṇṇāyakankōṭṭai chiefs. That is, however, later. But as yet they were officers under Vira Ballāla III, the last great Hoysāla monarch.

**The Relation between Singana Dandanayaka and Tiruvengadanaatha Yadavaraya.** Of these officers, Perumāla Daṇḍanayaka does not concern us, a very distinguished officer under Vira Ballāla III and his father though he was. His dates were probably in the 13th century, perhaps the last decade of it. His son Mādhava Daṇḍanāyaka has a date about A. D. 1310-11, and succeeded to the position of his father under Vira Ballāla. He acquired the *jāghīr* of Terukaṇāmbi. His sons were two Kētayya Daṇḍanāyaka and Singana Daṇḍanāyaka, both of which names appear



in the Tirupati records. From Mysore inscriptions we have dates for both. Of these one record gives Kētayya Daṇḍanāyaka's date as A. D. 1321-22, and another Singaṇa's as A. D. 1338. Without being too precise, we may say that these were both of them officers who succeeded to the position of the father, and were trusted lieutenants of the Hoysāla monarch under Vira Ballāla during the first forty years of the 14th century. Having regard to the dates of the father and the grand-father, we cannot well carry them backward to any where near the middle of the 14th century. We have noticed already that the last date we know of for Vira Narasingadēva is the 12th year of Sundara Pāṇḍya which would mean A. D. 1263-64. Taking that in combination with the date found in No. 9 of the Tirupati inscriptions, he would have had a period of authority extending over 59 years. So a date A. D. 1263-64 should be rather close to the end of his reign period. Whether Tiruvēṅgaḍanātha Yādavarāya, associated with Singaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka could be an immediate successor of Vira Narasinga is matter for pronouncing upon on evidence of which we have nothing quite definite. The records in Tirupati referring to this Tiruvēṅgaḍanātha happen to be the 9th and 12th years of his own reign, which do not lead us to anything definite. But in No. 102 of the Tirupati inscriptions coming from the hill shrine, he is referred to as *Maruhanār* or son-in-law. Whose son-in-law was he? Sādhu Subramaṇya Śāstri has taken this to mean that his son-in-law was Singaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka, notwithstanding the fact he was a Brahman officer which he apparently does not know and the whole account he tries to evolve in respect of these is confused and contradictory. As the Tamil records read, the term *Maruhanār* cannot apply to Singaṇa, and is descriptive only of Tiruvēṅgaḍanātha. If that term should be held to describe the relationship between him and Singaṇa, it could only be that he was Singaṇa's son-in-law. But the collocation of words as they occur in this record would not justify that interpretation. Could it be that Tiruvēṅgaḍanātha Yādavarāya was the son-in-law of Vira Narasinga? At the worst *Maruhanār* Tiruvēṅgaḍanātha Yādavarāya could only mean that Tiruvēṅgaḍanātha was the son-in law of the ruling Yādavarāya just at the time or before. The known date for Singaṇa Nāyaka is A.D. 1338. That may be a very late date, and it may not be unjustifiable to take the beginning of his activity as a Hoysāla officer to the commencement of the century while yet the father was wielding his authority as the principal officer under the Hoysāla monarch. Even so, it is more

than 30 years distant from the last known date of Vira Narasinga. While therefore it would be quite possible he was Vira Narasinga's son-in-law, it would be difficult to assert it without further evidence. Other possibilities are that he was a son-in-law of an unknown officer of Vira Narasinga, who still held authority either in the region of Tirupati or round about. This is unlikely as Vira Narasinga was still in authority. In any case he certainly could not have been the father-in-law of Singana for one thing. That is so far as the personal relations between the two are concerned. But the really more important point for us is the political relationship between the two. Mr. Subramanya Sastri goes the length of suggesting that Singana and his elder brother Kētayya were officers of the Hoysālas who simultaneously took service also under the Yādavarāyas, which, from all that we know of the matter, seems hopelessly impossible. It cannot be argued from all that we know that even a powerful man like Vira Narasinga was at any time any more than a feudatory ruler who might have comported himself as an independent ruler. Nowhere does he openly declare himself as such. What indeed was not done by a powerful ruler like Vira Narasinga, it would be difficult to ascribe to a successor, either immediate or remote, whatever his position, except on the assumption that the higher authority had ceased to exist. The Chōla power undoubtedly had gone out of existence, but these chieftains were openly under the Pāṇḍya hegemony. The power of the Pāṇḍyas had not quite gone out of existence, and the last great Pāṇḍya, Māravarman Kulaśekhara Pāṇḍya and his lieutenants exercised authority over both the Pāṇḍyan and the Chōla kingdoms, though his authority may not have extended to the region round Vēṅgaḍam in any real sense of the term. But then what had these Hoysāla officers, particularly Singana Nāyaka to do with the region? We have now to go back upon a short retrospect.

**The Political condition of South India—The Muhammadan Invasions.** Just a few years after the last year of Vira Narasinga Yādavarāya, there was a change in the Pāṇḍya succession. Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, the chief ruler, passed away, and his place was taken by a Māravarman Kulaśekhara, who ruled for more than 40 years, his reign ending in A. D. 1309-10. There were other Pāṇḍyas, who ruled as his lieutenants, and it is just possible there was a Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II between him and the first Jaṭavarman Sundara. That is not very material to our purpose. During the period of Māravarman Kulaśekhara

Pāṇḍya, his authority as the supreme ruler of Tamil India, was recognised both in the Pāṇḍya and Chōla kingdoms, and he is spoken of as very often residing in the Chōla capital of Mudi-kondaśōlapuram, sometimes also Jayamkonda Sōlapuram not far off, during his reign. At least one of his sons, a Vira Pāṇḍya, was active in the region of Kongu and the parts corresponding farther eastward; and, in his activities, he is reported to have come into clash with the Hoyśālas, and the Hoyśāla army was sometimes drawn towards the Kongu border against him. This would mean that the frontiers of both the powers had become doubtful and frontier wars were not unusual. Vira Pāṇḍya had been installed in authority in A. D. 1292 or 1293, almost about the same time that Vira Ballāla succeeded to the Hoyśāla throne. The accession of this Ballāla brought about a union of the Tamil and the Kaṇṇaḍa parts of the Hoyśāla kingdom which were under the rule of two brothers immediately previous to him, Narasimha ruling over the Mysore country and beyond, and his brother Rāmanātha ruling in the Tamil portions of the Hoyśāla dominions. Rāmanātha claimed two capitals one in the Chōla country, the old Hoyśāla capital Vikramapura or Kaṇṇanūr, and the other farther to the north in the Baramahal part of the Salem District, in a place called Kundāṇi or Hesar Kundāṇi in those days. Rāmanātha died, and a son of his by name Viśvanātha after two or three years of precarious existence passed out of view. Thereafter Vira Ballāla stands forth as the one Hoyśāla ruler of the whole of the Hoyśāla empire. This naturally would begin to come into clash with the successors of the Chōlas, that is, the great Pāṇḍya Māravarman Kulasēkhara and his lieutenants. This position was complicated by the progress of Muhammadan conquests gradually in the Dakhan which began with an invasion of Dēvagiri by the generals of Allaud-din Khilji in A. D. 1306. This was followed by other campaigns which ended ultimately in the annexation of Dēvagiri to the empire of the Khiljis. Next came the turn of the Kakatiya rulers of Warangal, and that was overthrown after two wars in A. D. 1309. Then it came to the turn of South India. In the course of that South Indian invasion under Malik Kafur, ordered by Allaud-din, a raid on the Hoyśālas was an incident. The invading army encamped itself near Shōlopūr in the jāgīr of the Dalavāy Paraśurām Dēv, General of the Dēvagiri ruler, and from there a raid was conducted up to the Hoyśāla capital, probably a quick cavalry march which succeeded wonderfully as the Hoyśāla armies were occupied on the southern frontier of

Kongu against the activities of Vira Pāṇḍya referred to above. The invasion was so far successful that it plundered the capital of the Hoysālas after having partly destroyed it, and carried the raid much further to the coast of the Arabian sea. It was afterwards that the armies marched on South India, and, after having plundered the temples of the South, including Śrīrangam, Onḍambaram, Madura, and even Rāmeśvaram, the Muhammadian armies retired from the Tamil country. The Muhammadian danger was not altogether over as yet completely. After the raid on the Hoysāla capital however, Vira Ballāḷa was made to sue for peace. A representation in his favour was sent up to head-quarters with the recommendation of Malik Kafur, and the Hoysāla prince was sent out on this mission. It was graciously received at head-quarters, and the Hoysāla was accepted as nominal feudatory of the empire; and the prince was sent back with honours. According to a Hoysāla record,\* there were rejoicings on the return of the prince in A. D. 1313. So the Hoysāla managed to save himself from this Muhammadan danger which threatened his very existence, and, having managed it more or less skilfully, he was reorganising his resources and putting himself in a position of some strength as against future contingencies.

**The Region of Tirupati under Hoysala authority.** It is in the course of his activity in the following years that he seems to have stretched himself out into the region next adjoining his territory gradually. That must have brought him into the region of Tirupati. The years following the return of Malik Kafur in A. D. 1311 were years of trouble in the capital till Mubarak placed himself on the throne in A. D. 1316. During these five years, the Muhammadan danger ceased to be real in South India. Mubarak's reign proved to be brilliant but very brief; and an invasion that came under his orders to the South met with the success that they looked for, and his general Khusru returned to the capital to play his part in the disturbances that followed and left the Dakhan and South India pretty much to themselves. In Mubarak's reign, the Mahārāshṭra kingdom of Dēvagiri actually became a part of the Mughal empire, and Mubarak tried to strengthen himself by planting Muhammadan garrisons at salient points in the Mahratta country, which to the Hoysāla, must have seemed a direct threat against his northern frontier. He had to be therefore alive and active as his northern frontier was in grave and perpetual danger. In the south things were propitious for his activity. The Tamil

\* *Ep. Car.* VII, Ch. 66, Sewell's *Hist. Inds. of South India* p. 178.

country, suffered from the invasion of Malīk Kafur, and an effort made by Ravivarman Kulasēkhara from the Travancore country, while it just recovered the Tamil country from the grip of the Muhammadans, failed to provide an organisation of any permanence. So the field seemed open to the exploitation of any enterprising neighbour, and the Hoyśāla was the only one in the locality. It was apparently this that made him cast his eyes upon Tiruvaṅṅmalai as a salient position in which he could place himself with advantage to be in touch with his own kingdom, and, if possible, prevent any advance of the Muhammadans into the Tamil country, should any further effort in that direction be made. That would offer him a safe place of retirement for himself if he should be attacked by the Muhammadans again from the north. The result of this activity on the part of the Hoyśāla is what we see here in the region of Tirupati in the presence of Singaṇa Nāyaka or Singayya Daṇḍanāyaka. As we see it in the records of Tirupati, Singayya Nāyaka is not there in the course of a hostile incursion, nor is he there seeking the hospitality of the local ruler for the time being. We rather see him issuing orders, and being honoured by institutions of festivals and the naming of towns in his name, and of provisions being made for services in the temple for his good. Singaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka is here as the superior authority whose orders the local ruler for the time being felt called upon to carry out. No. 99 of Tirupati inscriptions is the institution of food services in Tirupati by Singayya Daṇḍanāyaka in honour of another officer Rachayya Daṇḍanāyaka, for which the village of Poṅgaḷūr was to be a *sarvamānyam* gift to the temple, and the order was issued in a letter which conveyed the information that they might indite the grant both in stone and copper as a permanent gift. In No. 102 on the contrary, it is the Tirupati *stānattār* who say that they instituted the festival in the month of *Āḍi*, and a food service named *Sitagaragaṇḍa* both in honour of Singayya-dēva. This time the *sarvamānya* village of Poṅgaḷūr is named Singayyanallūr in honour of the officer. It does very many other things all of them intended for his honour. The food services were provided for Vira Narasingaperumāl and Tirumangai Āḷvār in the temple. 32 Vaishṇavas were to be fed in the *Muṭham* or hall of *Sitagaragaṇḍa*, which means that that building or public hall, must have been constructed either by Singayya, or in his honour by others. There was to be a provision for a flower-garden and a shed for supply of water, etc. Of course the whole of these charities is placed as usual under the protection of the Śrī Vaishṇavas

of the locality. Tiruvēngadanātha Yādavarāya simply figures here as the officer who did the needful to transform the village completely into a *sarvamānya* village. He is obviously and undoubtedly in the position of a subordinate officer carrying out the orders of a superior in Singayya Dandanāyaka. This position would be justified only if this region had been brought more or less under the authority and protection of the Hoysāla ruler for the time being, and the officers were actually engaged first in the conquest of the district, and then in the maintenance of the authority of their master. This finds the fullest justification in record No. 100 which makes reference to a *Vallāladēvar vari*, a tax or duty levied in the name of Ballāladēva, which means a cess or duty collected either for payment to Ballāladēva, or for some other use in his name. That could not be unless he were a ruler whose authority they were bound to respect and this tax could be nothing more than a tribute paid to that authority perhaps to let them carry on their administration as hitherto though under the Ballāla suzerain authority.

This position of the Ballāla could be understood easily if we remembered that as soon as the Tughlaks established themselves in authority in Delhi in A. D. 1320, their attention was called to the Dakhan, and there was a threat of an invasion of the further south in A. D. 1323 which was saved by the outbreak of cholera in the camp of Muhammad Tughlak. Muhammad Tughlak did not forget it, and was likely to have undertaken an invasion the next year but for the fact that his attention was called to Delhi, where he had to remain when his father was out in suppressing a rebellion in Bengal. It was on his victorious return that he was assassinated, and Muhammad succeeded to the position. Soon after his accession, Muhammad had to come to the south against his cousin who set up in rebellion in what is now the Nizam's Dominions and in the Southern Mahratta country where he held a government. The success that was then achieved would naturally bring him on further. He sent out another invasion in A. D. 1327 which damaged the Hoysāla capital far more gravely than before, and made the Ballāla move into Tiruvannāmalai, and make it more or less his permanent residence as being a more strategically central position being on the high road between the north and the south, and along the line of communication. It could not be that the Ballāla resolved to make Tiruvannāmalai his place of residence, or an alternative capital of Tiruvannāmalai town itself, unless he had some hold over the surrounding country and could exercise his

authority over the region. The Hoysāla conquest, the slow and gradual conquest by the Hoysālas, of these parts seem justified by these documents which bring Singaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka into the region of Tirupati.

**Sri Ranganatha Yadavaraya, successor of Tiruvengadanatha and contemporary of Singana Dandanayaka.** Without going any further in this matter, we may take the name of another Yādavarāya which figures in the next following inscriptions of the first volume of the Tirupati Devastānam inscriptions. No. 103 refers to the 3rd year of Śrī Ranganātha Yādavarāya, which refers to the disposal of certain pieces of land which were forest belonging to Tiruvengadamudaiyān, and sold for 200 *paṇams*. Arrangements were made for the irrigation of this land. The next inscription is of the same year and of the same ruler, and refers to this Singaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka, whose father's name is also given by his being called Mādappan Singaṇa Nāyaka with his usual titles. The document seems to refer to his purchase of a *Maṭha* and a flower-garden from certain *Jīyars* (ascetic Vaishṇavas) in management of certain properties belonging to the temple, and making them over to be maintained as the charitable gift of the officer. Further the document seems to refer to his having paid another 400 gold *paṇams* with a view to feeding pilgrims on a certain festival day in one of the *Nandavanams* (flower-gardens) to which the God and the Goddess should be taken on certain festivals. It also refers to the taking of the God to the flower-garden named after Vaṇ Śaṭagōpa, apparently in reference to the Ālvār (?) for which another provision of 100 *paṇams* had been made. All these were placed under the protection of the Śrī Vaishṇavas. The point calling for notice here is that Śrī Ranganātha Yādavarāya is brought into connection with Singaṇa Nāyaka pretty early in his reign, that is, in his 3rd year. The next one No. 105 refers to the 9th year of this Yādavarāya, but there is no other detail worth our attention. No. 106 comes from the hill shrine as do the previous two documents, and refers to the 19th year and makes provision for the taking out of the god on the fourth day of some festival to the flower pavilion called *chēdirāyan*, and makes provision for the distribution of food for which money was paid into the treasury. No. 107 is from the same temple and refers to the same Yādavarāya. But very unfortunately his regnal year and name of the year, both of which were apparently set down in the document, are lost, as otherwise we would have had a precise date for him; but, the other *Panchāṅga*

details given seem to indicate that the year under reference must be either A. D. 1330 or 1333, perhaps the latter better. It is again a provision for some kind of food service. The document is partially gone. This document, even in this imperfect condition, seems to indicate clearly that Sri Ranganātha Yādavarāya lived some time about A. D. 1330 or 1333 as also Singaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka. From this perhaps we can make the inference that Yādava Śrīranga followed Yādava Tiruvēṅgaḍanātha, and both of them were contemporaries of Hoyśāla Singaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka. No. 108 comes from the Gōvindarāja shrine and seems to be a record of an agreement between the governing body of the locality and a certain number of other individuals, among whom are the Yādavarāya Viḷupparaiyan, Sōḷa Viḷupparaiyan, Trigartarāya and another Viḷupparaiyan, with the former portion gone, together with the weavers and devotees of Emberumān, which seems here to refer to God : it might also be Rāmānuja who had the name (?). But the rest of the document is gone. No. 109 comes from the hill shrine and contains a couple of verses glorifying Sri Ranganātha. It seems to refer to the enemies he conquered, and the 16th year of his reign. No. 110 coming from the same shrine refers to a Saśikula Chālukki Sangrāmarāma, certainly a Yādavarāya, but we can hardly be certain that it was Sri Ranganātha Yādavarāya. The date happens to be recorded here, apparently in the Saka year ; but the figures before the 100 are gone, while 181 is left over. It may be 1,100 or 1,200 or another number of hundreds. But the name of the year *Vikāri* being given, the year under reference seems to be Saka 1281, which would mean A.D. 1359. It may not be quite too late for Śrīranganātha Yādavarāya but we cannot be quite certain whether it is he that is referred to. Nos. 111 and 112 come from the same shrine and simply put down the name of the *Sitagaragaṇḍan Maṭha* of Singaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka.

**Other rulers who may be Yādavarāyas.** No. 113 is of some importance, although the document is gone in vital parts. It refers to Sri Nāyanār Yādavarāya with obviously Tribhuvana-chakravarthi going before. But the actual name of the Yādavarāya is not given. All that we can be certain about is it was still a Yādavarāya ruler. The year and month might have been given, but they are gone. All that is left is the month and the date 29, and then follows a reference to a Mahānāyaka Eṛṇamanchi Periya Pammanāyaka, that is the elder (Periya) Pammanāyaka, of Eṛṇamanchi. The titles given to him are obviously Vijayanagar titles. He made the donation in cows and bull for one perpetual



lamp to Tiruvengadamuḍaiyān. It is stated however that he came there "for the *Vasanta*". Probably he visited the temple during the *Vasanta* (April—May) festival. No. 114 is a similar inscription which mentions a Srimān Mahānāyangāchārya with the other attributes of the previous inscriptions and refers to a Bāpu Nāyakar Pemmanāyakar providing for a perpetual lamp. Like the previous document No. 113, this also has the same indication making it perhaps really referable to the next following period. No. 115 merely mentions Yādavanrpa. Nos. 116 and 117 coming from the hill shrine are of some interest. The first refers to the granting of what is called *Vaikunṭha-Hasta* to the god on the hill by a certain Ahōbalarāya which is in gratitude to the God for giving the people the promise of Heaven by the pose of the hand. The next is a Tamil record to the same effect except that here an Aubalarāya is described as the Yādava ruler of Tañjai (Tanjore). We cannot say what exactly his position was, and whether he was really a successor of the other Yādavarāyas, and why his name gets associated with Tanjore in particular.

**Other miscellaneous records.** With No. 118 we begin with a number of miscellaneous inscriptions, all of them being records of gifts of various kinds and institution of certain services in the temple. Most of these inscriptions are too much mutilated to make much from out of them. But some of them that do contain some little information do not admit of the information being properly described for want of full details. The first one of any importance is No. 150 which is a small record and seems to be complete, though the meaning is obscure. It refers to a particular place called the pavilion of *Śeranaiveiṇṇān*, the pavilion of 'the person who conquered the Chēra' possibly in reference to Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara's march up and he is described as one of the lords whose function it was to issue orders to send up communications. Nos. 171 and 172 come from the hill shrine. The first refers to *Uḍaiyavar* and speaks of a certain charitable gift, and in the last line there is the name Anandālvān; and the next one refers to a grandson of Anandālvān, apparently referring to a service that he arranged for. No. 173 similarly refers to the Āchāryapurushas, and, among them, what seems to be Anandālvān Piḷḷai and the flower-garden that he made on the hill. No. 175 refers similarly to the garden, Rāmānuja. It will be remembered that the principal flower-garden laid out and cultivated by Anandālvān was called by this name according to the *Vēnktāchala Itihāsamāla*. No. 176 seems to define the boundary between

Tirupati and Avulāli, elsewhere called Avilāli. No. 177 refers to a Kāmavilli of Pūvainagar. He is said to have constructed a tank in Tirupati as a charitable gift, as one among the 32 charities that his mother had taken occasion to teach him about. That brings us to the end of the miscellaneous inscriptions, and the records following refer themselves to Vijayanagara rule.

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## CHAPTER XV.

### TONDAMAN CHAKRAVARTI—THE HUMAN FOUNDER OF TIRUPATI

With Vijayanagara we may regard ourselves as entering, so far as the history of Tirupati is concerned, upon the modern period. Up to that the history of Tirupati would be more or less of the nature of imperfect documents upon which we have had to depend for a regular history of the period, and what we have been able to gather would more or less be of a character almost in keeping with this. We may roughly take the middle of the 14th century as the parting line between the one and the other, and, having come so far collecting and considering all the *disjecta membra* of information so far made available it would perhaps be well to gather together in summary what of the real history of the holy shrine at Tirupati we have been able to gain so far. While the history of the shrine may be said to go back to the commencement of the Christian era, we have no definite information as to who the first human founder of the temple was. It is what is called a shrine self-creat (*svayambhu-sthala*), but, as far as the historical position is concerned, Tondamān Chakravarti, as he is called in later literature, must be regarded as the human founder. He was by all accounts mentioned as a ruler of the locality having his capital near the hill which could be reached from there even by an underground passage. We must take it, therefore, that he ruled from some place like Nārāyaṇavanam and a few of the other places round about as constituting townships of importance in the locality in later history.

The Vaishnava character of the shrine at Tirupati. Another feature of the tradition regarding him is that he was the son of a Chōla ruler by a Nāga princess which we may take to mean a princess, daughter of the local ruler. The Tondamān's arrangements for the conduct of worship in the temple were not anything of his own foundation, as there were already two devotees, a Brahman and a Śūdra who were on their own account engaged in the service, the Vaikhānasa Brahman for the ritual worship, and the Śūdra engaged in the external service necessary to conduct worship, such as the supply of flowers and other things which would be needed

for the conduct of the daily worship even according to the Vaikhānasa rites. The period, according to the Paurāṇic sources which are the only source for this period of history, is said to be somewhere between the beginning of the Vikrama era and the Śaka era, that is, in the first century B.C. or A.D. That is as far as the traditional origin of it goes. We find the shrine in Tirupati figuring in the earliest secular sources of information we have for South India, and is already a shrine with arrangements for not merely conducting the daily worship but even some of the more important annual festivals. The earliest writer mentioning this that we know of is the poet Māmūlanār, one of the great celebrities of the Śangam literature. He says specifically that Tirupati was famed for *its annual festivals*. We quoted references to the worship of Vishṇu among the early deities from a poem of Nakkīrar, and a reference to the existence of one of the shrines in Kānchi in the days of Toṇḍamān ḷḷam Tīraiyan from the *Perumbāṇāṟṟuppaḍai*. It need not therefore be regarded as anything improbable that a shrine should have existed in Tirupati. With these poets and poems we are almost introduced to the first Ālvārs or the Vaishṇava saints. There are three of them who had the reputation, in the estimation of even the later saints, as writers of classical Tamil (*Śen Tamil*): Their three cents are regarded by Vaishṇavas as in a way specially dedicated to the Vishṇu shrine in Tirupati. We have collected above all the relevant details, and, on a consideration of these details, we have no hesitation in affirming that the shrine was regarded as a Vishṇu shrine, and the image therein as an image of Vishṇu notwithstanding features which later on came to be regarded as representing other deities. This peculiarity of features is fully explained not only in the works of these early Ālvārs but even in some of the later ones. The explanations offered ought to satisfy every one that is a believer in Vaishṇavaic Hinduism as such; to the outsider who examines it altogether from an extra devotional point of view, these peculiar features would seem strange indeed, as being, more or less, those not ordinarily met with in one's own experience. Assuming for the moment that the image had a human origin and the temple a human foundation, the image representing the deity would be the translation in material form of the ideas that the founder wished should be incorporated in the image representing the deity. Having regard to the circumstances of the time and of the prevailing religious conditions, we can state it with confidence that the period was

one in which people were making an effort to provide for worship for the masses of people, possibly with a view to wean them from attachment to, and the attractions of, other contemporary religions such as Jainism and Buddhism. It was therefore a period not so much of distinction, much less of antagonism, between Vaishṇavism and Śaivism; but it was much rather of Hinduism, a kind of transformed Brahmanism as against the two heretical religions from the point of view of the Hindu. Having regard to this, they would rather lay the emphasis upon the similarities between Vishṇu and Śiva, and the underlying unity, rather than bring into prominence the distinction in character between the two. Hence certain features, which may well form the basis for contention as to the real character of the image, would seem unavoidable. But even so, it is remarkable that, from the earliest times, the shrine was regarded as a Vishṇu shrine and the image that of Vishṇu. Besides the three Āḷvārs, and a fourth, who have to be regarded as coming close after the age of Māmūlanār and Nakkīrar, and Rudran Kaṇṇan all Śāngam celebrities, we find Nammāḷvār giving the same character, as also the other Āḷvārs till we come to Āḷvār Tirumangai in the middle of the 8th century. That is not all. Their contemporaries the Śaiva Aḍiyārs and the Nāyanmārs who wrote as largely on their devotion to Śiva and of the places specially dedicated to the worship of Śiva, give no indication whatever of their having felt at any time that the hill shrine at Tirupati was ever a Śaiva shrine. Kālahasti not far off, one of the primary Śaiva holy places, has been visited by all these prominent saints, and they celebrate it in their poems. Since they went and visited Kālahasti and celebrated the shrine there, we cannot say that they did not know of Tirupati, or hear of it. Nevertheless we do not find them mentioning Tirupati as among their holy places, not to say that they have not celebrated it as a Śiva shrine. We have already noted that their are a few secular references from the Hindu point of view, and they leave it in no doubt and state it, as plainly as language would admit, that Tirupati was a Vishṇu shrine. The author of the *Śilappadhikāram*, who was not a Brahman Hindu, states it in the clearest terms that the hill shrine at Tirupati was a Vishṇu shrine. So does the author of the *Bhārata Venba* at the end of this period, that is, at the commencement of the 9th century; this couples Tirupati and Kānchi as places specially dedicated to Vishṇu. The earliest inscription which refers to this temple belongs to a generation or two previous to the author of

the *Bhārata Venbā*, and that refers to Tirupati as a Vishṇu shrine. Hence we have to regard it that, whatever the character of the image or the peculiar features that it exhibits, the place passed in the estimation of the people as a Vaishṇava holy place, and the temple a Vaishṇava shrine, during the first eight centuries of its existence.

**Tirupati in the age of the Acharyas :** Passing down we come to the age of the Āchāryas who followed the Ālvārs and continued their teaching, and the accounts of the *Guruparamparas* refer to visits to Tirupati by the first Āchārya Nāthamuni. The next important person among this group, Nāthamun's grandson Yāmunāchārya is said not merely to have paid a visit some time in his life but even to have felt, perhaps as a result of the visit, that the arrangements for the flower-service to the God was not satisfactory, and wanted that some stout-hearted person should make up his mind to go and settle down in Tirupati and devote himself to that service. It is as a result of this that one of his grandson Tirumalai Nambi went and settled down in Tirupati with his father and two young unmarried sisters, from one of whom was to be born later on Rāmānuja, the Vaishṇava teacher. Tirumalai Nambi became a permanent inhabitant of the hill, and some of those that live in Tirupati to-day claim descent directly from him. The fact is therefore confirmed by Rāmānuja having had to go to this uncle of his at Tirupati to learn the esoteric teaching of the *Rāmayaṇa* as he had received it from his own grandfather Yāmunāchārya. So although tradition is our only authority for some of these specific facts, we can still hold that there is a continuous tradition that the shrine was one dedicated to Vṣṣṇu, that the Vaishṇavas regarded it as a holy place of pilgrimage to which they went on pilgrimage, and certain of the Vaishṇavas came to regard it as their special charge and even made efficient arrangements as far as they could, for the care of the shrine in a locality not as yet well-inhabited perhaps not quite comfortably habitable as yet. That was the state of affairs regarding the temple till we come to the days of Rāmānuja.

**The Acharya Ramanuja and the Shrine at Tirupati.** It was during the life-time of Rāmānuja that a controversy arose which has given rise to different notions regarding the character of the shrine itself. Rāmānuja's was about the age, taking into it a generation or two before him, when the sects were forming distinctly, and even tried more or less to separate themselves into

distinct groups in Hindu society. One of the incidents in the course of this development is the natural assertion and counter-assertion of the superiority of Śiva and Viṣṇu, in fact the supreme character of the one or other of these. This kind of a contention got set up with impunity, as, at the time the rival creeds of Jainism and Buddhism had not perhaps as great a vogue as in the centuries preceding. Certain other historical circumstances also encouraged a movement like this. Rāmānuja's life was cast in the period when the Chōlas were the chief power in the Tamil country. The Chōla monarchs were most of them Saivas personally, and some of them very ardent ones. Notwithstanding their personal devotion to the Śaiva faith, as rulers they took care not to become partisan in public matters, and, as far as it came their way, they supported Vaishṇava shrines and the Vaishṇavas as well. In an age of controversy however and contention between the sects, these rulers were bound to be drawn into the struggle, and they might sometimes have let themselves go in support of those of their own conviction to some extent. But the really important feature is the existence of these controversies. We have a tradition that the ruler of Madura invited Periyālvār to take part in a controversy raised by a Śaiva divine, and so was Yāmunāchārya, the great-grandfather of Rāmānuja. The advent of the Chōlas to power gave much support to Śaivism, as in fact it is stated in the records of the Chōlas that Āditya, the second ruler of the new dynasty, built as many as 300 shrines to Siva on the banks of the Kāveri. Whether the number was actually 300 or not, he was responsible for a large number of Saiva shrines. This would mean undoubtedly a rise in the following, and consequently in the influence of Śaivism. The Vaishṇavas were apparently organising themselves also as a sect; but they do not appear to have had a similar influential support to begin with. But still they collected together round important teachers and were gaining in influence also. Matters came to a head at a time when Rāmānuja had to work his way gradually up to a position of influence as the leading teacher among the Vaishṇavas, and the legitimate occupant of the apostolic seat of his great-grandfather Yāmunāchārya at Śīrangam. Although the ruler contemporary at the time was the enlightened Chōla Kulōttunga I, these controversies and controversialists could not be silenced, and it is one of these individual controversies that was responsible for Rāmānuja's exile from Śīrangam, as was stated already. The period therefore of Rāmānuja's life was one of rising sectarianism and sectarian controver-

vies in which even enlightened rulers were being, willingly or unwillingly, drawn. It was about this time while Rāmānuja was occupying his position as teacher of the Vaishṇavas at Śrīrangam, in considerable influence among his followers, that the question of the character of the Tirupati shrine arose.

**Acharya Ramanuja and Tirupati.** One of the cardinal facts of Rāmānuja's life, although there is no undoubted evidence of history either from inscriptions or other similar sources, is his having had to go into exile from Śrīrangam as a result of this sectarian animosity. We have discussed the matter in full in the earlier part of the work, and we need not go into details here. Enlightened ruler that Kulōttunga was, his part in the controversy was that of a Śaiva ruler of the locality, and his inviting prominent people to take part in a controversy, not of his own creation. It was purely a question of a challenge by a Śaiva teacher of eminence to disprove his thesis of the supremacy of Śiva in Hinduism; of course on the face of it it was a controversial question. Rulers seem to have felt they were bound to let the disputants come into court and prove their case to the satisfaction of the assembled court. Kulōttunga seems to have had nothing further than this in his mind in inviting Rāmānuja to dispute the Śaiva controversialists. What took place is a result not directly of fanaticism in religion, but of the secular offence that he took at what he might well have considered an irrelevantly impertinent remark by Kūrattālvān. So Rāmānuja had to be in exile from his country, and could return to Śrīrangam only after the death of Kulōttunga I. The incident merely indicated the sectarian stir at the time, during the active period of Kulōttunga's life, and even those of his successors. From such evidence as is available in the inscriptions round Tirupati we could infer the favour that had been shown to Śaivism by those Śaiva officers of the Chōlas who made numbers of donations to the Śiva temple at Tiruchānūr, while we might almost say there were hardly more than a few donations made by Vaishṇava officers or others about the same period to the Vaishṇava temples in the neighbourhood, both on the hill and down below. Even so a record of Kulōttunga in Tirupati itself refers to the God as "Tiruvāyppaḍi Tirumalai Ālvār" meaning Krishṇa, just as the Mudal Ālvārs do. It would therefore raise the presumption that, at the time, the Śaiva tide was running strong round the region as a cousin of Rāmānuja himself had become a devotee of Śiva and was living in Kālabasti, whom the uncle Tirumalai Nambi could reclaim only after persistent effort. That seems to have been a



period unfortunately when, owing perhaps to some calamity or other which might have befallen the few families of Vaishnavas in Tirupati engaged in the temple service, the temple service had fallen into neglect, and the shrine itself, to some considerable extent, not looked after carefully. It seems possible that this untoward condition was taken advantage of and a claim set up, not necessarily by all the Śaivas, but by a small but influential body of Śaivas, that the temple was a Śiva temple. The local ruler finding it difficult to decide on his own responsibility, thought it much the best way to give the very best chance of a final settlement, to invite Rāmānuja as the best exponent of Vaishnavism to prove the case of the Vaishnavas if they had a case. It would have been nothing more than a disputation, as in a number of other instances on record and have no relation to the importance of the issue but for the eminent character of one individual involved. It is given therefore a very exaggerated importance in the Vaishnava accounts of the locality, and even a miraculous intervention of God himself has been invoked. It will be clear to those who have read the previous pages of this work that the character of the image and some of the features of worship lend themselves to an interpretation different from that actually given, and on the side of the Śaivas therefore there was a plausible case. Rāmānuja found no difficulty in proving it to the satisfaction of the impartial assembly which the Yādavarāya's court provided, and convincing the Yādavarāya himself and the assembly that the shrine was Vaishnava in character. It would be well to remember in this connection that, in those days, Vaishnava and Smārtha or even Śaiva did not stand so much apart from each other in social life as now, and hence it would be nothing strange that this matter should have arisen, and in the form in which it actually did. Having given the award in favour of the Vaishnavas, it would in the ordinary course be only in the fitness of things that Rāmānuja should be asked to pay some little attention and put matters on a proper footing in respect of the Tirupati temple. Rāmānuja did indeed stay in Tirupati, and made the organisation for worship in very many particulars as it is now. That organisation falls naturally in two clear parts, the first one a mere revival of the ritualistic practices of the worship, etc., as they obtained till then; and the second the institution of a number of new services which had not been in existence before. For the former part of it Rāmānuja found authority quite easily in the *Purāṇas*, the *Prabandha* works, and other material to which he

has had access, such as some of the Āgamas which may not exist now. The new arrangements took on the character of putting the secular management of the temple on a proper footing, and putting Tirumalai Nambi while he was alive, and Anandālvār after him, as guardian advisers in regard to the temple, making proper provision for the temple service by the creation of a certain number of gardens, providing a certain number of additions to the shrine and installing even some other Vishṇu images in the temple. Further the temple management was put on a footing of permanent disinterestedness by the creation of a couple of *Maṭhas* with *Sannyāsins*, or bachelors at their head and giving them the management. Those interested in the matter will find the details given in the *Śri Vēṅkaṭāchala Itihāsamāla*, which, though compiled later seems more or less to reflect the actual existing institutions in the temple since then. That Rāmānuja was there as well as Anandālvār, and that the principal flower garden made by Anandālvār was given the name Rāmānuja, appear in evidence in inscriptions just a few generations, two or three, after Rāmānuja in inscriptional records. Full provision was made for the recitation of the *Prabandhas*, and the celebration even of an *Adhyayana Utsava* as in Śīrangam. Some of the details of it such as the *Tiruppāvai Utsava* on the hill shrine, and the shrine to Gōdā in the Gōvindarāja shrine appear in inscriptional records of the Yādavarāyas and others. These would be enough to show that Rāmānuja did play an active part in the organisation of worship in the temple, not exactly in the conversion or transformation of a Śiva temple into a Vishṇu temple. We have shown enough evidence of a continuous, and almost irrefutable, character to prove that the temple was intended to be a Vishṇu temple, and had been so regarded throughout up to this particular period. Secular arguments could now be set up against this position, which, in a case like this, are quite out of place. An image of Vishṇu, like the image of any other God, is set up to answer to a particular aspect of the deity as conceived by the individual worshipper or the worshiping community, and not on any absolute pattern for Vishṇu, and after all in a matter of this character traditional evidence is likely to be less at fault than the so-called evidence of reason. Once order had been introduced and an organisation for worship was acknowledged, things went on well with the temple and we find in the period immediately following that of Rāmānuja donations of various kinds were made and the arrangements regulating worship, etc., on the lines said to have been laid down by Rāmānuja himself, continued in force.

**The Temple under the management of the Vaishnava community:**

It would have been noticed from the summary of the inscriptions given that the management of the temple had been throughout in the hands of those who were devoted worshippers at the temple, and such arrangements as were made were made by those whose religious interests lay that way. Such secular provisions as they did make for various service in the temple were placed under the protection of the Vaishnava community residing in the locality, but were subject to the control of the popular assemblies which looked after the general administration and ultimately, in case of need, the rulers, kings or governors, according to the period of time to which we make reference. State intervention there was and always when actually needed, and the state did interfere to set matters right and went no further. The state authority withdrew to let the management go on as before, so that, at any rate so far as this temple is concerned—it is in fact true of every other temple that exists—the management was in the hands of the community interested, and the government interested itself in seeing to it that things went on peacefully and satisfactorily from the point of view of the temple management and did not otherwise interfere. For the period of almost a couple of centuries following the active period of Rāmānuja's life, we have only inscriptional records, and the tale that they tell does not differ in the least from this position that we have depicted. That period of a couple of centuries was not uniformly peaceful. The authorities changed, and even the political possession of the locality changed. But the organisation for the management of the temple and the arrangements for the worship went on unaffected by any of these changes. Half a century of confusion consequent upon the incursions of the Muhammadans in A. D. 1310 did introduce a certain amount of confusion; but then it did not reach through the society to affect this organisation in particular in spite of the fact that the temples particularly were exposed to the plundering raids of the invaders. On the whole the shrine at Tirupati, and the shrines dependent thereon, seem to have suffered little scathe, while the temples at Śrīrangam, Ohidambaram, Madura and Rāmēśvaram suffered vital injuries. This was due perhaps to the shrines round Tirupati being in a comparatively inaccessible locality, and the invaders perhaps took roads which did not come too near these. When therefore Vijayanagar gets established and the authority of Vijayanagar begins to prevail over these parts, we find the Tirupati shrine well-organised and going on more or less on the set lines of worship

and service. This closes the formative period, more or less, of History of Tirupati from the point of view of the historian, and with the advent of Vijayanagar we are on what might almost be regarded as the modern period of the history of the hill-shrine.

## CHAPTER XVI

### TIRUPATI UNDER VIJAYANAGAR.

**Region round Tirupati under Hoysala Vira Ballala III.** Before proceeding to take up the history of the Tirupati temple, it would be useful to have an idea of the circumstances under which Vijayanagar came into existence, and the character of the change in administration that the advent of this new empire brought about. It would therefore be well to go back upon a slight retrospect, and gather together the details of information that we get regarding the changes that took place in the period ending with the formation of the empire of Vijayanagar. Among the inscriptions collected by the Dēvastānam authorities, the earliest are those connected with the name of Sāluva Mangu and Kumāra Kampaṇa Uḍaiyār, the conqueror of Madura; and the dates of the earliest records happen to be about the year A.D. 1359. There is possibly an earlier record in No. 178 of Volume I which just contains the name of Bukkarāya; but such of the titles as precede it in this imperfect record make it doubtful whether it actually refers to Bukka I. It would however, hardly matter, as the mention of Kumāra Kampaṇa and Sāluva Mangu would be about as good as mentioning Bukka I himself, unless we could be certain of the date of this inscription being earlier than the date given above. In the record, as it is available, we have no means of ascertaining that. We may take it therefore that the first Vijayanagar records refer to a period some time about A.D. 1359. By this date we could regard the empire of Vijayanagar as almost well-established, the only enemy that they had to look forward to in the north being the newly established Bahmani kingdom under its second ruler Muhammad Shah, the imperial power at Delhi having almost definitely given up ideas of recovering the southern possessions of the Tughlak empire. We saw already that the last dated record previous to this among the inscriptions of Tirupati were those referring to a Singana Daṇḍanāyaka of date A.D. 1338. We have besides a number of records pertaining to this officer showing him more or less closely associated with the region round Tirupati, and being regarded by the local ruler as an officer deserving of the respect due to an official superior. We have also noticed that this Singana Nāyaka was no other than an officer of the last Hoysala

ruler, Vira Ballāla III, under whom served not only Singana Nāyaka but even his elder brother, his father and even grandfather. Singana Nāyaka's position in Tirupati therefore gives the clearest indication that the region round Tirupati had passed under the authority of this last Hoysāla, Vira Ballāla III A.D. 1292 to A.D. 1342. It was in his reign that the first invasion of the Dakhan by the Muhammadans under Alau-d-dīn took place, and the gradual Muhammadan expansion subsequently. The extension of the authority of Vira Ballāla into the region of Tirupati is directly connected with these Muhammadan invasions, and goes back perhaps a couple of generations earlier when the Hoysālas were drawn towards the South in support of the last rulers of the Chōla dynasty in their struggle to maintain their position. We shall have to make a short review of this period.

**The Hoysala expansion in the south.** It was already stated that the first Hoysāla intervention was called for in the reign of Rājarāja III pretty early in his reign, and that Hoysāla Narasimha II advanced towards the south to assist him, on the one side against the aggressions of the Pāndyas, and on the other the rebellions of powerful chieftains like governors in Tondamandalam, and even Kōpperunjinga in South Arcot. The declining Chōla power under their ruler Rājarāja III, A.D. 1316 to A.D. 1352-53, was harassed within the empire by the rebellions of the Pallava chieftain Kōpperunjinga and possibly others in the neighbourhood on the one side, and the rising power of the Pāndyas in the south whose aggressions were stimulated by a desire for vengeance for all that they had suffered from the Chōlas, particularly their last great ruler Kulōttunga III. Caught between these two great fires of rebellion in the northern part of the empire, and of the Pāndya aggressions from the south, the Chōla power could have sustained itself if it had had at the head of it a powerful and competent monarch who could hold his own against these enemies as several of the great Chōlas have had to do before Rājarāja III. But Rājarāja III seems to have been a particularly feeble man for the critical position. He seems also to have been troubled by a rival claimant to the throne even at the outset of his reign. In these circumstances, the Chōla power could be kept up only if there was a powerful ruler from outside who was interested enough to maintain the integrity of the Chōla empire, or even the prestige of the Chōla empire for the time being. Family relationship and political consideration alike perhaps promoted the Hoysāla rulers across the hills to come to

the assistance of Rājarāja at a time when he was hard pressed by his rebellious feudatory Kōpperunjinga. In the actual condition of the Chōla empire, it was not likely that one intervention, and the setting up of the Chōla in power, would put matters on anything like a footing of peace. It was therefore a question whether something more than this occasional interference was not called for. Events showed that more was required to keep the Chōlas in position. Narasimha II and his son Sōmēśvara who were both of them intimately related with the Chōlas and the Pāṇdyas, found it necessary to establish themselves in an alternative capital in the south with a view to being ready at hand for the assistance of the Chōlas. It was therefore that the Hoyśāla Sōmēśvara fortified the village Kaṇṇanūr, four miles away from the north bank of the Coleroon opposite Śrirangam, and installed himself there in the newly fortified Vikramapura as his capital, which probably proved of some assistance to the Chōla, perhaps so far as his feudatories were concerned; but it only aggravated the hatred of the Pāṇdyas and made them the more implacable as enemies. Sōmēśvara had to exert himself strenuously to keep the Pāṇdyas from out of the Chōla territory, and, in this effort, he strengthened the Hoyśāla position and extended his influence so much that some of the records of Narasimha III claim his having set up a pillar of victory in Rāmēśvaram and making an encircling movement against the Pāṇḍyan territory through the Pudukkōttai State. When the great Jaṭāvarmaṇ Sundara Pāṇḍya ascended the Pāṇḍya throne, he carried on a great and successful campaign northwards beating the enemies in the Chōla country, among whom the name of Sōmēśvara himself figures prominently as well as that of Kōpperunjinga and others. He anointed himself as a victorious conqueror in Kānchi and even Nellore farther north, before he celebrated his achievement in crowning himself with the greatest glory both in Śrirangam and in Chidambaram. This certainly was a crushing blow to the Hoyśāla position in South India; but it also gave some little relief to the Chōla by the success that he achieved against the rebellious Chōla feudatories further north. But all the same, it did not avail the Chōlas to regain their lost prestige, much less their territory. We see, however, although it is not clearly stated anywhere in any of the Chōla or Pāṇḍya records, that the invasion of Sundara Pāṇḍya I had the effect of putting an end to the Chōla empire, as his Pāṇḍya successors are found ruling in the Chōla country soon after him. So far as the Hoyśālas were

concerned, they had suffered early from Sundara Pāṇḍya and, for the time being, had perhaps been temporarily dispossessed of their territory in the Tamil country. But they were able soon to regain a part of it, as we find two sons of Sōmēśvara succeeding him simultaneously, one, Narasimha III the elder of the sons ruling his ancestral dominions from Halabiḍ and Bēlūr. We find another Hoysāla ruler simultaneously, styled Vira Rāmanātha in his inscriptions, ruling over the Tamil territories of the Hoysālas claiming still Vikramapura as his capital and having another Kundāni, in the Baramahal parts of the Salem District Rāmanātha's rule seems to have lasted about a quarter of a century, and when he died, a son of his, succeeded to his territory, and, after two or three years of rule, passed out of view. In consequence the empire of the Hoysālas was again united under Narasimha III.

**Extension of Hoysala authority into the region of Tirupati under Vira Ballala III.** Narasimha's reign was perhaps more occupied with keeping his northern frontier from encroachment by the Yādavas of Dēvagiri and in bringing as much as possible of the southern part of the empire into his dominions. His period of rule, however, corresponded to that of the great Pāṇḍya Māravarman Kulaśekhara, the last great Pāṇḍya of Madura before the Muhammadan invasions, and the two powers seem to have been more or less well matched to indulge too readily in the game of war. Māravarman Kulaśekhara's activities find echo in the Tanjore District, and the fact that this great Pāṇḍya made Jayankōṇḍachōlapuram and Gangaikōṇḍachōlapuram his capitals would indicate that he had to be active on the northern frontier as against aggressions by the Hoysāla, who must have regained his footing in Vikramapura. This interpolation by the Hoysāla between the southern and northern parts of the Chōla empire seems really to have been responsible for the falling away of the northern part of the Chōla empire from its allegiance and becoming more or less independent of the empire of the Chōlas and their successors. If, in the course of these years, this part fell away from the Chōla empire, the maintenance of its independence would have been perhaps rather precarious unless it be under the wings of a greater power than themselves. During a considerable part of this period we find the Yādavarāyas comporting themselves more or less independently after the break up of the Chōla empire, but not perhaps without being exposed to the incursions and the influence of a new power; and that power, in the circumstances, must have been that of the Hoysālas. We



have already noticed, in our account of the recorded inscriptions in Tirupati and its vicinity, that two Hoysāla generals figure rather prominently with dates well on in the reign of the Hoysāla Vira Ballāla III, the son and successor of Narasimha III. It fell to this Vira Ballāla to regain the southern part of the empire for the Hoysālas largely. He had therefore to be very active in this region warring pretty often against the Pāndyas under Māra-varman Kulaśēkhara. It is nothing strange therefore that we find his authority in a way acknowledged by the later Yādavarāyas in the region of Tirupati. This becomes the more clear when the family of these officers for three generations held the chief authority under Hoysālas as their principal officers, exercising authority no doubt over the whole of the empire, but even holding *jāghirs* of territory in the southern part of Mysore, which ultimately became an independent division of territory when the Hoysāla power in its turn declined. Perumāla Daṇḍanāyaka was the prime minister of Narasimha III in the later years of his reign, and he continued in that great office under his son and successor at the outset of his reign. He was succeeded in that great office by his son Mādhava Daṇḍanāyaka, and in his turn he was succeeded by two of his sons, Ketavya Daṇḍanāyaka and Singana Daṇḍanāyaka, the names of both of whom and the father occur in the records at Tirupati. It is Madhava Daṇḍanāyaka that organised his *jāghīr* on the southern frontier of Mysore, and made Terekaṇāmbi his headquarters to develop further and become the chieftaincy of Daṇḍanāyakankōṭṭai later. That this was an important frontier and required careful watching is in evidence as the whole of the Kōngu frontier was a frontier of contention between the Hoysālas and the Pāṇdyas. According to Amir Khusru, the historian of the Muhammadan invasions of South India, on the first occasion of the Muhammadan inroad into the Hoysāla territory, the Hoysāla armies were actually on the southern frontier of Kōngu operating against Vira Pāṇḍya, the son of Māravarman Kulaśēkhara, who had a government of his own, and had for his sphere of activity this frontier. That no doubt is one part of the Hoysāla territory open to attack; but for any purpose of effective holding of this frontier as against the enemy, the frontier line must have taken the part of Toṇḍamaṇḍalam round the region of Tirupati, and so we find it.

**The Muhammadan invasions of the south.** But before proceeding any further, we must consider the Muhammadan irruption into this region with a view to appraising its influence in regard

to this frontier in particular. After bringing into well-recognised subordination to the empire of Delhi both the Hindu states of the Dakhan, the Yādava state with its capital at Dēvagiri and the state of Warangal with its capital much further east in the Nizam's Dominions first at Hanumakoṇḍa and then Warangl, the Mu'ammadan general Malik Kafur, the special favourite of Alaud-din, obtained his master's permission to carry his invasions farther south with a view to acquiring the riches of the temples in South India and gaining possession of a number of the powerful elephants of the south, as they constituted the most efficient arm of the armies of those days. Malik Kafur had really no difficulty in obtaining permission on these terms, and arrangements were made for the march of the army through the friendly and subordinate territory of the Rājas of Dēvagiri. As soon as the army emerged out of the Vindyan Passes of the Narmada and Satpura mountains into the Dakhan, the Dēvagiri government and its army received invading army, and took them over to Dēvagiri. When after rest and reorganisation, the invasion was ready to start again, the commander-in-chief, whom the Muhammadan historians call Paras Dēvō Dālvi (the corresponding Hindu name would be Parasuram Dēv, the Dalavōy or general of the Yādavas) escorted the army to the southern limits of the Yādava territory down to his own *jāghīr* of Shōlapūr. There the army encamped to reorganise itself for entry into the hostile territory of the south. During the period of the halt, what might be regarded as a cavalry raid was undertaken from Shōlapūr into the territory of the Hoyśālas, and that was the first invasion of the Hoyśāla territory in A. D. 1309-10. The main part of the Hoyśāla army was away, but the Hoyśāla did make an effort to stand a siege, in the course of which his capital suffered considerable damage. The invaders were able to carry their raid further westwards to the coast of the Arabian Sea and return with a large quantity of plunder. When, however, the Hoyśāla submitted after the first show of resistance, the Muhammadan general received his overtures kindly, and sent a recommendation to imperial headquarters for the gracious treatment of the Rāja. The mission went under the Hoyśāla prince, was kindly received, and returned with a gracious message from Alau-d-din that the Hoyśāla territory would be respected as under the rule of a subordinate ally. That done Malik Kafur proceeded southwards on his invasion, feeling safe on the side of Hoyśāla in his march to the distant south. The question now arises as to what road this

invasion took, and this is of considerable importance to the history of Tirupati especially. If the invasion took the eastern road, it would bring them very close to Tirupati, and Tirupati itself must have figured in the history of this invasion. But it does not, and Tirupati does not appear to have suffered either in this invasion, or even in some of the subsequent ones. We have good reason for believing that the invasion actually proceeded by way of Bangalore into the Salem District, and thence on in the direction of Trichinopoly proceeding therefrom to Madura and Ramēswaram. The choice of this road for the march of the army of invasion left the region of Tirupati aside, and saved it from the attacks of this army of invasion. The story of this invasion does not concern us directly. We might note briefly therefore that the army marched south, meeting with comparatively little opposition except for a battle or two when they had to fight against Vira Pāṇḍya, the more active among the sons of Māravaīman Kulasēkhara, and then marched on plundering Śrīrangam and Chidambaram on the way towards Madura. Having destroyed the capital of Madura, and carrying a further raid forward as far as Rāmēsvaram, the invasion returned to Delhi the following year with something like 350 elephant loads of treasure and much else of warlike material likely to be of value to the emperor. Malik Kafur's return to Delhi was followed by trouble and disturbances at court ending ultimately in the death of Alau-d-din Khilji, and after one or two palace revolutions, Mubarak, one of the sons of Alau-d-din ultimately succeeded to the throne. The new succession was the occasion for the subordinate territories, particularly the new ones. Dēvagiri now under Harpaldev, a son-in-law of Ramdev who had submitted to Alau-d-din, showed an inclination to rebel. Mubarak came down upon him, punished Harpaldev severely, and made the territory of Dēvagiri the first subordinate kingdom in the Dakhan. With a view to riveting his hold on this territory, he sent out a number of Amirs at the head of their troops to occupy salient places in the kingdom with their troops. This made the Hoyśāla realise the danger of his position and prepare himself against eventualities. After Mubarak returned to headquarters, he sent out an invasion to the south under his favourite slave Khusru, a Gujarati-Hindu convert to Islam, who went on this southern invasion and showed an inclination to tarry long in South India. But a palace revolution called for his presence in Delhi, and he went away post haste leaving South India to itself. It was not till the Khiljis were overthrown and the Tughlaks established

themselves that they thought of South India again, and an invasion came under Muhammad-bin-Tughlak as a prince in A. D. 1323. It came some way towards the south, and had to turn back from the frontiers of South India owing to an outbreak of cholera in the camp. But Muhammad Tughlak was not the man to forget. After he had placed himself upon the throne securely, he sent out an expedition definitely with a view to the conquest of the south. Naturally the invasion took the course of its predecessors generally, and had to make sure of communications, and the loyalty of those whom they left in possession of power on the route of march. Naturally therefore an invasion had to be sent against the Hoysālas. Their capital Halabid suffered rather more severely this time than before. Having assured themselves of the Hoysāla remaining loyal by this demonstration of power, the army marched south, and was so far successful in this invasion that Muhammad found it possible to establish a Government in distant Madura, the capital of the Pāṇdyas, under his loyal and doughty general, Jalalu-d-din Āsan Shah, thus laying the foundations of a Muhammadan state ruling in Madura, though only for a comparatively short period of fifty years. Muhammad Tughlak's invasions on this occasion probably came to the south not with the avowed object of conquering the south, but because a rival claimant to the throne had set himself up in rebellion in the south Dakhan as against the claims of Muhammad to the throne of his father. Bahau-d-din Gushtasp or Gurshasp, as the Muhammadan historians name him, was a prince of the Tughlak family, a nephew of Ghiyasu-d-din Tughlak, the father of Muhammad, brought up in the royal family and perhaps with a view to succession as he claimed it. Since Muhammad was suspected of having brought about the death of the father with a view to securing the succession, it seems likely that the nephew put forward his claim and set up in rebellion from his headquarters at Sagar near Gulbarga in the Nizam's Dominions. The invasion came with a view to punish him. But he found asylum first of all in the ruler of Kampli, who, loyal to his promise, would rather lay down his life than surrender a fugitive who sought asylum of him. The valiant Rāja passed him on to the neighbouring Hoysāla, as being more capable of giving him the asylum that he needed, fought and died, thus putting an end to the kingdom of Kampli. The invasion continued and marched on Halabid, and, after destroying the capital partially, it proceeded further south, as was stated already. Jalalu-d-din Āsan Shah, the general, ruled in the name

of Muhammad-bin Tughlak from Madura, and declared himself independent in A. D. 1335, when Muhammad was engaged in putting down a rebellion of the distant ruler of Bengal, who had already set himself up under Muhammad's father. The opportunity, when yet Muhammad was engaged in his war against the Bengal Sultan, was too good to be lost, and the governor of Madura followed the example of Bengal and set up in rebellion. Madura was too far off for Muhammad's personal intervention, and as Muhammad had to attend to things nearer home, this distant southern rebel had to be neglected for the time. Muhammad's troubles grew so much in volume and variety, that he was not able at any time afterwards to pay his personal attention to this rebel at Madura, and his independence remained unchallenged.

**The Hoysala reaction to the Muhammadan Sultanate of Madura.**  
 The establishment of the Sultanate in Madura under sultan Jalalu-d-din Asan Shah marked a stage in the expansion of the Mahammadan power in the South, and the establishment of something like a governorship in Madura which very soon developed into an independent state, was fraught with consequences which might have proved dangerous to Hindu India in the fields alike of current politics and culture. It should have appeared in this character even to contemporaries, and specially to those among them who at all cherished any responsibility in respect of the country round them, particularly in regard to matters touching the religion and culture of the country. At the time to which we have now arrived, say A.D. 1335, the only Hindu power worth the name which could really feel concerned with matters like these was that of the Hoysāla, the Pāndya and the Chōla empires having gone out of existence, and no other state having taken the place of either the one or the other or both. If it is a question of any Hindu state making an effort to set a term to the expansion of the Muhammadan power and keep it within limits, it could only be the Hoysāla state which was at all in a position to do so with any chance of success. It became therefore the special responsibility of the Hoysāla Vira Ballāla III to exert himself in regard to this matter. But one could appreciate his position which was invidious in the extreme. He had acknowledged himself subordinate to the Muhammadan power at Delhi under the Khiljis. The Tughlak state could claim the same consideration as the political successor of the Khilji empire at Delhi. But the moment that a rebel set himself up against the legitimate authority of Muhammad Tughlak, this consideration would

immediately cease to have any value as against this new state. He was not bound by any ties of loyalty to the newly established Sultanate of Madura for one thing. But he saw also clearly that Muhammad took no action against the rebel and showed no inclination to do so in the immediate future. Things across his northern border in the Dakhan were moving fast. Rebellion succeeded rebellion, and a new Musalman state was in course of formation. While this was not exactly clear in A. D. 1335, indications certainly were not wanting to show that very soon Dakhan would follow in the footsteps of the other Muhammadan states, such as Gujarat and Mālva. So between the nether millstone and the other of a rising Muhammadan state in the Dakhan, if they should ultimately succeed against Muhammad Tughlak and set up in independence, and a Muhammadan kingdom, small though it be to begin with, well established in Madura under a capable governor, the Hoyśāla's position would become precarious in the extreme even though it did not seem likely that the Tughlak sovereign would actively exercise his authority and demand the Hoyśāla's loyalty at the time. If the very Mussalman governorships were in rebellion, Hindu states perhaps might easily follow their example. At any rate, when the empire of Muhammad ceased to exist, such Hindu states as existed need not follow in the trail of any succeeding state in Delhi. What indeed was the course of action that the Hoyśāla was going to adopt was matter which would, to a very great extent, depend upon his own interpretation of the situation, and the courage and capacity with which he could carry out his policy. Notwithstanding the submission that he made to Alau-d-din and the favourable terms that he obtained from him, he suffered badly in the invasion sent out by Muhammad-bin-Tughlak in A.D. 1327, which was so far successful as to partially destroy his capital and otherwise do him considerable damage. Perhaps Muhammad made no secret of his ultimate intention to conquer and annex South India to his own territory in direct contradiction to the policy of Alau-d-din, who made it clear, to his general at any rate, that he was not anxious to extend his empire to great distances from Delhi, and across the Vindhya frontier particularly. The invasion of A. D. 1327 should have shown clearly to Vira Ballāla that he could not regard his position safe even in his own territory. He must have been driven to take his measures accordingly. From A.D. 1328 he made Tiruvaṅṅāmalai his headquarters, not because his capital of Halabīḍ or Belūr had really become untenable, but perhaps as

providing an important strategic centre from which he could operate advantageously and carry out his policy according to the exigencies of the moment. The advantage of the position in Tiruvaṅṅāmalai would be that it was more or less on the high road to the South by the eastern way, from which he could watch the movements of the Muhammadans even if they should take the further interior central route towards the South. The territory behind Tiruvaṅṅāmalai, and to the north of it was more or less under his authority, and the assistance of its governors and the whole of its resources would be available to him in his operations against the Muhammadans, who had now perhaps fortified themselves in Kaṅṅanūr as an outpost of Madura, and as safeguarding communication with the north for the Muhammadans by the central route. What had been done under Singaṅṅa Nāyaka, and the strengthening of the Southern frontier under his father Mādhava Daṅṅānāyaka alike would indicate clearly that it was provision made for guarding the Southern frontier from which a Muhammadan attack from the South would be possible now, with a Sultanate established in Madura. That seems to have been the moving consideration with Vīra Ballāla in moving out towards Tiruvaṅṅāmalai, and making it more his capital than Halabīd or Bēlūr. The block of territory extending along the foothills of the Eastern Ghats from the southern frontier of Mysore eastwards to the sea, was a very important salient both for offence and defence against the Muhammadans, and seems to have proved a safe belt of country, if for nothing else, at least for communications from one part of the country to the other. During the seven years following when Madura was only a governorship under the authority of Muhammad Tughlak, he had to be very cautious, and lay his plans secretly and work without causing inconvenient suspicions; but when once the governor of Madura declared himself independent, and Muhammad showed no inclination to march down with his accustomed speed to bring the rebel to reason, the Hoyśāla could adopt a bolder line of action, and take steps to carry out actively a policy to shut in the Sultan of Madura within narrow limits and bring about the extinction of the Sultanate if possible; if that were not possible at least to confine it within the narrowest possible limits. He therefore gradually exerted himself to extend his authority over what was the Chōla empire, and, through the Pudukkōttai state and through the Rāmnād district, so as to limit the activities of the Muhammadan Sultan to the Madura-Trichinopoly route at the very most, and a

comparatively small distance to the north of the Coleroon. When the Ballāla carried out these strategic movements of his to a considerable degree of success, it was clear even to the Muhammadan in Madura that he meant nothing less than the extinction of the Muhammadan Sultanate which seemed then possible, as Muhammad's activities were not likely to be of any avail in the distant south, and the state of the Dakhan gave the best guarantee that assistance from the north was altogether impossible. The Muhammadan historians consequently complain that the Hoyśāla was developing a movement to surround and confine the Sultanate of Madura to Madura itself and no more. We find him ultimately carrying out this policy almost to a successful conclusion after seven years of strenuous activity, when, at the head of an army of 1,25,000 troops he placed himself in Trichinopoly, and thus separating the garrison of the Muhammadan cantonment at Kannaṅūr from Madura, the headquarters of the Sultan, made an effort to defeat the two parts of the Muhammadan armies in detail and ultimately put an end to Muhammadan power in the south. But unfortunately for the Hindu movement in the south, he fell into the hands of his enemies at the moment of victory, when he had successfully beaten back a desperate attack from the Muhammadans in Madura. He fell into the hands of a raiding party and was put to death, an old man of 80 that he was as stated by the Muhammadan historians. This outspread of the Hoyśāla power is what is indicated in the two or three inscriptions in Tirupati which refer to the Hoyśāla officers Kētayya Daṇḍanayaka and Singaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka, the brothers, who became afterwards the founders of the family that ruled at Daṇḍāyakaṅkōṭṭai in the Salem District as their headquarters. The unfortunate result of the battle of Trichinopoly should ordinarily have put an end to this Hindu movement once and for all, but for the confused condition of the Tughlak empire, and the almost impossible struggle that Muhammad Tughlak had to maintain for the next ten years against his rebel governors, culminating in his death without achieving the success that he should have under more favourable circumstances. South India was left to itself during all this period, as the Dakhan Sultans, even when they had established themselves into a well-formed kingdom in A. D. 1346, had to be watchful of the activities of Muhammad Tughlak, and could not move freely and actively southwards. That was the saving feature of the situation, and what followed seems to be a concerned action on the part of these officers and governors of the



Hoyśāla, continuing and carrying out the policy of Vira Ballāla to success so as to lead ultimately to the establishment of a united Hindu state of the South, which became later the empire of Vijayanagar.

✓ **The Revival of Hoysala power leads to the establishment of the Empire of Vijayanagar:** The course of events which culminated in the establishment of Vijayanagar gives indication of a gradual revival and expansion of the Hoyśāla power after the Muhammadan invasions, particularly after the invasion of Muhammad Tughlak in the year A. D. 1327. It is likely that, even this invasion went down upon Trichinopoly and Śrīrangam, as its main objective, particularly the latter, and as such must have avoided the road to the east leaving the region round Tirupati quite clear as it were. This is made very likely by what is stated of the happenings in the south resulting from this invasion. The *Kōvil Oluhu*, an account of the history of the temple at Śrīrangam which records most of the principal events relating to the history of the temple at Śrīrangam, gives a description of what actually took place on this occasion. The inhabitants of Śrīrangam were celebrating one of their famous annual festivals, in which the image of the God is carried to the river Coleroon and set down in the middle of the river bed for getting through a number of items of various acts of worship, till, late in the evening, the God is taken back to the temple in a huge procession. It was in the course of this festivity all unexpectedly that the invading cavalry of Muhammad Tughlak clattered down to the banks of the Coleroon along the road from Kaṇṇanūr. Before the invading forces could come into touch people immediately in attendance upon the image quickly came to a resolution to save the image of the God, the festival image which was meant for being carried about, and *Lōkachārya*, a sturdy man of middle age, carried the image in a palanquin and walked away through unfrequented ways, and escaped through *Pudukkōṭṭai* avoiding public road. Taking *Tirukkōṭṭiyūr*, *Tirumālirumśolai*, where he made halts, he moved out whenever he heard of the cavalry behind him, to carry the image in safety across into the Travancore country, moving from place to place as each one became untenable. The image was at last taken to safety in *Calicut*, where it remained for some time. As soon as the imminent danger from these divisions of the invading army was over, they thought it best to bring the image to a place of safety, where it might remain unmolested till the time should come for its being reinstalled in the holy place of Śrī-

rangam. They thought the best place to go to would be Tirupati, and moved out from Calicut carrying the image with them reached the place Terukaṅāmbi in Mysore, where they stayed rather comfortably for a while, and proceeded further on their journey till they reached Puhganūr in the Chittoor District on the high way leading from the Mysore plateau into the Madras Presidency. On reaching the place, they discovered detachments of the Muhammadan forces were hovering about, and therefore they resolved to retrace their steps, not being able to reach their destination of Tirupati. As the next best safe place they took the image over to the temple at Mēlkōta, where it was kept in hiding for some time, and then, when the roadways were safe, they carried the image over secretly to Tirupati where it was kept in safety in the charge of a worshipping priest, his brother-in-law, perhaps a somewhat younger man, and a young boy of a son. Hearing of the threat of an attack by Muhammadan forces, the priest tied himself and the image to a rope, and asked the brother-in-law to let him slowly down a scarp on the hill, on the western side into a deep glade unfrequented by man generally. There the image is said to have lain under the care of these three till the priest died, followed some time after by the brother-in-law, and the young boy had grown up to be a man of age. When, on an occasional discovery by a forester, the information was carried to Nārāyaṇavaram, the governors of the locality who played a prominent part in the reduction of the Muhammadan garrisons in South India, and in the establishment of the Vijayanagar empire in the army of Kumāra Kampaṇa of Vijayanagar, found occasion, chiefly through the influence of the minister Gōpaṇārya, as he is called, to take over the image and instal it in the temple at Śrīrangam back again. This story throws light upon the general position of the region round about Tirupati and the condition in which that region happened to be at the time. The fact that, owing to the turmoil, they thought Tirupati was about the safest place available and that they could move along unmolested by way of Terukaṅāmbi across Mysore to Tirupati gives indication that the territory concerned was under a state which remained, more or less unmolested in spite of the Muhammadan invasions, although the roadways were far from being absolutely safe. This must have taken place some years after the invasion of A. D. 1328, which indeed was what set the image of Ranganātha on the move. Perhaps it actually refers to a period when the authority of Singaṇa Nāyaka or it may be his successors still prevailed over this region, the

region round Tirupati extending westwards to as far as Teru-kaṇāmbi and perhaps beyond, which seems more or less the condition inferable from the account of Ibn Baṭūṭa as well. So during the period of turmoil of the Muhammadan invasions and the years following, Tirupati remained a comparatively safe place to offer protection even to the image of Ranganātha from Srirangam. It is perhaps the possession of this region in comparative security and its providing a good place of retreat in times of need, that induced Vīra Ballāḷa to establish himself in Tiruvaṇṇamalai by preference, a fortified place on the high road leading from the north to south along one of the well-known highways of the south. Not only did that provide a place of safety with a safe retreat behind for emergencies, but it also proved a convenient centre from which to develop his further movements against the Sultans of Madura as circumstances proved favourable. The establishment of the Vijayanagar empire may be regarded as a fact soon after A. D. 1358 when the coinage of the Sultan of Madura ceases; it would mark one further stage in the growth perhaps in A. D. 1369-73 when the image of Ranganatha was, according to a record in the temple, reinstalled in Srirangam. This latter date may be the better date for the establishment of the empire, apart from the date of the foundation of the city. The conclusion of the successful campaign of Kumāra Kampaṇa signalled by the restoration of the destroyed temple at Madura, and the revival of the great temple at Śrīrangam would certainly mark the date of the successful accomplishment of the mission which ended in the establishment of the empire of Vijayanagar. The inscriptional records that we find in Tirupati take us to about this date, and the earliest names of Vijayanagar rulers and officers who find mention happen to be Bukkarāya, possibly the first of the name, Kumara Kampaṇa, his son, the princely viceroy of the Muḷbāgal Maharājya and Śālva Mangu, the first great name in the dynasty of the Śāluvas of Nārāyaṇavaram. Bukkarāya must have been the ruler. Kumara Kampaṇa was responsible for leading the invasion which brought into the empire the rebel Śambuvarāyas of the Pālār basin, and ultimately defeated the Sultan of Madra himself, Śālva Mangu playing the leading part in this South Indian campaign. We shall now take up the tale of the inscriptions at Tirupati during the first century of the existence of Vijayanagar.

**The region of Tirupati passes under Vijayanagar almost from the beginning.** Before taking up the actual subject-matter of the

inscriptions of Vijayanagar, some of the features in which these differ from the inscriptions of the Chōla and other dynasties must be noted carefully. The first important point is that the dates are marked not in the regnal years of the ruling sovereign as in the case of the earlier inscriptions. They are generally given in the Śaka year with of course details of the date. This, while it makes the dating precise and undoubted, is therefore very convenient; but these inscriptions fall short in historical value as they do not give the historical information supplied in the form of *Prasasti* or *Meykkīrti*. The second point in regard to this is that the date being thus given, the ruler's name generally need not be mentioned unless he has something directly to do with the subject-matter of the inscription. The records therefore would be more or less of a private character except in a certain number of cases where royal personages, or members of the royal family, make the donations. Bearing these limitations in mind, we find that there is a large number of inscriptions in the Tirupati temple itself relating to this period in the first century of the history of Vijayanagar. Actually they extend from No. 178 to 236 of the first volume, and just a small number in the second volume. The first of these records, No. (178) has no date as it has come down to us, and just makes mention of a Bukkarāya, and makes provisions for a daily food-service at the temple on the hill. It probably refers to Bukka I. As we have stated already, the orthodox dating for the foundation of Vijayanagar is A. D. 1336, and that refers to the foundation of the city of Vijayanagar, in its original name Vidyānagara. It would be a date of the foundation of the empire in a sense. But the real foundations of the empire would be some-what later, and could be marked off in the first years of Harihara II just over fifty years after this date. The actual completion of the operations and the establishment of an empire in the south perhaps may be dated more appropriately somewhere about the year A. D. 1371, when the image of God Ranganatha was reinstalled at Śrīrangam, giving thereby the clearest indication that the first rulers of Vijayanagar felt they had brought the country under their authority, and the establishment of Hindu South India, free of Muhammadan power had become more or less a fact. But even as early as A. D. 1346 we find inscriptions of the Vijayanagar brothers, Harihara I or Bukka I, extending eastwards as far as Udayagiri in the Nellore District which would mean that the territory with which we are particularly concerned was included in their empire already; and, about this

early period, we find their governments at Penukonda and farther east in the Anantapur District on the one side, and at Mulbāgal and the roads leading from there into the Madras Presidency on the other, that is the high road leading into Chittoor. We may therefore take it that the territory round Tirupati passed under the authority of Vijayanagar almost directly from that of the Hoysāla rulers.

The earliest records mention Bukka, Saluva Mangu, Kumara Kampana and Harihara II. Inscriptions (178) and (180) refer to the same matter and recorded in two languages, the first in Telugu, and the next in Tamil. The Telugu part gives the date Śaka 1281, corresponding to 6th July 1359 and refers to the performance of a service by the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Mangidēva Maharāja. This apparently refers to, from the partial title given, the Sālva ruler who played a prominent part in the southern invasions of Kumāra Kampana, and distinguished himself in the campaigns which succeeded in bringing the whole of the southern territory under Vijayanagar. He belonged to the Sālva family, of which we shall hear more later, and was one of the earliest chieftains to distinguish himself. His benefaction to the temple consisted in his covering the roofing with gold and setting up a gold pinnacle. The former part of it, the covering with gold is mentioned distinctly in the Tamil record in the expression *pon-mēṇju*. Of course, the Tamil expression would be *pon-vēyṇdu*, with also the variant *mēyṇdu*, an expression which is used in respect of similar service rendered to the Śrīrangam temple by Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya and similar connections. Among the titles given to this ruler is a Kannada expression *Mīsara Gaṇḍa*. The full expression would be *Mēdinī Mīsara Gaṇḍa*, meaning the men among those in the world with moustaches which means, 'the man among men,' a title which became a peculiar Sālva title, although other chieftains and dynasties sometimes affected it also. No. 181 connects itself with Śrī Vīra Kumāra Kampana Uḍaiyār, with various titles generally associated with him. The subject-matter of the inscription is the grant of 28 cows and one breeding bull for lighting a perpetual lamp in the temple. This benefaction seems to have been made by an officer of Kampana Uḍaiyār of the rank of *pēkkaḍai*, as it is called in Tamil. This is the equivalent of the Kanarese *Pēṅḍai*, a title of high rank analogous to the Tamil *pērum-taram*. It is noteworthy that the titles given of this Kumāra Kampana should be in Kanarese even in the region of Tirupati. These titles are Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, *Harirāya*

(*arirāya*)-*vibāḍa*, and there is a part of the word *Gaṇḍa* with a gap previous which may be filled up from his other inscriptions, *Bhāshegē-Tappuva Rāyara Gaṇḍa*. Of course, the other possibility would be *Mēdinī Misara Gaṇḍa*, which is not usually found applied to Kumāra Kampaṇa or other rulers of Vijayanagar. No. 182 seems to be a mere continuation, and contains but one remark. Since the name of the year is given, and we know the period of time, the year Kilaka would correspond to Śaka 1290, A. D. 1368. No. (183) is interesting, but it is badly mutilated in the form in which it is available to us. It refers to a Śambukula Chakravarti Tiru Mallinādan Sambuvarāya Perumāḷ, and makes some benefaction in favour of the temple. The intrusion of this Śambuvarāya inscription into Tirupati is indeed interesting as the Sambuvarāyans held rule in the Pālar basin with their capitals at Tiruvallam, and ultimately Vrinchipuram near Vellore. where Kumāra Kampaṇa defeated them, and brought them under the authority of the Vijayanagar empire. But since in this case, we know no date, we could not say anything more about him, nor to what period the record actually belongs, although we are entitled to infer that in the best period of their authority the Sambuvarāyan influence extended as far as Tirupati. No. (184) is of date S. 1301 or A. D. 1380. This is a private document more or less, as it refers to a benefaction merely. It makes provision for food-service on the 2nd day of certain festivals in which the image of the God and His consorts are taken to a pavilion called *Aḷahappirān*. In the recorded provision is also included a separate provision for Śrī Varāhanāyanār, that is, the boar form of Viṣṇu, whose shrine is on the west bank of the Svāmi Pushkariṇi tank. The capital of 450 gold pieces was deposited by a Vaishṇava Kalikanṛidāsa, son of Aḷahappirānār. The expenses of the service were to be met from the interest on this capital deposited, and was accepted by the Śrī Vaishṇavas. The document was committed to writing by the temple accountant, Tiruṇiṇṛavūr Uḍaiyān, which would mean the lord of the village of Tiruṇiṇṛavūr, now Tinnanūr. In a number of documents following, this accountant's name occurs, and he is the responsible author of all the documents in the temple, and was under the supervision of the Vaishṇavas of Tirupati. In regard to the donor, his name has one of the titles of Tirumangai Ālvār, and he was one of the leaders among the Vaishṇavas of Tirupati.

Other documents of Harihara's reign. The next one No. (185) which is on the north wall of the Varadarājaswāmi shrine in the

temple, is of great interest, and gives the name of the year. From this detail and further attendant circumstances, the date would work out to the 18th of January 1388. It refers to the deposit of 100 gold pieces into the treasury by Mullai Tiruvēṅgaḍa Jiyar in residence in his Maṭha in one of the flower-gardens apparently. From the income of this deposit, service had to be made on a particular festival day as is generally done on other festival days in the shape of food, etc., and this was made in the name of Harihararāya obviously Harihara II. The donor's name is, not actually mentioned; but the donation is entrusted to the care of the particular Śanyāsin, one among the managers of the temple. The same accountant, Tiruniravūr Udaiyān, put the document in writing. No. 186 seems to be a continuation of this document. No. 187 refers to S. 1312, and would correspond to A. D. 1390. It is an agreement between the stānattār (people of the locality) and Mullai Tiruvēṅgaḍa Jiyar, supervisor of the flower-garden Ariśānālayam. This makes provision for a food-service during the Mārgaḷi (December—January) festival, when through the whole month the God and His consorts listen to the recital of the Tiruppāvai from the Prabhandā works. This makes provision for distribution of food during the middle ten days, and on the concluding day, for the God at Tirupati, and similar provision is also included for Gōvindarāja Perumāḷ in Lower Tiruati. The amount of deposit was 1,200 gold pieces from the interest of which the expenses of the provision have to be met. There are also details as to the distribution of the food, and there is the interesting remark at the end that when Tiruvēṅgaḍa Jiyar should die, his successor in the office should hold himself responsible for seeing to the working out of this provision, and be entitled to the privileges that it carries along with it. It is noted that his successor should be an *Ekāṅgi* (a single man) like himself. No. 188 is an imperfect document, and contains only a detail in regard to the distribution of food. The inscriptions so far are all of them from the hill shrine. With 189 we come to the Gōvindarāja temple. It is on the south wall of the Pārthasārathiswāmi shrine in the temple precincts, and is the same document as No. 187 that we discussed before, where the provision made is a joint provision for the temple at Tirupati and the temple of Gōvindarāja. No. 190 again is in the hill shrine and refers to S. 1314, corresponding to the 25th February 1393. It is again an agreement between the stānattār and the Jiyar referred to above, and makes provision for certain services to the God on the day following the conclusion of

the festivals throughout the year. For doing this, 600 gold pieces were deposited in the treasury, and the service was to be conducted as described. The same accountant reduced the document to writing. No. 191 is outside the temple in a building on the road leading from the hill shrine to Chandragiri. It refers to the Śaka date 1326 corresponding to 18th December 1404. It refers to an agreement between the *stānattār* and one Giridāyappa who was a younger brother of Sāntappa Nāgappaṇṇa who was himself the son of Sāyanna of the Atreyagōtra. This Sāyanna apparently was a member of the ruling dynasty from the *gōtra* which is the *gōtra* of the family. It makes provision for a service on the 7th day festival in a *maṅṭapa* constructed in the midst of a garden in a locality some little way from the temple, and from the locality it seems to refer to a place near Lower Tirupati.

**Devaraya II and the institution of Veda Chanting in Tirupati.** No. 192 is an important document in the hill shrine. It refers to the year Ś. 1351 corresponding to 5th December 1429. It is a benefaction by the great Vijayanagar emperor Dēvarāya the second of the name. It seems to refer to the grant of land in certain villages to the temple, taking into it certain parts already given to the God. From the income out of the land, or villages belonging to the Chandragiri treasury thus given, provision had to be made, in the name of the king, for certain services of food, etc., on certain festivals. The document is broken up and the full meaning of it cannot be made out. A certain number of villages are mentioned paying revenue into the treasury at Chandragiri, and it is those that are made over to the temple from out of which the provision was to be made. The village Ḥamaṇḍaya figures in this group. No. 193 belongs to the Śaka year 1352, corresponding to 1st July 1430. It is in the Tirupati temple, and is a Sanskrit verse and refers to the grant of a gold *paṭṭa* (a plate for wearing on the face) by prince Śrigiri, the son of a Bisanna Dēvarāya. The next one (194) also comes from the hill temple and refers to Ś 1330, with details of date corresponding to 13th March 1409, and is an agreement between the *stānattār* and a certain Mallaṇṇa otherwise Mādhavadaśa, a disciple of Gōpināthayya. This is provision for a food service and the burning of a perpetual lamp. The really interesting part of the document consists in this, namely, that the donor repaired the irrigation channel from the river at his own expense, leading it into the tank near the village Avilāli, and thereby bringing the lands below the tank into cultivation. Of this 5,000 *kuṭi* of hitherto uncultivated land was to be



reclaimed and brought into cultivation at his expense, and, from the income therefrom, the expenses of the food-service should be met. He made separate provision for the lamp by presenting 82 cows including calves. The repairing of the channel, the making of the tank serviceable for agriculture, the reclaiming of the lands hitherto uncultivable were all made at the expenditure of the donor, and then made over for the temple service. No. 195 conveys the same information without any detail in a Sanskrit verse. There Mallanna is described as Amātyasēkhara, the chief of the body of ministers. No. 196 is of date Ś. 1339 corresponding to A. D. 25th August 1417. The same Chandragiri Mallanna repaired from the base to the top a pavilion in the temple. No. 197 belongs to Ś. 1366 equivalent to 2nd October 1444, and is an agreement between the stānattār and a Mallandaiyār of Chandragiri son of Dēvarasa, and is a provision for a food-service like those mentioned in Nos. 194 and 195, and even the terms are similar, the construction of a canal the bringing of land into cultivation etc. No. 198 refers to the repairs carried out to the Anundavimāna, that is, the tower over the sanctum of the temple by Madhavadasa, a disciple of Gopināthayya. We cannot be positive, although it seems likely, whether this Gōpinātha is not the same as Gōpa-nārya, who was responsible for the administration of the territory under the rule of the Saluvas in the early years of Vijayanagar empire. The next following group of documents, Nos. 199 to 202, are all from the hill shrine at Tirupati and relate to one particular subject, the institution of Vēda chanting in the temple. They are all of Śaka 1355, although the figure for fifty is damaged in the first record. Therefore the date corresponds regularly to 22nd November 1433. The interesting part of the document is that a Vēdu-pārāyana (chanting of the Vēda) by a number of Brahmins in the temple itself should be made at stated times, and along with the processions when the image of the deity is being carried round on festival occasions. The chanting of the Vēda was instituted in this case in the name of the ruling sovereign Dēvarāya and came about as follows. The leading Śrī Vaiṣṇava Brahman Ahappirānār, son of Tiru Kalikaṇṇidāsa made a representation to Dēvanna Udaiyār in the following terms. He pointed out that, for the God, Tiruvēngadamudaiyān, there were already provided all the features of greatness, and the one desideratum was Vēda-pārāyana, and suggested it would be well if this could be instituted in the name of the ruling sovereign Dēvarāya Mahārāja, who must be the great Dēvarāya II of the first dynasty of Vijaya-

nagar. As the text words it, this leader of the Vaishnava community in Tirupati pointed out actually, to the local ruler apparently, that, for the God in the temple, everything that constituted features of greatness was provided for, and that this one only was not, and that it would be well if this defect also should be remedied, and in case the governor agreed to do it, that the institution may be introduced in the name of the reigning sovereign. These statements arise clearly from the language. The *Dēvastānam* translation leaves much to be desired. The part is translated that the chanting of the Vēda 'ceased to be conducted,' which would mean that the *Vēda-pārāyaṇa* was being conducted, but it was given up at some time or other, and what was done now is but a revival of the institution. The terms of the original records\* give no authority for this statement. On the face of it, the language would simply mean the Vēda-chanting was not there, and the request was that it might be provided for. The arrangement made was that the governor ordered one half of the revenue of a village called *Śittakkuttai*, which was being paid into the state treasury (*Rāja Bhandāra*), should be set apart for this service; and the subsequent documents mention it that, as this provision was found inadequate, the other half of the revenue of the same village, which was paid into the temple treasury (*Śrī Bhandāra*) be also appropriated for this particular purpose; the temple treasury being compensated by the other *Dēvadānam* villages round about, which are named, agreeing to pay quotas to make up the sum, into the temple treasury itself. The document as it has come down to us here is an agreement between the *stānattār* of Tirupati, and the *Mahājana* of Srinivāsapuram, otherwise *Sittakkuttai*, which is said to be the *aharam*, the village in the enjoyment of *Kalikaṇṭidāsar*, the first (*Mudaliār*) among the *Śrī Vaishnavas* in Tirupati. This institution is a matter of considerable importance, and the question arises whether in Tirupati there was no *Vēda-pārāyanam* at all down to the Śaka year 1355, when it was actually instituted as stated in these records. On the authority of the record we have to take it that *Vēda-pārāyanam* did not form a part of the institutions in the temple. We have so far not come upon any record that makes any mention of it, although we cannot very well point out specifically where exactly it might find mention. For one thing in all the arrangements that Rāmā-

\* "திருவேங்கடம் உடையார் ஐந்து காலமான அடையாளங்களும் உடையார் [திரு] டிச வெளியீடு [ம்] நடவடிக்கைகள் ஆகும்"

nuja is said to have made in the *Śrī Vēṅkaṭāchala Itihāsamāla*, this does not occur, as it might well have, had it existed. This does not mean that *Vēda-pārāyaṇa* was not usual in temple service, or even in Vaishṇava temples. The way that this is mentioned on this particular occasion presumes that it was one of the usual adjuncts, and the absence of it in Tirupati was the really remarkable feature. The chanting of the Vēda is well known in the Tamil country, as the Maduraikānji makes pointed reference to "the excellent Vedas being illuminatingly chanted." It is also under reference in a poem which glorifies the excellent chanting of the Rig-Vēda as constituting one of the essential qualifications of a good Brahman. The poet and critic Rājasēkhara, who lived at the commencement of the 10th century, states it in clear terms that, for excellent Vēda-chanting, one ought to come all the way down to the Drāviḍa country in the whole of India. The absence of *Vēda-pārāyaṇam* therefore must have been peculiar only to Tirupati. It is just possible that it was absent in Tirupati, because we have had occasion to notice that Tirupati proved a place which did not provide the conveniences of life, and therefore there were comparatively few people that actually lived on the hill. The complaint had been that even such essentials as the supply of water and the supply of flower proved unsatisfactory from time to time and had to be arranged for specially, both in the days of Alavandār and subsequently in the days of Rāmanuja. It may be therefore that in Tirupati, the chanting of the Vēda was not usual, although it seems very strange that Rāmanuja should not have provided for it as he was so careful to provide for so many other things of even lesser importance in respect of the Tirupati shrine. Record No. 200 contains the latter half of this agreement, No. 201 begins with the same introduction referring to Dēvarāya's reign, giving the Śaka date 1355, and is an agreement by which the villages belonging to the temple both in Tirukkuḍavūr-nādu and Vaikunṭhavaḷa-nādu entered into an agreement with the *stānattār* that they would see to the incidence of revenue being paid to the 24 Brahmans, so that they may render the service of chanting the Vēda without interruption for all time, and the signature of a number of leading villagers is given as authority for this document. This puts the institution of Vēda chanting on a footing of permanence. No. 202 continues the details of the agreement in this behalf, and fixes the amount payable by the various parties to the agreement. No. 203 similarly is an agreement signed on the other side for the same purpose.

Other records of Devaraya II. No. 204 also from Tirupati is one which seems to refer to Devaraya II also and bears date Ś. 1358. It is an agreement by Śadagōpanambi Aḷahappirāṇār Gōvinda selling a house to the temple treasury for 1,000 gold pieces. The name Dēvaṇṇa Uḍaiyar occurs in the middle, and refers to the property as acquired by this Gōvinda, as the property of a lady who had no children, apparently some relation of his. Then follow the usual conditions in regard to sale of property. No. 205 seems to be a similar document, a similar deed of a house sold to the temple treasury from out of the money received from Dēvaṇṇa Uḍaiyar. The amount involved was 4,200, the value of two and three fourths of a ground including the building, followed by signatures of this Gōvinda, the temple accountant and a number of Ācharya Puushas of the locality. No. 206 is a document belonging to Dēvaraya's reign. The date is gone, and even otherwise, the document is too far gone to be intelligible. No. 207 from Tirupati also is of date Ś. 1356, and does not make any reference to the ruler. It is an agreement between the *stānattār* and the first among the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas of Tirupati, namely, Kalikaṇṇidasa Aḷahappirāṇār. The latter paid 4,000 gold pieces to the temple treasury for a festival to be celebrated at break of dawn during the six months of the *Dakṣiṇāyana* (October—March). No. 208 is a document too far gone. No. 209 relates to Ś. 1368, and is a document in Kanarese. It refers to the gift in charity by Teppada Nāgayya Nayaka, son of Muddayya Nayaka, of 3,000 gold pieces. The amount has been entrusted to the *stānattār* to arrange that this service was rendered regularly. No. 210 comes from the hill temple, and is of date Ś. 1368. It is an agreement between the *stānattār* and Periyamalladeva, son of Errakkampayadēva Maharāja with the titles *Mēlini-Misara Gaṇḍa-Kaṭṭāri-Sāḷuva.* It relates to the payment of 1,000 gold pieces, from the income of which a food-service was to be rendered to the God for all time. It was put on record by the temple accountant as usual. Record No. 211 refers to the Ś. year 1364, and is an agreement between the *stānattār* and one Karuṇākaradāsa a *Sāttāda* Śrī Vaiṣṇava of Tirupati for food-service to Gōvindarājapperumāl in Lower Tirupati in the name of this Dāsa. He paid 100 gold pieces from the income of which this was to be conducted. No. 212 coming similarly from Lower Tirupati is an agreement between the *stānattār* and four people apparently Vaiṣṇavas, namely, Aḷvār Mudaliyār, Ulahuḍaiyaperumāl, Tiru Anandāḷvār and Nārāyaṇa Perumāl.

It is of date Ś. 1367 (13th December 1445). It makes provision for festivals on certain days in the names of the first two, and on certain other days in the names of the next two, for which they paid different sums, and stipulates the details of how, after food-service to the God, it was to be disposed of. No. 213 is from the hill shrine and is of date Ś 1367 (15th December 1445). It is an agreement between the *stānattār* and one Anantaśayana son of Rāmānujadāsa, a member of the Tirucchānūr Sabhā. It makes provision for some kind of food-service for flag-hoisting of the seven festivals in the hill shrine, and two festivals of the shrine in Lower Tirupati. The details of the food-service are given as usual, and the agreement had been put on record by the temple accountant. No. 215 comes from Lower Tirupati, and is of Ś. 1368 corresponding to 23rd November 1446. It is an agreement between the *stānattār* and a member of the Tiruchānūr *Sabhā* whose name is given as Vadamāmalaidāsar Aḷahar Appillai Tiruvanandaḷvār Periya Perumāḷ. It is a provision again for some kind of food-service on the nine flag-hoisting festivals as in the previous document. No. 216 similarly comes from Lower Tirupati and is of date Ś 1368 corresponding to 14th November 1446. It is an agreement between the *stānattār* and Alahiya perumāḷ, son of Rāmānujadāsa, a member of the Tiruchānūr *Sabhā*. This records a payment of 200 gold pieces into the temple treasury, and makes provision for a food-service during the 30 days of of *Mārgaḷi* (December—January) of the year.

**Records of the reign of Mallikarjuna Devaraya.** The inscription No. 217, is outside the temple on a slab at the end of the Sannidhi Street in Lower Tirupati. It refers to the reign of Virapratāpa Mallikārjuna Dēvarāya, and is dated Ś. 1371 corresponding to 4th March 1450. It is an agreement between two Śri Vaishṇava Brahmans of Tirupati, Āḷvār Mudaliyār and Ulahudaiyaperumāḷ Mudaliyār for the sale of a house in the hill-town of Tirupati, belonging to Tirukkudāvūr-nād to a resident of Chandragiri in Vaikunṭhavaḷa-nādu, a *Nīyḍgi* by name Lāsamālikam Chennappa Uḍaiyār. The next one, No. 218, comes from the hill shrine and is of date Ś. 1372 (31st August 1450), and does not refer to the ruler. It is a record of an agreement between the *stānattār* and Śirumallaiyadēva, son of Malagangayyadēva Mahārāja with the titles Muhāmanḍalēsvara Mēdini-Misara-Gaṇḍa-Kaṭṭāri-Sāḷuva. He paid 1,200 gold pieces into the treasury for a daily food-service in his name. No. 219 from the hill shrine refers to a date Ś. 1367, although the latter part of the date is gone, corresponding to 13th

December 1445. This is an agreement between the *stānattār* as usual and one Emberumānār Jiyar for two food-services in his name for which he paid 2,000 gold pieces into the temple treasury. The detailed provision for this service is recorded. The interesting point in this record is that this Emberumānār Jiyar is said to be the owner or resident of the flower-garden *Pankayachelvi* on the hill, and he is also described as one who supervised the affairs of the temple (*Kōil Kēṭṭi*), thus giving us indication of one of the items arranged for in connection with Rāmānuja's organisation. No. 220 is also from the hill-shrine and is of date Ś. 1367 (17th February 1446). This is an agreement between the Jiyar and the *stānattār*, and provides for food service in the name of the Jiyar on the nine flag-hoisting festivals, seven in the hill shrine and two in Lower Tirupati, and two other festivals, one on the hill, a flower-service (*pushpayāga*), and on the day of the concluding festival of Gōvindarāja. He paid 1,000 gold pieces into the treasury. Another detail of importance in this is that, on the day of the *pushpayāga*, the God and His consorts come to the pavilion named *Malaikkiniyaninṟaperumāḷ* and listen to the recital of the *Tiruvāymoḷi*, Nammāḷvār's portion of the *Prabandha* and then the usual provision for the distribution of food follows. After the usual distribution of food the remaining part was to be given over to the Jiyar who was in charge of the flower-garden *Pankayachelvi*, and the *Maṭha* should receive it. The *Jiyars* are described as *Ēkāki*, that is, single Vaishṇavas. They must be unmarried men and should be entitled to receive this part of the food in succession. No. 221 also from the hill shrine is similar provision for certain other festivals along with the nine flag-hoisting ceremonies. The provision is 1,000 gold pieces and the details of distribution of service, etc., are the same as before. It is of date Ś. 1368 (27th January 1446). No. 222 from Tirupati is a similar provision. It is only the name of the year that is given corresponding to 17th July 1447. In addition to the usual nine festivals, certain other festivals are included. No. 223 is from Lower Tirupati and refers to date Ś. 1378, (21st February 1457). It is an agreement between the *stānattār* and the Emberumānār Jiyar, who paid 5,000 gold pieces for certain daily services to the temple of Gōvindarāja in the temple. But the interesting point of the document is that the 5,000 gold pieces made over to the treasury, should be applied to the digging of the tank in the temple village of Avilāli, and, from the income derived therefrom, the provision for the service should be made. Similar provision for distribution of food is

made as in previous cases. No. 224 is a particularly interesting document throwing light upon certain important matters of internal administration. It refers to the year Ś. 1372 (1450-51). It was provision made by a certain Channakēśavadāsa for taking out a canal from the boundary of Baindapalli to the village Śittakuttai, and taking out a canal from that of a different character, perhaps from percolated water called Kasakkāl to the tank at Avilāli wherefrom water should be carried to cultivate lands that had not been brought into cultivation in the Śittakuttai village. The Baindapalli people objected that, if this irrigation work should be carried out, their lands were likely to suffer, and lands under cultivation would go out of cultivation. The matter therefore was taken to the notice of the officers responsible, and an arrangement was made by which the land was made over to the people of Baindapalli, enjoining upon them the specific purpose for which this project was made. They are said to have made satisfactory arrangements for carrying a canal through another part and altogether in another way to serve the same purpose successfully, but without detriment to their own properties. The food provision that was intended to be made to Vira Narasimhap-perumāl of Śrinivasapuram was made successfully in consequence. The food remaining after distribution to those entitled to it, was to be utilised for feeding those who were in residence at the Rāmānujakūṭa of the village. No. 225 is from the hill shrine of date Ś. 1376 (7th July 1454). It is an agreement between the stānattār and Rāmānujadāsa, who was maintaining a flower-garden at Pāpanāsa. This Dāsa paid into the treasury 1,000 pieces of gold, and the necessary arrangements were made for carrying this out. The available food after distribution was to be given to the Śrī Vaishnavas who were engaged in maintaining the flower-gardens. No. 226 merely records this piece of charity in a Sanskrit Ślōka.

**Other records of the period.** No. 228 comes from the Pārthasārathi shrine within the precincts of the Gōvindarājasvāmi temple in Lower Tirupati. It is of date Ś. 1308 which would mean A. D. 24th March 1387. It is an agreement between the stānattār and the head among the Vaishnavas in Tirupati by name Kolli Kāvalidāsa, the first part of the name being one of the titles of Kulasekhara Ālvār. It is a daily food-service for which he paid 1,000 gold pieces into the treasury. The service was to be conducted perpetually, and the part of the food given to him should be continued to his descendents. As usual, the record is set

down in writing by the temple accountant. The remaining seven or eight records are too far gone and too imperfect to make anything out of. It is only two or three documents of Volume II that fall within our period. The first has reference to Ś. 1367 (13th December 1445) It is an agreement between the *stānattār* and Dēvaṇṇa, son of Periyaperumāldāsa Arulāladāsa of the Bhāradvāja gōtra. It is a provision for a food-service on the nine ~~flag-hoisting~~ days as usual. The usual provision was made therefor. The next one No 2 of Volume II is in the Gōvindarāja shrine in Lower Tirupati and is of date S. 1376 (25th August 1454). This is an agreement between the *stānattār* with one Harīyappa of Chandragiri. He is described as the son of a Gauranna, who was a Rig-Vēdin of the Dananjaya gōtra and Āśvalāyana Sūtra. He paid 3,000 gold pieces into the treasury for provision for food-service, to be used for feeding 12 Brahmans in Tirupati. The 3,000 gold pieces were to be applied for digging irrigation channels where the water supplied comes from springs or percolation, and the water should be made use of for purposes of cultivation; the income from this was to be utilised for carrying out the terms of the provision. The next one from Lower Tirupati is of date Ś. 1379 (A. D. 1457) and is an agreement between the *stānattār*, and the temple accountant Tirunīraiyūrudaiyān. He paid 100 gold pieces for a festival to be celebrated in his name by taking God Gōvindarāja to a flower pavilion, which he himself constructed on the bank of a new tank Srinivāsapurattēri. This work of charity should be conducted by all his successors for all time.

**The first century of Vijayanagar rule in Tirupati:** We may take it roughly that we have so far covered the first century of the history of Vijayanagar, as far as it comes from the records of Tirupati. We see that almost the first record in Tirupati makes a reference to Bukkarāya, although the reference is imperfect and to a great extent the record is unintelligible. But it certainly does relate to something that was done in the name of Bukkarāya or in his honour. The last record chronologically takes us to the reign of Mallikārjuna and to the date A. D. 1457. That is pretty well on in the reign of Mallikārjuna, while he actually died in A. D. 1465, and was succeeded by a brother by name Virūpāksha who is referred to by historians as Virūpāksha III of Vijayanagar. With this change the actual character of Vijayanagar history changes in many ways, more particularly in Tirupati. But before proceeding to that question we may note here that the region round Tirupati had been under rulers who were subordinate to the



empire, but carried on the administration with a freedom which would perhaps justify an inference that the control exercised by the empire was not so close. This need not necessarily be the case, as we have already explained that the change in the manner of dating, and therefore the omission very often of any reference to the reigning monarch consequent thereon, need not be due to want of control. The dates being given in the Śāka era it does not necessarily involve introducing, as a matter of necessity, the name of the ruler for the time being, as in the case of inscriptions of this period anterior to this, where they had necessarily to mention the name of the ruling sovereign, as the dates are marked in the year of the reign of the monarch for the time being. It is clear, however, that this region forming a part of the empire had a distinct character of its own. We see, among the names of royal personages, those of Bukkaraya, the first of the name; his son Kumara Kampana, Dēvarāya II and Mallikārjuna figure, though indirectly, the indirectness being due to the manner of dating, as explained above. The names of these monarchs figure because the benefactions made to the temple in each case happen to be in honour of the sovereign or prince concerned. As in the period preceding, the temple management had remained altogether autonomous, and under the control of the Śrī Vaishṇavas of the locality. The features of temple organisation show this more clearly, and a number of details appear in respect of it which seem quite reminiscent of the various items of organisation that Rāmanuja is said to have actually carried out in the place. This is made certain by references to a certain number of festivals which were all his introduction. One particular feature to be noticed is that while, on the basis of Rāmanuja's arrangement, almost the whole of the Prabandha seems to have been recited on festival days, a special provision was made for the chanting of some of these, such as the Tiruppāvai. There has so far been no reference to the chanting of the Vēda in front of the God, either in the shrine itself, or when the image of God is taken out in processions, or, as the record words it, that "while Tiruvēngadamudaiyān had all other attributes of greatness, the chanting of the Vēda was the one item wanting." We find provision made here for the recital of the Vēda (vēda-pārāyaṇa as it is called), and that happens to be done by the most prominent Vaishṇavas of the locality bringing it to the notice of Devanna Udaiyār who set apart some of the royal revenue, one half of the revenue of Śittakkuṭṭai, for the purpose; but, as suggested by Kalikanṛi-

dāsar Aḷagappirānār, under the name of and in honour of the sovereign Dēvarāya II, Dēvarāya Mahārāya, as he is called in the record. There are a large number of benefactions to the temple, several of them from officers of importance, while some of them are from people associated with the management of the temple such as the heads of some of the Mathas in the gardens round the temple, where resided the bachelors or Sanyāsins, who had the management of the various institutions attached to the temple. One noticeable feature of these benefactions is that while the smaller of them are of the ordinary character, the larger benefactions take on the character of investments of money being made for irrigation and other facilities for the lands already under cultivation, or bringing uncultivated lands into cultivation and making the income therefrom serve the purpose of the benefactions. This gives clear indication of a double purpose; the acquisition of the religious merit of a benefaction in a holy place, and making this benefaction serve at the same time the secular useful purpose of benefitting those who lived upon the land by providing them facilities, and really bringing more land under cultivation. This would be immediately for their benefit, so that what was intended for the spiritual merit of the individual donor proved of benefit not only to the God or the temple, or the Brahmans dependent thereon, but also served equally to benefit the other communities concerned. Direct state control, or benefactions by the state as such, we have not come upon so far, and even where royalty and important officials made these benefactions, they were intended for their personal spiritual benefit, and therefore were provided for from out of their own funds rather than from the funds of the state. The contributions therefore of the state as such may so far be regarded as almost non-existent, and the properties attaching to the temple are entirely, at any rate, so far as this shrine is concerned, the result of private benefactions for the benefit of the temple itself.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### ✓ TIRUPATI UNDER THE SALUVAS.

**The Saluvas, their origin and early History.** In the inscriptions so far considered, we have come upon rulers of Vijayanagar belonging to the first dynasty, of whom the latest to be mentioned is Mallikārjuna with dates going as far down as A. D. 1457. Mallikārjuna died in A. D. 1465, and was succeeded by Virūpāksha, generally taken to be his brother, which seems to be made certain almost by the Śrīsaīlam plates of this ruler. His reign continued for twenty years almost, and then came a change of dynasty, when the new ruler, a member of the famous Śāluva family, called Śāluva Narasinga, placed himself on the throne of Vijayanagar. But long before he became emperor, he had become so influential in the state that the whole period since A. D. 1450 may be regarded as, in a way, peculiarly connected with him; the more so in the region of Tirupati, because this family was early associated with this region with their headquarters at Chandragiri. In dealing with the period therefore following the year A. D. 1457, we find that the inscriptions in Tirupati seem to refer more or less entirely to members of this family and their benefactions to the shrines. This is rightly so, for two valid reasons. The first of them naturally is because that the Śāluvas, who played a distinguished part in the very foundation of the empire, were allotted this reason for their government. We mentioned already an inscription of Śāluva Mangu, recording his benefaction to the temple of the covering of the roof of the Vimānamantapa with gold and the mounting of a pinnacle on the top of it, in obvious imitation almost of what had been done by other ruler before in temple like Śrīrangam and Chidambaram. Mangidēva was one of the generals who played a distinguished part in the campaigns of Kumāra Kampana, the son of Bukkarāya I. The principal achievements that he claims are the defeat and reestablishment of Sambuvarāya, and the defeat of the Muhammadan Sultan of Madura, achievements both of them ascribed generally to Kumāra Kampana, the prince in chief command of this expedition. So the Śāluva family comes into fame almost at the beginning of Vijayanagar history; but even so, it is not clear why they should be associated with this particular region as we find them already there. In the period anterior to this, families connected with the government of this region were certainly many; but none of

them seems to be associated with the Śāluvas. We have heard of the Telugu Chōlas in the locality, of the Telugu Pallavas, of the Yādavarāyas related to the Chālukya family. But any thing like Śāluva family had not been heard of. In fact the family name Śāluva, for this dynasty, was one of comparatively recent acquisition. In fact it was acquired by Mangi by his own achievements, and therefore we cannot well expect this name to occur in previous records. But even so, there is nothing obviously to connect them with any of those families except a stray reference in which among the titles of the early rulers of this family, occurs the title Chālukya Nārāyaṇa. This title is given to an ancestor of the family by name Gunḍa, who is said to have killed in battle 'the Sultan who had got ready for the conquest of the world', and he is said to have been in residence in his capital Kalyānapura, the name by which Kalyāṇi in the Nizam's Dominions, the capital of the later Chālukyas, is generally known. On the basis of these stray facts we may perhaps surmise that they were members of the Chālukya family like the Yādavarāyas, and became early associated with this locality. If the associations of this family with Kalyāṇi should be correct, it may be that that was their original place, and they must have moved from there, because of the conquest of the Dakhan by the Muhammadans, and the foundation of the Bahmani kingdom. Whatever it is, they seem to have been members of the Chālukya family who migrated southwards, and early settled in the region round Tirupati with perhaps their headquarters at Chandragiri, which, at that time, was probably unoccupied country requiring to be brought into civilisation by various acts of reclamation, which we shall find prominently to be a feature of even the various grants made in this period to the temple itself. A long genealogy is given of this family in the work *Śāluvābhyudayam*, which has come down to us in a single manuscript, a poetical work celebrating the exploits of Śāluva Narasimha written by the court poet Rājānātha Diṇḍima. There is another work ascribed to Narasimha himself; but seems to be more or less a work of this Rājānātha Diṇḍima called *Rāmābhyudaya* which is a *Kāvya* written relating the story of the Rāmāyaṇa. The first name of any historical importance even in this is that of a Mangi or Mangideva who played an important part, as was stated above, in Kampana's southern invasion. Mangi had one son, among many, by name Gautama or Gauta, one of six sons; but of whom we know very little. This Gauta had four sons, of whom the first was Gunḍa.

the third of the name in the family, who had two sons, Timma the elder, and Narasimha, better known as Sāluva Narāsinga. He had another son by name Tippa, who had married a sister of the great Dēvarāya II himself, whose son Gōpa proved to be a distinguished ruler about the time when Sāluva Narasimha was rising into importance. Gōpa had two sons, Timma or Tirumalaidēva, and Tippa or Tripurantaka, both of whom were governors in the southern provinces of the empire. Narasimha had two sons both of them very young, of whom we shall have to speak later on. There was another brother by name Sāluva who had a son, Parvatarāja, whose name also appears in the inscriptions as governor. This is the distinguished family, which, from the surname or title Mangidēva acquired, has got to be described the Sāluvas more or less as the name of the family

**Virupaksha's misrule the opportunity for Saluva Narasimha.** The advent of the Sāluvas to power coincided with a period of new trouble and confusion in the history of Vijayanagar, and this it is that provided an opportunity for the rise of Sāluva Narasimha to supreme power as we shall see. It is the prominent position that they occupied among the feudatories of the empire that gave them the title Sāluva, which became the name of the family or the dynasty, as we have already seen. They were content to be the feudatories of Vijayanagar from the date of its foundation to the death of Mallikārjuna without any trouble. The death of Mallikārjuna seems to have introduced a certain amount of disturbance, which seems to have been caused more or less by an act of usurpation by his younger brother, who followed Mallikārjuna in A. D. 1465. He had to set aside two boys, sons of his brother, and, in bringing this about permanently in the interests of his own children, he seems to have perpetrated a massacre of the members of the royal family, and made himself unpopular even otherwise. It is this that ultimately brought about the usurpation of Sāluva Narasimha. The succession of rulers of this first dynasty may be set down as below, taking only the names of these that ruled:—

- Harihara I A. D. 1336 -1355
- Bukka A. D. 1355—1377.
- Harihara II A. D. 1377—1404.
- Bukka II A. D. 1404—1406.
- Dēvarāya I A. D. 1406 - 1422.
- Vijaya Bhūpati A. D. 1422.
- Dēvarāya II A. D. 1422—1449.

Mallikārjuna A. D. 1449—1465.

Virūpāksha A. D. 1465—1485.

The foundation of Vijayanagar was followed soon by the establishment of the Muhammadan Bahmani kingdom in the Dakhan, and, from the circumstances of its very foundation, it became more or less a matter of necessity for the rulers of Vijayanagar to guard the northern frontier against the aggressions of this new power. That was more or less the preoccupation of the rulers of Vijayanagar under the first dynasty, nay almost throughout its whole period of existence. The first rulers, Bukka and Harihara, and those associated with them had, of course, to carry on campaigns elsewhere also to bring about the establishment of this new power. Once that was done, and the fact was more or less recognised with the accession of Harihara II, their whole attention had to be paid to the northern frontier. Invasions were usual, and Vijayanagar had to be constantly on the defensive. This became so regular and so irritating a feature that the great Dēvarāya II carried out a regular reorganisation of the forces of Vijayanagar in such a way as not merely to keep back the aggressions of the Muhammadans, but even turn the tables upon them by carrying an invasion or two successfully against them, so that, by the time that the reign of Dēvarāya II came to an end, the power of Vijayanagar had become well-established, and even their Bahmani neighbour showed an inclination to respect it.

**The advance of Orissa down the coast districts.** The opportunity for Saluva Narasimha. Just at the moment, a new state in the north was coming into existence in Orissa under a new and vigorous ruler Kapilēśvara. The advent of this ruler coincided almost with the accession of Mallikārjuna who had, almost as the first act of his reign, to stand a siege in Vijayanagar under the combined forces of the Bahmani Sultans and the ruler of Orissa. He managed to come out successful; but the aggressions of the Orissa Hindus continued nevertheless. They managed gradually to extend their territory and take possession of the coast districts of the Bahmani kingdom as far as the Gōdāvāri river, and, placing themselves there, they carried further aggressions southwards to secure possession of some of the main fortresses along the lower course of the Krishna, such as Kondapalli, Kondavidu, and places like that. From there again, they advanced further south into the territory of Vijayanagar, and at one time were in possession of Udayagiri in the Nellore District and carried their raids much farther, and deep into the South Arcot District as well. So the

period of history with which we are concerned was one which called for great activity, along this coast region, to keep back the aggressions of these Kalingas, or Orissa rulers, within bounds. This position of affairs would give to any ruler, placed in Chandragiri and regions in the immediate neighbourhood, the chance of distinguishing himself by loyal service to the empire, and thereby becoming powerful for good or for evil, and, if the governor happened to be a talented man, he could certainly turn all this to his own advantage. While apparently serving the interests of the empire after beating back the first combined Mallikārjuna had to be constantly active, and we have a record which states that Mallikārjuna and his minister were somewhere in the eastern borders of the empire attending to the affairs of the territory under Narasinga.\* This gives clear indication that the anxiety of the rulers was in respect of this activity of the Orissa rulers. That was the opportunity, for Saḷuva Narasinga and he used this opportunity to purpose.

**The course of Saḷuva Narasimha's rise to power.** The Saḷuvas beginning with Saḷuva Mangu were associated with the region round Tirupati and their capital is clearly stated to have been Chandragiri. For all historical purposes, it was the Chandragiri province that fell to the government of these rulers, however actually it came about. It might be that the Saḷuvas were somehow related to the rulers of the locality that preceded them, say, for a possibility, the Yadavarāyas; or it may be, that they came newly into power in the region which may be as the result of Vijayanagar coming into authority over the region superseding the previous rulers. There is nothing so far that gives us a clear indication as to how exactly they came to be there. Saḷuva Mangu and Gōpanārya are stated to be the ruler and the minister of Nārāyaṇavaram in the Kōvil Oḷuhu (the history of temple organisation at Srirangam). That certainly would take in the territory under the Toṇḍamāns of old, and, if they became ultimately rulers of Chandragirirājyam, it would be nothing unnatural. Of course during the period of activity of Saḷuva Mangu and his successors, it would have been a governorship, the governors of which bore their part and shared the responsibility in the conquests which culminated in the establishment of the empire of Vijayanagar. Of course so much is made clear even in the one record that has come down to us of Saḷuva Mangu from Tirupati itself. But as we advance in Vijayanagar history, we

\* E. C. III Nos. 12, 19. Sewell's *Hist. Ins.* under date 1459.

find the province continuing its normal course till the end of the reign of Dēvarāya II. It is the death of this great monarch, and almost the simultaneous rise of a new dynasty in Orissa, that altered the political situation. Till then it was only the activity of the Bahmani Sultans that had to be provided against efficiently, and that was done more specifically under Dēvarāya II. It is Dēvarāya's military equipment, and the improvement in the military efficiency of Vijayanagar that the Bahmanis feel the need of an alliance, just when Kapilēśvara of Orissa had satisfactorily established himself, and was quite inclined to pursue a policy of aggression on Vijayanagar territory. Dēvarāya's reign would not be suitable for any attacks on the empire with impunity, and it seems likely that his death might cause disturbances in Vijayanagar endangering the succession of the prince, although we do not know positively of any such disturbance having taken place. But the succession of a young ruler like Mallikārjuna was the opportunity for the united enemies, the rulers of the Bahmani kingdom and the new ruler of Orissa. So in A. D. 1450 we are told of an attack upon the empire of Vijayanagar, Mallikārjuna having had to stand a siege in the capital itself. He managed for the time to beat back the enemy. But that only gave indication of the actual danger in the northern frontier. The rulers of Vijayanagar therefore had to provide efficient defences against the aggressions from the coast side on behalf of Orissa even more urgently than aggressions from the Bahmani kingdom itself. It is this that gave the opportunity for a talented governor of Chandragiri to make for himself a position many ways unique among those of the governors of the empire. Śāluva Guṇḍa himself has had to bear a part. Either while he was yet alive or subsequently, the activities of Orissa became real, and then advanced into the territory of Vijayanagar on the eastern side rapidly from step to step till they could occupy a considerable part of the coast districts on the east and go forward against Koṇḍaviḍu, Udayagiri, and further down into the districts of the Tamil country. It is this activity of Orissa that caused anxiety and brought about the emperor Mallikārjuna and his minister going towards this frontier with a view to organise the defences of the kingdom. Śāluva Narasiṃha placing himself across the way of this advance of the Orissa rulers was able to use his position gradually and effectively against this. Marching from place to place, and pressing back the enemy from one place after another, he managed to drive the enemy from the territories



immediately dependent upon him in the region south of the Nellore District, and then over Udayagiri Fort and places dependent upon it. That done he could put the southern border in some safety, and march northwards to be on the watch both against the king of Orissa and against the Bahmani Sultans. These latter were occupied for some time with their own internal difficulties, and, with the accession of Muhammad Shah III, they were in some position of safety in their own territory to think of an aggression eastwards. When therefore in A.D. 1483—84, Muhammad Shah advanced towards Rajahmundry and encamped himself on the banks of the Godāvāri, he found Sāluva Narasimha in power there with a large army well posted. This indicates to us clearly how it was that Narasimha was able to build a peculiar position for himself, by rendering valuable services to the state as against its enemies.

**Emperor Virupaksha's Acts Stimulated Narasimha's course to power.** In the latest stages of the operations connected with this move, Vijayanagar was under the rule, not of Mallikārjuna, but of a brother of his, who might perhaps be regarded as having usurped the throne of Vijayanagar if not to begin with at least soon after, and made himself unpopular as a consequence. Virūpāksha, brother of Mallikārjuna became ruler about the end of the year A. D. 1465, following the death of Mallikārjuna somewhat earlier in the year, and thereafter Sāluva Narasimha conducted himself as if he were independent of the headquarters, although there is nothing done openly or formally to assert this independence. In the years immediately following we find Narasimha himself, or his generals, active, all over this region and in the southern districts next across. The names of Īśvara, and his son Narasa, of Āravīti Bukka and even Nāgama Nāyaka figure in the transactions of the period, so that about the time that Sāluva Narasimha had to fight against Muhammad Shah III, he had gradually brought under his control, all the territory extending from Rajamundry southwards well into the South Arcot district and further stretching westwards deep into Myrore as far as Śrirangapatam itself. His authority and influence would be nothing objectionable so long as he conducted himself as a valiant and powerful governor under the empire. That is almost the position that he maintained, although the emperor does not appear to have attempted to exercise much control, or Sāluva Narasimha to submit himself to such. Virūpāksha's administration, apart from the initial difficulties of the situation, did not improve with

years; much rather it seems to have grown from bad to worse, and from all the information that we have, it would appear as though Virūpāksha's mismanagement went all round to make his own position really difficult. His unpopular and incompetent rule showed itself even on the west coast where the Portuguese speak of his perpetrating a massacre of the Muhammadan horse traders in Honovar (Onore), and throwing them into hostility to them. In this condition of affairs, Virūpāksha seems to have made an effort to set aside his nephews, and secure the succession to his own sons, which brought about dissatisfaction in the empire, and provided a splendid occasion for Narasimha's usurpation. The position of the empire was such that it required a watchful and capable ruler to keep the empire intact. Emperor Virūpāksha was not the kind of ruler, and his acts only made matters worse. When the moment arrived, Narasimha was able to set aside the unpopular princes, the successors of Virūpākshas and occupy the throne himself as offering the best guarantee for the successful maintenance of the integrity of the empire. It would be clear from this that from A. D. 1450 to A. D. 1485, Saḷuva Narasimha was left more or less to himself, governing the provinces under his control and extending his authority gradually to become really the most powerful man in the empire. We shall now proceed to the inscriptions of this period in the temple of Tirupati, and see how far this position of his is reflected in his records there, and what he actually was able to do for the temple itself.

*End of Volume I*

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SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE TO  
VOLUME I.

In the course of this volume we have had to recur several times to the composite character of the image of Śrī Venkaṭēśa at Tirupati, and certain features characteristic of Śiva found on it. These have been referred to not merely by the early Ālvārs, but all the Ālvārs more or less regarded these features as forming part of the image of Viṣṇu designed for Tirupati. This idea of Rudra and Nārāyaṇa, though of two separate forms, being one in substance at the same time, and that the form of one (Rudra) being found in the other is stated in stanza 98<sup>1</sup> of the first Centum of Poigai Ālvār in the *Iyarpā* of the Prabandha, 4,000. The same idea is contained in Chapter 350 of the Śānti Parva, Mōksha-dharma, of the Mahābhārata. Reference may particularly be made to śloka 26 and 27<sup>2</sup> which are set down below for ready reference. The idea of the oneness of Rudra with Nārāyaṇa is also enforced in a subsequent Chapter, Chapter 352 of the same book, particularly the latter part of the Chapter. This shows that the idea had currency at one time and that its elaboration in the work of Nammālvār had authority to support it. The Śānti Parva of the Mahābhārata has been regarded by some as an interpolation; but that is a large question for taking up for discussion here. By about the 5th or the 6th century A.D., the Mahābhārata came to be known generally as a work of one hundred thousand ślokas, Śatasāhasrī, and this description cannot exclude the Śānti Parva as a whole. Anyhow, the statement in the Mahābhārata would certainly be interesting in this connection and is referred to here for what it is worth, as evidence of the prevalence of this general notion among the Viṣṇu Bhaktas certainly.

1. See the quotation at foot of p. 33.

2. प्रमाणानि हि पूज्यानि वदन्तं पूज्याम्यहम् । यस्तं वेत्ति स मां वेत्ति यो नु तं च हि मामनु ॥ २६  
रुद्रो नारदमण्यौ च सत्त्वमेकं द्विधा कृतम् । लोके चरति कौन्तेय व्यक्तित्थं सर्वैरुद्युतम् ॥ २७





# A HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

BY

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**VOLUME II  
(Second Edition)**

PUBLISHED BY

**Sri C. ANNA RAO, B.A.,**

**Executive Officer**

*T. T. Devasthanams on behalf of the Board of Trustees*

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**1952**

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A  
HISTORY OF THE  
HOLY SHRINE OF SRI VENKATESA  
IN  
TIRUPATI



VOLUME II  
(SECOND EDITION)

श्री वेङ्कटाक्षिशृङ्गायमङ्गलाभरणाङ्गये ।  
मङ्गलानां निवासाय श्रीनिवासाय मङ्गलम्

தேனோக்கு சோலைத் திருவேல் கடமென்றும்  
வானோக்கு சோலைமலை யென்றும்—நானோக்கு  
தெண்ணார்க்க மென்றார் திருவத்தி யூரென்றும்  
சொன்னவர்க்கு முண்டோ தயார்.



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## PREFACE.

It is matter for great gratification that the work has been completed, and is before the public in this 2nd edition. The story begins almost from the beginning of the Christian era, and comes up to the commencement of the 19th century, when this part of the country passed into the hands of the British from the Nawab of Arcot. The British records relating to the period after this have not been thrown open to the public, and they seems to be the only records bearing on the subject. There seem to be but few other sources of reliable information for the period. If there should be any forthcoming, efforts will be made to issue a supplement.

One important feature of the image representing the deity in the shrine has exercised the minds of people interested, and a supplementary note to Volume I points out authority from the *Mahābhārata* for the composite Śiva-Vishṇu character of the image. Having regard to the importance of it, the note is set down below. It is matter for great gratification indeed that the work has reached completion and is now available to the public as a whole.





# A HISTORY OF THE HOLY SHRINE OF SRI VENKATESWARA AT TIRUPATI

## VOLUME II

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### CHAPTER I

#### VIJAYANAGAR INSCRIPTIONS OF SALUVA RULE

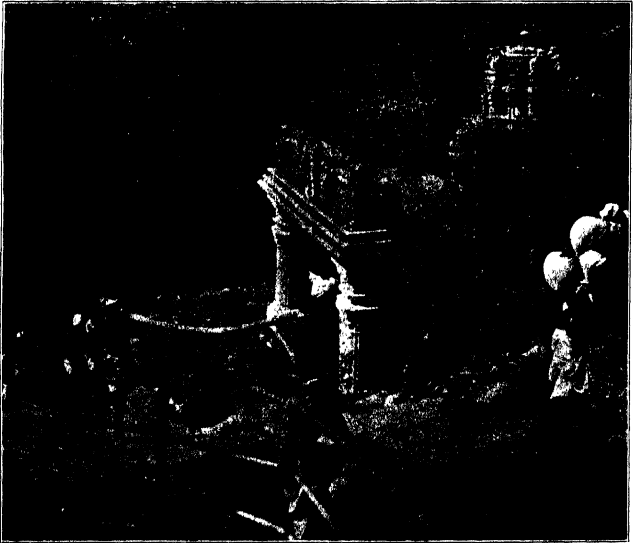
THE inscriptions of this period collected in Volume II of the Devastānam inscriptions so far published count up to thirty inscriptions without date, and the far larger number of the total, are grants of various kinds by private individuals; but there are a certain number here definitely referable to the ruler himself, or to one or other of his more important officers, thus indicating clearly that the ruler himself felt interested in the work of the temple personally, in addition to the administrative interest he was bound to take as ruler of the locality. No. 4 of this Volume is the first document in which the name Sāluva Narasimha occurs. The document comes from the hill temple and is of date Ś. 1378 (12th September 1456 A.D.). The Record is as usual an agreement between the *stānattār* and the donor. In this case, the donor being the ruler of the locality, his name occurs first and then follows 'the *stānattār*' of the temple, as against the usual practice of the agreement beginning with the *stānattār*. The titles given are the ordinary well-known titles of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, Mēdinī-Misara Ganda, Kattāri. Sāluva son of Sāluva Guṇḍayyadeva Mahārāja. The record refers to the grant of Ālipuram as a *sārvamānya* made by the ruler to the temple in former days. The village Ālipuram belongs to the Vaikunṭha Valanādu in the Chandragirirājya. The agreement now is how the income from this was proposed to be spent. The *Bhaṇḍāra* was to collect all the *Svarṇadāyam* (dues in money) and *Dhānyavarga* (revenues paid in kind), and a food-service was to be rendered to the God, at dawn every day, as king's service. The *prasāda*, that is, the part of the food-service generally given over to the donor, in this case was to be given over to Kandālai Rāmānujāyya, the disciple of Alagiya Manavāla Jiyar, who had been appointed superintendent of a feeding house (*Rāmānujākūṭa*), constructed by himself as a piece of charity. This Rāmānujāyya was to make use of the food for distribution

among the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas in this charity house. The next document coming into this group is No. 8 dated Ś 1380 (11th February 1459). This records the payment of one thousand gold pieces into the temple treasury in order that there may be a food-service in the name of the donor Kampayya Dēva Mahārāja, son of Ahōbala Rāja, apparently an officer under the Śaluva ruler. The thousand gold pieces were to be applied apparently for some work connected with the tank in Tirupati; the interest on the amount however, was to be applied for a daily food-service to the God. The purpose for which the amount is deposited namely, for the use of the tank at Tirupati is, as has been explained in a few previous cases, the grant of money for the purposes of reclamation or bringing into cultivation, of lands by improving irrigation so that uncultivated lands might come into cultivation, and the service intended was to be rendered from the new income thus accruing. We shall find that this has become more or less an established practice, not merely in the case of gifts in large amounts by the ruler himself and his officers, which perhaps may be regarded as natural, but even in the case of small gifts by private individuals. It seems to have been one consistent effort at improving the agricultural resources of the country, commuting a part of the income thereof as charity for various services in the temple. No. 16 is again a grant by one Erramarāja, son of Timma Rāja with titles Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaradēva, Hātīmalla, Alliṭṭima of Chālukya Nārāyaṇaccheri. The amount that was deposited, which is not mentioned in this case, was to be applied for bringing an irrigation channel with its head at Korramangalam, a temple village, to bring the water for irrigating lands on the border of the village Taṇḍalam. This channel from the river was to be called Tiruvēgadanāthan channel. The interest on the capital was to be applied for two food-services, one by day and one by night. The gift was to be perpetual. It will be noticed at once, from the details given of this grant, that the main purpose was to bring uncultivated lands into cultivation by executing public works and this appears to have been done through the temple where temple lands were concerned, and from the produce of the lands thus reclaimed, the usual interest amount on the capital was to be set apart for the purpose of the temple service, so that it may perhaps even be said that the main purpose is the reclamation of land and bringing it into cultivation; and one purpose a comparatively subordinate purpose perhaps, is the making of the charity gift to the temple, as the temple itself has its own



GALI GOPURAM

*(See page 17)*



PILGRIM'S PROGRESS, THE LAST STAGE UP THE STEPWAY

*(To face page 3)*

function in connection with these improvements. No. 17 similarly comes from the hill-shrine, and is of date Ś. 1385 (18th October 1463 A.D.). It is a grant by Saluva Timma Rajadēva, Mahārāja Uḍaiyār, son of Saluva Guṇḍarāja Uḍaiyār with the usual Saluva titles. He was the elder brother of Saluva Narasimha. The document shows the respect due to the royal family by putting his name first. This is a gift, so far as this is concerned, for four daily food-services in the name of the donor, and the manner of making the donation is clearly stated here. This Saluva Timma paid, from out of his pocket, the gold, the amount of which is not specified, which was to be applied for constructing a canal with its head at a village called Śirupādi. The water was to be brought for purposes of irrigating the fields on the border of the temple village Avilāli. From the income out of this, the amount of interest upon this capital was to be utilised for four food-services in the early morning. The portion of the food that is generally given to the donor, was in this case to be applied in part for feeding the Dāsa who was keeping a flower-garden as a charity gift of Timmarāja Uḍaiyār. The other three parts were to be spent by the *stānrttār* as it suited them. No. 18 dated Ś. 1385 (18th January 1464) is one by Saluva Mallaiyadēva Mahārāja, with the usual Saluva titles. He is described here as the brother of *Periyu Mallaiyadēva Mahārāja*, and as governor of Chandragiri-rājya. The purpose of the document was a daily service of food in his name to Tiruvēṅgaḍam-Uḍaiyār. The second item of his benefaction was providing for the God being taken to the pavilion at the front gateway of the temple built by him, on the occasions of the festivals of flag-hoisting, and of the *Kṛittikā* in the *Kārttika* month. No. 3 is the institution of a *Pavitrotsavam* (purification ceremony) in the month of Āvaṇi (July-Augst). The funds for this were found by him by making a new irrigation canal for the village of Iḷamaṇḍayam from the border of the village Tūkkippākkam. Similarly another channel was made for the benefit of Vikramādittamangalam. No. 4 refers to the village of Elambākkam in the Chandragirirājya which he had made over as a *Dēvadānam* (*Tiruvīḍaiyāttam*). The first two villages were temple villages, and the third one was given as a temple village. The revenues in gold and grain accruing as a result of these works of his, were to go into the temple treasury, from out of the interest whereof provision was to be made for the food-services. The details of the provision are made in full. The smallest articles required, particularly for the *Pavitrotsavam*, are recited in full.

One share of the food after the distribution was to be given to the Sri Vaishnavas residing in a flower-garden maintained in his name. It must be noted that the officer who apparently belonged to the Sāluva family also is described as the governor of Chandragirirājya. He is said to have built the thousand-pillared *maṅṭapa* in front of the temple, which exists even now, and made the provision for the festivals that he wanted to, by applying the capital from out of his pocket. He constructed productive works, from the income out of which the annual expenditure should be incurred. No. 19 Ś. 1385 (18th January 1464) is again a benefaction by an officer who is called Sāluva Rāmachandra Rāja, son of Sāluva Mallaiyadēva Mahārāja with the usual Sāluva titles. This makes provision for a daily food-service, for which he got a canal dug in the temple village of Avilāli. When lands under canal should have been successfully brought under cultivation, the income from the land was to be paid into the treasury as usual, from the amount whereof the expenses of daily service should be met. No. 21 Ś. 1386 (5th May 1464) is by a *Mahāmaṅḍalēśvara* called Timmayyadēva Chōla Mahārāja, son of Kūvalaguṇṭa Muttam Tirumalarāja. He was also probably an officer in the state service. He similarly constructed an irrigation channel in the temple village of Pādi with its head on the border of this village, and taking it down to the border of Koṟramangalam. He also made over another village in the Paḍaiviḍu Rājya for the purpose of food-service on the *Parvas* (the new moon and the full moon days). No. 23 Ś. 1387 (14th April 1465) is by a Sāluva *Parvata Rāja*, son of Sāluva Rāja; probably Sāluva Rāja was a cousin of Sāluva Narasiṃha. He made provision for four daily food services to the God in the hill shrine. As usual, he found the funds for a canal with its head on the north-west borderland of the temple village of Pādi, and, carrying it across diagonally to the south-east borderland of the village, brought fresh lands into cultivation. From this addition to the revenue, the expenses were to be met. One part of the food given over to the donor usually, was to be made over for the purpose of keeping in repairs the pavilion that he had himself constructed on the way up the hill at a place called *Muḷaṅgāl-Muṟippān* (knee-breaker), and for the water-shed there which he maintained in his name, as also for the expenses of a garden maintained by one Gōpayya and for the maintenance of the tank for growing waterlily maintained by Kandaḍai Rāmānuja Aiyān, the owner of the Rāmānujakūṭa in the Sannidhi Street. These arrangements were to be perpetual as others. No. 25

of S. 1388 (24th March 1467) is an important document and relates to four daily food offerings in the name of Sri Rangāmba, queen of Sāluva Narasinga. Of course, as in such cases, the name of the queen is mentioned first, that of the *stānattār* following, instead of the other way as usual. The income for this is to be derived from the produce of the land brought under cultivation as a result of the canal that Sāluva Narasimha himself brought into the temple village, Adityanpalli from the borderland of Māvandūr. This was a percolation channel (*kaśakkal*). One unit of the food usually given to the donor, was to be given to the person who maintained the garden in her name in the immediate neighbourhood of the garden of Narasinga himself. This was to go on perpetually also. Nos. 27 & 28 of Ś 1382 (15th October, 1467) refer to Tammayadēva Mahārāja, son of Guṇḍamarāja Vallabhārāja with the title *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* and *Hosabhirudara Goṇḍa*. The income was, as usual, to be derived from the lands brought under cultivation by means of a new irrigation channel with its head on the borders of the temple village Paṇaham, and brought into the village Malayakkōnpaṭṭu. As in these cases generally, the expenses were to be met from the income when the new lands began to yield and pay revenues to the temple treasury. No. 30 of Ś. 1389 (27th December 1467) is again a donation of Sāluva Narasinga himself. It comes from the Govindarāja shrine in Lower Tirupati and is a document in Kanarese. The document is in popular Kanarese, and provides for certain services in the Gōvindarāja shrine and in Tirupati, for which Sāluva Narasimha granted two villages in the Paḍaiviḍu Rājya, and a certain number of taxes, etc., which were being paid into the royal treasury from a third village below the tank at Tirupati. The villages are named Mupaduveṭa, Māṅḡḍuvelada in the former and Maṇanūra in the latter. This seems to have been carried out under the orders issued by Sāluva Narasimha. No. 31 is of importance and concerns the donation by the same monarch. Sāluva Narasinga made a grant of the village of Kurukkampaṭṭu in the Taṇigai-nāḍu, Nārāyaṇapuram Paṇṇu, in the Chandragiri-rājya. He made this grant on the *Makara-Sankrānti* day, which was also an *ardhodaya*. He also paid in cash 2,000 *pons* for certain food-services in the temple in his name, which took the form of a sweet cake called *atrasa*. Certain other provisions were made for service during the later ten days of the *Adhyayana Utsava* in the month of *Mārgaṣī*, (December-January). A number of other provisions in detail for various little services here and there are also

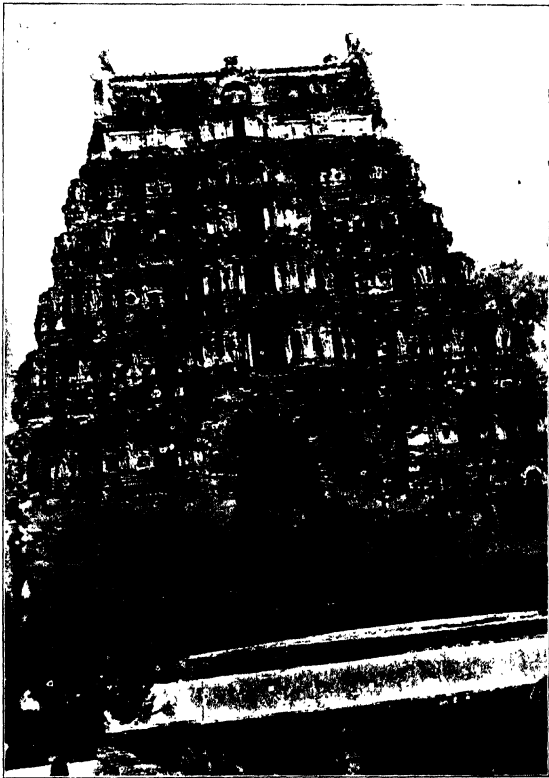
provided for. A part of the food due to the donor was to be appropriated for the purpose of feeding the Śrī Vaishṇavas in the *Rāmānujakūṭa* constructed by him in the northern street of Tirupati through the superintendent Kandadai Rāmānujāyya of this *Rāmānujakūṭa*. No. 34 of Ś. 1389 (16th March 1468) is again by Sāluva Narasiṅga. He made a grant of four villages, Vanjipakkam, Mallimalai, Śērulakkūr, and Bhīmāpuram in Kīlappadainādu of the Chandragiriāyya along with the village *Vāḷal Maṅgoṇḍān* in the Padaividu Śimai. From the revenues of these villages thirty food-services were to be made daily, for which detailed provision is made in the document. The part of the food going to the donor was to be applied for the maintenance of a *chatra* (free feeding-house) under the superintendence of Astigiri *Aiyān* built by Sāluva Narasiṅha himself near the front *Gōpura* of the temple. No. 35 of Ś. 1390 (1st Aug. 1468) is a gift of a village to the temple by a certain Vallabhayyadēva Mahārāja with titles *Antembaragaṇḍa*, and others. The full form of the title is, *Birudantembaragaṇḍa*, champion of those claiming titles, and is one which figured largely among the titles affected by the Mysore rulers of a later period. The revenues of this village were to be applied for a daily food-service and whatever was left over was to be applied for repairs, etc., through the office of works attached to the temple. No. 41 of Ś. 1391 (7th June 1469) is a donation of 500 *paṇam* by one Sāluva Gōpayya, son of Mallayyadēva with the Sāluva titles. This was to be applied for the service of a *pānaka* (sweet drink) for the four months, *Panguni* to *Āṣi*. The next following document is a record of a donation by the same, but this time 1,000 *paṇam* for a similar service for the remaining eight months of the year. No. 50 (1551) is again by Sāluva Narasiṅha himself. He instituted a swing festival (*Dolōtsava*) lasting for five days for Śrī Venkaṭēśa, the expenses of which were to be met by the revenues of the village granted, namely, *Dommarappaṭṭi* belonging to *Padaividu Rājya*. The balance left over after meeting this expenditure was to be applied for certain offerings in the name of the crown prince and two other sons of his. Other benefactions from this were to be services in his name, and the name of Kumāra Narasiyan, Chikka Tangaman and Periya Tangaman in all whose names had been constructed four pavilions on the banks of the Tirukkōṇēri and in other places round about the temple. There was to be a service of one *appappaḍi* in each of these places. There was to be another similar service on the day of the floating festival. The part of the *Prasāda* due to the donor



## VIJAYANAGAR INSCRIPTIONS OF BALUVA RULE

was to be made over for the use of the Rāmānujakūṭa to Kandādai Rāmānuja Aiyān. Further than this, eighteen *paṇam* a month were to be paid to the Śattāda Vaishṇava who maintained two flower gardens, one on the banks of the Śrikōṇēri, and the other on the banks of the Narasingarāyan Kōṇēri. The expenses of feeding on the banks of the Narasingarāyan Kōṇēri on the ten days of the *Purattāsi* festival were also to be met from the Śrī *Bhāndāra* under this head. Record No. 53 dated Ś. 1395 (A. D. 1473) is by one Dhonakandī Singamunāyakar of Vaḍarāja. It was a gift of 215 *kuṭi* of land from out of Lakshmināthan *Bhaṭṭarvitti* under the irrigation channel of the temple village of Alipuram. He purchased the land and made it over to the temple treasury, so that the income from it may be used for a daily food-service to the God. The details of the revenue are mentioned as *Kār*, *Kōḍai*, *Kaḍamai* and *Ponvari*. Of these the first would mean early crop of the year; the second would mean perhaps the summer crop; and the third the government dues from land, which may be in kind or coin, and certain miscellaneous dues payable only in cash. The food-service returnable to the donor was to be made use of for feeding the Śrī Vaishṇavas of the Rāmānujakūṭa of Kandādai Rāmānuja Aiyān. The records Nos. 58 and 59 are dated Ś. 1397 (24th Sept. 1475) by one Narasimhadēva son of Rāvu Pimanna Rāja, a subordinate of Narasimha and his son Narasimha Prabhū. This refers to a cash deposit of 4,000 *paṇam* for two food-services daily with specific instruction that this money should be applied for the improvement of the irrigation resources of the temple villages, thereby bringing more land into cultivation, the income from out of which was to be applied to meet the expenses. The donor's share of it was to be made over, in this case, to his own religious teacher Kumāra Tāta Aiyangar, son of Śottai Tirvengada Tāta Aiyangar of the ~~Saṭhamarshānā Gōtra and Āpastambī Gōtra~~. These two details of the *Gōtra* and *Sūtra* give indication of their belonging to the family of Nāthamuni, the first Āchārya, whose representative Rāmānuja took pains to secure for service in Tirupati. The document contains seven Sanskrit *ślōkas* which are all of them in praise of the various achievements of the donor. While most of them are in praise of his personal qualities and accomplishments, some achievements against the Pāṇḍya and of service to the *Kākatīyas* in establishing their kingdom, are ascribed to him. These probably are titles which came to him from his ancestors who could have earned credit for these achievements. Record No 60 of S. 1397 (24th Sept. 1475) refers to a

Kāśaiya Nāyaka, the younger brother of the chief mentioned above in No. 58. This again is a deposit of 5,000 *paṇam*, and is intended to be applied in the same manner as that of his brother, the donor's share being given over to the same Achārya as before. The same *Prasāsti ślōkas* are included in the record, and the amount paid had to be applied in the same way as in the previous cases. No. 61 is a brief Sanskrit record of the same. Records Nos. 73 and 74 are from the Gōvindarāja temple in Lower Tirupati, and refer to a deposit of money in the temple for services in connection with a Raghunātha temple constructed and consecrated by this chief. The money was to be applied as in the previous documents, and the income used for the purpose of these services. The chief is referred to merely as Nṛsimharāya Uḍaiyār Mudaliyār of date S. 1402 (A D. 1480). The next following document No. 75 is also in the same connection. Then we come to No. 76 of Ś. 1403 (7th July 1481). This is a record of Śāluva Thimmarāja, son of Śāluva Mallayya Dēva with the usual Śāluva titles. He made a deposit of 7,800 *paṇam* from the income out of which this food-service had to be provided for. Again the money was to be applied for the agricultural improvements of the temples villages, and from the income accruing therefrom the expenses of the service had to be met. Of the six food-services, four were intended for Tiruvēṅgaḍam Uḍaiyār and two for Ādivarāhap-perumāl. The donor's share of the *Prasāda* was to be made use of for distribution along with others of that kind. Next we come to No. 82 dated Ś. 1407 (20th April 1485). This is a benefaction by the emperor Śāluva Narasimha by the establishment of Sri Nṛsimhasvāmi on the pathway leading to the Tirumalai hill, identified with the Nṛsimha shrine at the foot of the hill by the side of the big *Gōpura*. The record is only a couple of Sanskrit ślōkas in praise of the ruler. The only interesting part is he is described as a Sārvabhauma. The next one is No. 87 of date Ś. 1409 (1st August 1487). This is a donation by Mukhappālam Nāgama Nāyaka. The record is an agreement between the *stānuttār* and Nāgama Nāyaka. The purpose of the document is the maintenance of a flower garden, from the flowers gathered therefrom a garland was to be made daily and presented to the God in the name of Nṛsimharāya Māhārāya. Two perpetual lamps were also to be burnt in the sanctum of Tiruvēṅga-muḍaiyār towards this service. Nāgama Nāyaka who is described here as governor of Kachchipēḍu made over a village called Tira-ḍambādi within his own jurisdiction, which formed a part of the



GOPURA OF SALUVA NARASIMHA AT THE FOOT OF THE STEPWAY  
UP THE HILL.

*(To face page 8)*



THE HOLY SHRINE OF TIRUPATI, FIRST ENCLOSURE

*(To face page 9)*

villages made over to him in lieu of his salary. The villages were marked off by boundary stones carrying Vishṇu's discus and planted round the village for the purpose. This record is in the hill temple. No. 91 is of date Ś. 1412 (A.D. 1490). This is a benefaction of Śīru Timmarāja Uḍaiyār son of Kommarāja Uḍaiyār, described as *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* with the following titles *Uttamaḡaṇḍa*, *Ubhayaragaṇḍa*, *Gaṇḍaragaṇḍa* and *Gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa*. He is also described as a younger brother of Periya Timmarāja. He made a deposit of 1,600 *paṇam* for four services in the hill shrine and six in the Gōvindarāja shrine on stated days in the year. The amount was to be applied to improve the irrigation channel at *Pāṇaham* and in other places, and the income made use of for the purpose. Provision is made for the disposal of the donor's part of the food-service, as in the previous cases No. 93 is of Ś. 1412 (24th June 1490) by the same individual. The date is irregular in details. He provided for two superior food-services (*Rājāṇasandhi*), one in the morning and one in the evening, in the hill shrine on certain festival days, when the God was to be taken over to the pavilion in his own garden. The amount paid was to be applied for bringing an irrigation canal with its head at Śīrupāḍi, and brought down to Avilāli. Another similar channel with its head at Tiruvēḡadanallūr was to be brought over to the same place. The income from the lands brought under cultivation by means of these two channels was to be made use of for the purpose of these services. Record No. 94 is of Ś. 1413 (27th June 1491). The donor is one ~~*Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*~~ Baicharāja Timmaiyaḍēva Mahārāja, in other words, *Timmaiyaḍēva* son of Baicharāja. It is from the hill shrine. The donor paid 500 *paṇam* as capital to be applied for the improvement of the irrigation resources of the temple village of Pāḍi, from out of the revenue of which provision is to be made for two festivals to Gōvindarāja on the new year (*Uḡāḍi*) and *Dīpāvālī* days for taking the image out in procession and providing with the jewel, and emerald necklace of a particular pattern. The usual disposal of the food-service due to the donor is also provided for. The next one is No. 97 of S. 1414 (6th Nov. 1492). The donor is again Baicharāja; and Kommarāsu. The first one is given the title *Antembaragaṇḍa* Uragoḷa *Suratrāṇa*. This latter title implies that he was ruler (*Suratrāṇa*, Sultan) of Warangal. When he could have been that, we do not know for certain. To the second is given the titles *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, *Uttamaḡaṇḍa*, *Ubhayaragaṇḍa*, and *Gaṇḍa Bhēruṇḍa*. The first of these is stated to be the secretary of the other. He is said to have

purchased a village, on payment to the people concerned, and marked it off with the boundary stones carrying the disc mark, and made a tank in the middle with a flower garden on the bank of it containing a pavilion. On the festival of *Pādivēṭṭai*, Gōvindarāja Peumāl and the goddesses should be taken to the pavilion in procession, and the festival conducted there on the new moon day of *Tai* (January—February) each year. Another festival seems to have been provided for from the produce of the garden the details of which are given. He brought down a channel of water for this purpose from the temple village of Avilāli on payment of 1,000 *paṇam*, and the provision for food-service was made as usual. For cultivating this flower garden four men were appointed on a monthly salary of 12 *paṇam*, and for payment of one *paṇam* a month to the *stānattār* for which a payment of 12 *paṇam* was made to the temple treasury; and the document looks like saying that the *stānattār*'s responsibility was to receive the funds as well as the share of the *prasāda*, and seeing that the garden and the pavilion within it were maintained without deteriorating. The next two following documents seem to be continuations of this and provide for certain details. They come from the Gōvindarāja shrine. The next document of value in this section is No. 103 of Ś. 1415 (30th June 1493). The donor in this case happens to be Periya Narasamma, the queen of Kommarāju Periya Timmarāju with all the titles as in the case of Sīriya Timmarāju of No. 97. Probably they belonged to the same family. This lady paid 1,000 *pon* for a royal food-service for Tiruvēngadamudaiyān, and an additional 400 *pon* for restoring the fallen pavilion of Anandān Pillai. After repairs to this *maṇṭapa*, the God was to be brought into this pavilion on the flag hoisting and the sixth day festivals. Provision was made for the food service accordingly. The share of the food-service to the donor was to be given over to those who looked after the garden of Anandān Pillai. The remaining food was to be disposed of as usual. The next one is of Ś. 1415 (30th June 1493). The donor is a lady Lakshmi Amman, the sister of Kommarāju Timmarāju, apparently the one referred to in No. 103. She made a deposit of 1,000 *pon* for a royal food-service to Tiruvēngadamudaiyān as in the previous cases. This was to be applied to the improvement of the irrigation tank in the temple village Tiramanēri from the income from which the provision for food-service should be met. Further she repaired the *maṇṭapa* called *Tirumaḷisāipirān* (Tirumaḷisāi Ālvār) at her own expense, and

arranged for the looking after of the garden by people coming into the locality, and provided for their maintenance by ordering the gift of the donor's share of the food to them. The next one is No. 113 of Ś. 1415 (17th Feb. 1494). The donor in this case is a Timmaṇṇa Daṇāyaka, son of Karaṇakka Annadāta Devagaḷ of Hārifa goṇṇa and Āśvalāyana Sūtra a niyōgi (a Telugu Brahman) residing in Chandragiri fort. He made a deposit of 300 *paṇam* for 15 services of sweet-cakes on various annual festivals specified, among which happened to be two festivals called Tōṇṇu Tiruṇāl, which would mean carrying the image to the grove, probably that in which he had constructed a pavilion for the purpose. Provision was made for these and for the distribution of the food after service. The next one of importance is No. 124 of Ś. 1416 (5th June 1494). The donor here is Periya Timmarāju, son of Kommarāju, the same as the one referred to in No 103. He is given two additional titles in this document, *Sarasvatī-Manḍ-Bhaṇḍāra* and *Śārāikkāra*. This chief made provision for four royal food-services, three for the God on the hill and one for Gōvindarāja. He paid 4,000 *pon* into the temple treasury. The amount is to be used for a new tank called Timmasamudra in the temple village Pūndi from the income out of which 12 Vaishṇavas were to be fed in a *maṭha* called *Pankayacchelvi* as a charity in his name. He made 500 *kulīs* of land out of this as a *sarvamānya* to Rāmānuja Jiyar, the superintendent of the temple. The expenses of the other services were to be met from the income from the rest of the land. Provision was accordingly made. No. 126 of Ś. 1416 (5th June 1914) is by the same, and registers a grant of a village called Pudukchēri for the purpose of offerings being made to Gōvindarāja when he is taken to a stone *maṭṭapa* constructed by Timmarāju in a flower garden which he purchased from the temple. He provided for this kind of a festival during eight days of the annual festivals in the year. Here again it is specifically stated that the village Pudukchēri was part of Vēṭṭuva Kulatturai in the district which of old was under his government. The detailed provision was made for this as also for the distribution of the food. The next document No. 127 Ś. 1416 (5th June 1494) records a donation made by Narasarāju Udaiyār, son of Kommarāju Timmarāju with all the details of titles given to Periya Timmarāju in No. 124. He is stated to have built a *maṭṭapa* in front of the gateway of the temple of Gōvindarāja. He made a deposit of 2,300 *paṇam* in the temple treasury which was to be applied for the improvement of irrigation in temple villages generally, from the income out of

which provision had to be made for a certain number of festivals for 18 festival days in the course of the year, and a number of other days are also specified. Among them get to be mentioned festivals in the name of Tirumangai Ālvār and even Uḍaiyavar (Rāmānuja). This was to be a perpetual grant and the usual provision for food distribution is also made. We pass on to No. 138 of Ś. 1426 (29th Sept. 1504). The donor is one who is described as Tiruvēnkaṭa Chirukkan Tirupaṇi Pillai Emberumānār, an officer in charge of the public works. He made a contribution of 3,825 *paṇam* to be applied as usual for improving the irrigation resources of the villages belonging to the temple, and, from the income derived therefrom provision had to be made for 153 sweet cakes to be offered on specified festival days through the year, as a charitable gift in the name of Immaḍi Narasingarāya Mahārāya, son of Narasingarāya Mahārāja. The days of the festival making up 153 are specified in detail.

**The general character of the grants of Saluva rulers and officials.**

The Sāluva inscriptions studied so far have reference, among the records of the period, to those grants made by the ruler himself, and by those who may be regarded as officers, in the service of the state. The general purpose of the grants is the securing of the merit of offering various services at the temple on various occasions, and the distribution of food then and there among those present, and, at the end of the festival, among the temple staff and those concerned with the management of the temple otherwise. These arrangements are more or less common arrangements made in respect of donations to the temple, and there is nothing particularly noteworthy in regard to them. But there are certain features of these grants which are noteworthy. The sums involved, where it is a money grant, are heavier than perhaps needed for the actual requirements of the food and other provisions to be made. Generally they are pretty large sums, as in the case of three or four grants by Sāluva Narasimha himself, where the gift consisted of a number of villages made over to the temple, the temple becoming entitled thereby to the revenues accruing from the villages. In the case of grants by other officials and even private individuals, the terms are various, and it is hardly necessary to consider the possibilities. One general feature of these money provisions in respect of these grants is that the money was made over to the temple treasury. It had to be applied, in the first instance, to improving the existing irrigation facilities or provide fresh ones. These improvements generally had for their



object either the bringing of uncultivated lands into cultivation, or providing greater irrigation facilities to lands already under cultivation. We would not be far wrong if we stated it clearly that these were sums allotted for the improvement of agriculture, and bringing, if possible, the whole of the cultivable lands of the villages concerned into cultivation. That seems to have been the main purpose, although ostensibly the object is to make some provision for services in the temple. This is generally done in a way to indicate that it is perhaps rather subordinate to the main purpose of bringing tracts of uncultivated or partially cultivated lands into full cultivation. These money investments were made over to the temple where temple villages were concerned, as in fact in the great majority of cases. They were to be applied by the temple for purposes of rural improvement, and wait till an income could be obtained from the improvements thus effected. This actually involves the necessity of perhaps the temple having to wait some years before any revenue accrues from some at least of these provisions for improvement. From out of that income the provision intended for the temple has to be made. Such an arrangement makes it clear that the main purpose really was improvement of agriculture, part of the benefit thereof going to provide some of these amenities in the temple for the spiritual merit of the donors concerned. In the case of the Saluva ruler and his officials, most of them, it is generally a large deposit of money at the temple treasury, except in a few instances of grants of villages as in the case of the king himself and just a few of his officers, such as the famous Nāgamanāyaka. In such cases of officers, the villages granted are villages which belonged to them in *jāghīr*; it is plainly stated that the villages granted belonged to the division of Kacchippēḍu which he had to govern, and that they were actually allotted for his own maintenance as governor. In one or two other instances of similar grants, we have clear indication that the gifted village was about in the same position. It is only in respect of the four villages in one case, and one or two in one or two others by Saluva Narasimha himself, that these details are not given to us, and it is left open to the inference that they may be villages belonging to the government. Even so, it is a matter for doubt whether they were villages belonging to the public or the state that were made over. In such cases the usual practice, as indicated by these inscriptions generally, is that the ruler purchased these villages and made them over; since these are not stated to be purchased in these cases, it is probable that they

somehow belonged to the royal domain lands of Śāluva Narasiṃha.

**The object of the benefactions, gaining of the double merit.** This array of references from the Dēvastānam inscriptions to the donations made to the temple by the ruler Śāluva Narasiṅga himself or by his officials, make it quite clear that there was a considerable amount of feeling of devotion to the temple in the ruler and his government as a whole, and that this feeling of devotion exhibited itself in comparatively liberal donations to the temple. But what is really most interesting, from the point of view of history, is that these large donations took the form of donations of capital amounts placed at the disposal of the temple treasury with specific prescription as to how the amount is to be applied, from the income of which the expenses of the actual donation to the temple should be met. As we have already noticed that, in the matter of private donations, it often took the form of a deposit of money from the interest of which the expenses intended were to be met. But in these cases generally we find that the amount is actually paid into the temple treasury with specific instructions to apply the amount for the improvement of irrigation facilities of the villages and lands belonging to the temple, the expenses of the actual services to the temple, being met from the income that these improvements bring to the temple. Often-times we do meet individuals supplying the money and effecting the improvements and indicating that the services intended for the temple were to be conducted when these improvements result in giving an income to the temple, waiting for some time, if need be, for the income to accrue. It seems therefore the deliberate object of these donations that the capital given should go to effect improvements in the lands belonging to the temple so as to increase its permanent income from out of which the necessary provision for the services should be made. It seems to be intended for the securing of a double merit by the donor, the merit of permanently increasing the income of the temple by bringing more lands into cultivation, or by making the cultivation more efficient by improved facilities therefor, in itself an act of spiritual merit; and there was the further merit of a part of the income being ear-marked for certain direct services in the temple. The systematic adoption of a policy like this must have resulted in bringing practically the whole of the temple lands, such as they were, in the neighbourhood of the temples themselves, effectively into cultivation, as the region was

one which was mere uncultivated forest land, or dry land with only the redeeming feature of the river running all through the district.

The benefactions of Saluva Narasimha himself. Among the rulers and officials that figure in this group of inscriptions, Saluva Narasimha himself takes the most prominent place. He has about half a dozen records, one or two of which are orders issued to the temple authorities regarding the disposal of certain services. But the others are grants more or less like the others. Even he in his gift to the temple has to make the gift over to the *stānattār* of the temple. The earliest gift to which there is reference is a free gift of the village of Ālipuram to the temple. It was given on a former occasion, but on this date, A.D. 1456, he entered into an agreement with the temple authorities as to the disposal of the revenue collected in cash as well as grain. This document makes it clear that he managed the disposal of certain matters which the donors have had to do through his agent Kandātai Rāmānuja Aiyar, the disciple of Ālahiya Maṇavaḷa Jiyar, who had been appointed superintendent of the free feeding houses, of which Saluva Narasimha had constructed a few and arranged for the free distribution of food in these. Another of his services to the temple was provision for four daily food offerings by his queen Śrī Rangāmbā. It refers to an irrigation canal that Saluva Narasimha himself had got constructed for irrigating the temple village of Adityanpaḷḷi on the borders of Māvandur. From the income out of the lands brought under cultivation, or improved cultivation under this work, the expenses of the services were to be met. In the disposal of the food, it is mentioned that one unit was to be given to maintain the person who kept a garden in her name, in the immediate neighbourhood of another garden in the name of Saluva Narasimha himself. That means that he has provided for two flower gardens, one in his name, and another in the name of the queen. The next one relates to the Gōvindarāja shrine, and refers to the grant of two villages, not in the Chandragiri-rājya, but in the Padaividu-rājya in the neighbourhood. The income therefrom was till then paid into the royal treasury. At the same time he also granted a village under a tank at Tirupati. It was a royal order straightway making these grants for the purposes for which they were intended. The next work of his is a grant for a particular festival for which the income was provided by the grant of a village in the Chandragiri-rājya. There is a direct reference here to the Rāmānujakūṭa built by

him, and placed under the superintendence of **Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyān**. The arrangement is made for the distribution of the donor's part of the food among the Śrī Vaisaṅavas in this place. This particular village was granted on *Makara-Sankramāṇa* day which was also *Ardhodayam* regarded as a specially holy day for making these grants. The next one refers to a gift of five villages by the same monarch for food-services in the temple. A part of the donor's share of the food is to be used for feeding those in the *chatra*, perhaps not strictly confined to the feeding of Śrī Vaisaṅavas alone, under the superintendence of one **Astigiri Aiyān**; and this charity house is said to have been built by **Sāluva Narasimha** himself near the front *gōpura* of the **Gōvinda-rāia** temple. The next donation of importance from him is his institution of a swing festival at the hill shrine, for which he granted a village belonging to the **Padaividu-rājya**. The balance of revenue coming from this, after meeting this first charge, was to be utilised for certain offerings in the names of his sons. Three names are given: —(1) **Kumāra Narasaiyan**, (2) **Chikka Tangaman** and (3) **Periya Tangaman**. We have so far heard of only two sons of **Sāluva Narasimha**, and their names come before us only in the transactions after his death. But that does not preclude his having had one more son; he might have predeceased the father. But what is really puzzling in this is the order of naming. We cannot be sure that it is in the order of seniority, although the term *Kumāra* attaching to the first indicates that he was the eldest, while the attributes for the other two, *Chikka* and *Periya*, the younger and the elder, are rather in the reverse order. But the work connected with their name in Tirupati is a *kōṇēri* a natural cleft or tank on the hill named after **Sāluva Narasimha** immediately in the neighbourhood of a similar tank named after the God himself. He built four pavilions on the banks of *kōṇēri* in his and his sons' name. This document also makes provision for a *Śattāda* Vaisaṅava (Non-Brahman Vaisaṅava) who was maintaining two gardens, one on the bank of each of these two *kōṇēris*. He provided for certain other services also on the great festival of *Purattāsi*. Another important grant by **Sāluva Narasimha** himself is the grant of a village **Durga-samudram** for his own spiritual merit. The grant was made in A. D. 1472, but ten years after, that is, in A. D. 1482 this was confirmed as a permanent grant and made over to the temple authorities for meeting the expenses of repairs and upkeep of the temple and its buildings through the superintendents of works.

This arrangement was made by the temple authorities under direct orders from Śāluva Narasimha himself. The next important gift of his is the construction of the shrine of Śrī Nṛsimha-svāmi at the foot of the hill in the immediate neighbourhood of *gōpura* leading to the steps. The record is only a couple of *ślōkas* in Sanskrit which state the fact of his establishing this shrine. This gives him the title *Sārvabhauma*, and has reference to a date 20th April 1485; probably this was soon after he assumed supreme authority in Vijayanagar. It will be seen that there is a respectable catalogue of works in regard to the temple by the ruler himself, which would indicate clearly his personal attachment and devotion to the God at Tirupati, a feature which finds mention in the poem *Sāluvābhīudayam* as well.

**Benefactions by Saluva Narasimha's officials, etc.** The more prominent works of his officers are the gift of a flower garden by Timmarāja Uḍaiyār, his elder brother which comes under reference. Then an official of his, Mallaiyadēva of the Śāluva family, at the time governor of the Chandragiri-rājya, is recorded to have built a thousand-pillared pavilion in front of the temple. The next benefaction by an official and a relation of the ruler is by prince Parvatarāja of the Śāluva family, a nephew, brother's son, of Śāluva Narasimha. He is said to have constructed a mantapa, or pavilion, half way up the steps and called *Muḷangāl-murippān* (knee-breaker) generally. He provided for a water-shed at the place. He also provided for the maintenance of a garden on the hill and of a tank for growing water-lilies in particular on the hill. The next one is a gift by one Nṛsimharāja Uḍaiyār, as he is called. He constructed a Raghunātha temple in Lower Tirupati, and provided for its maintenance. The next official donation is a gift of a village in Padaividu-rājya by Nāga-manāyaka. The village was marked off as a *dēvadāna* village by survey stones planted with the marks of Vishṇu's discus in the Padaividu-rājya for the spiritual benefit of Nṛsimharāja. It was for maintaining a flower garden from the flowers of which garlands were to be made for the service of the God. The next officers who made an important donation were Baicharāja and Kommarāzu, the first being described as the Secretary of the other. It refers to his purchase of a village and the granting of it to the temple marking it with boundary stones carrying the discus mark of Vishṇu. He is said also to have constructed a tank in the middle of the village with a flower-garden on the

bank adjoining a pavilion for Gōvindarāja being taken to on certain festivals, making provision therefor. The next work of importance is by a lady, a sister of one of the officials. She made provision for repairing the *maṅṭapa* called after Tirumaḷisai Ālvār, the *maṅṭapa* itself being called *Tirumaḷisaiṅṅirān*. The last one of importance in this group is the work of a Narasarāja Uḍaiyār, both his father and uncle having been officials. He is said to have built a *maṅṭapa* in front of the gateway of the temple of Gōvin'arāja. Among the provisions that he made, the festivals of Tirumangai Ālvār and Uḍaiyavar find mention. These and several other details in this group give indication that several of the arrangements said to have been made by Rāmānuja in the *Śrī Venkaṭāchala Itihāsamāla* were actually made as they find mention in the period with which we are concerned.

We have covered the period from A.D. 1456 to A.D. 1485 in this group. During the whole of it Sāluva Narasimha was, at any rate, rightfully no more than the ruler of the Chandragiri-rājya under Vijayanagar. At the beginning of this period Mallikārjuna was the emperor, at least he continued to be emperor for six or seven years after the beginning of this period. Then followed princes, sons of Mallikārjuna, for a short while, and then Virūpāksha, whose sons were ultimately overthrown by Sāluva Narasimha. We have not come upon one single reference in all these grants made by Sāluva Narasimha himself and his officials to the Vijayanagar Sovereigns. This gives clear indication that perhaps pretty early in the career of Sāluva Narasimha as ruler of Chandragiri-rājya, he had more or less given up acknowledgement of allegiance to the empire and conducted himself as if he were independent of Vijayanagar, perhaps without committing an open breach with the empire, and that seems to be almost the position that we are enabled to infer from the other sources of information we have for the period, and these inscriptions at Tirupati only go to confirm that.

**Benefactions by private individual during the period.** Taking now the records of donations by private donors, that is, individuals who made their donation to the temple with a view to securing spiritual merit for themselves by acts of piety, either because of the good example set by the officials or because somehow it became the dominant idea in the locality, individuals quite unconnected with the administration, and even those who made comparatively small grants made their benefactions not merely

in the same spirit, but actually in the same manner. Of course, the dominating feature is that whatever benefaction was made to the temple should be perpetual for insuring merit to them. To be perpetual, there must be a perpetual income; and whatever capital they gave should be so invested as to produce that perpetual income. The best way of assuring that was surely to invest it in a productive agency like that of land, and it happened that the temple had lands which would admit of such improvements and thereby ensure to the temple a permanent income. They therefore naturally either followed the example set, or adopted it as a good principle for the particular purpose.

The first record we come upon in this group is No. 5 of the Dēvastānam Inscriptions Volume II of S. 1399 (7th Nov. 1457). The donation is by a Vēnkatavalli, daughter of Savari Perumāi, and attached to the temple of Sri Nrsimhasvāmi at Tirupati. She deposited 1,000 *paṇam* for a food-service on the hill shrine in her name to be applied to digging up the big irrigation tank (what is meant is probably removing the silt), and from out of the income a certain food-service was to be provided along with the food-service in the name of Bukkarāya. The next one is No. 7 of Ś. 1380 (25th June 1458). The donor is one Periya Perumāi Jiyar, the keeper of Tiruvēngadanāthan flower garden. From the name we could infer he was a Vaishṇava Saṅyāsīn. He paid 2,000 *paṇam* for two daily food services in the name of Bukkarāya. In this case there is no indication of the amounts being applied to the improvement of land. The portion of the food generally allotted to the donor was, after his life, to pass on to the single Vaishṇava who should succeed to the office of keeping the garden in condition. No. 10 of Ś. 1382 (25th Feb. 1461) is donation by one Tippu Nāyakar, son of Timmanāyaka. He is described as one of the nattuvans (dancing-masters) in the dancing-hall of Saluva Narasimhadēva Mahārāja. The purpose of his donation was a daily service of food in his name and the lighting of a lamp every Saturday. For this latter purpose, he planted a bronze pillar which would hold a quantity of ghee, which was to be supplied from the income to be got by the investment of the 2,000 *paṇam* that he gave, being applied to bringing a canal with its head at Tiruchchuganūr. It was to run along the boundaries of Munnalppūṇḍi, carrying waters through the minor channels to the temple village of Pādi. The weekly supply of ghee for the lamp was one *nāli*. No. 12 of Ś. 1384 (20th April 1462) is a donation by a certain Kōṇeri, son of Maṅikka Nāyanār, head

of Śāttakkūḍi in the Chandragiri-rājya and another by name Ulahalandavēlān. It must be noted that this document is not an agreement as usual, but is a grant straightway by the individuals. The grant consisted in the provision of four men of Śāttakkūḍi Marudūr by name Periya Gōpālan, Chinnan, Kāri and Śirugōpālan along with others. They were to supply two *Chālukya Nārāyaṇan marakkāls* of ghee every year, so that the lamp may be burning perpetually throughout the year in the name of Śāluva Narasimha as a charity gift. They were to measure out the ghee into the temple *śāla* and obtain receipt from the *Jīyar* in charge. We pass on to No. 20 of Ś. 1385 (7th March 1464) from the Gōvindarāja temple. This brings to notice a Tōlappār Aiyangar, son of Śōṭṭai Tirumalainambi Tiruvēngāḍa Tātaiyāngar of the Śaṭamarshaṇa *gōtra* and *Āpastamba sūtra*. He is described as one of the Āchārya *purushas* belonging to the Agraḥāra (*Agaram*). It will be remembered that Rāmānuja was anxious that a lineal descendant of Nāthamuni of the above Śaṭamarshaṇa *gōtra* and *Āpastamba sūtra*, should be brought down and settled in Tirupati. This family claims that descent. This person paid 7,000 *paṇam* into the temple treasury for certain services to Śrī Gōvīndaperumāḷ. The instruction is given that this sum is to be applied for improving irrigation channels from the river, and such other irrigation facilities as may be required in temple villages from the income arising out of which the expenses of the services should be met. Specific instructions as to the distribution of the donor's share of the service are indicated. We next come to No. 24 of Ś. 1388 (9th January 1467), where the donor is Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyan, whom we shall meet pretty often hereafter. He was a disciple of Aḷagiya Maṇavāla Jīyar, and was in charge of the Vaishṇava feeding houses called *Rāmānujakūṭa*, some his own and others provided for by other donors, among them, Śāluva Narasimha himself. This record comes from the Gōvindarāja temple. This person entered into an agreement with a number of cultivators of dry lands round about Tirupati undertaking to provide an irrigation canal with its head in the border of Pērūr to be dug by him and brought to their lands for purposes of irrigation. What they agreed to pay to him, by way of return for the irrigation facility, was to be applied for the feeding of the Śrī Vaishṇavas in the *Rāmānujakūṭa*. This agreement between Rāmānuja Aiyan and the ryots of these villages was to continue between the successors of both for all time, that is, as long as the sun and the moon should last. No 26 is by the same person, and is of Ś. 1389

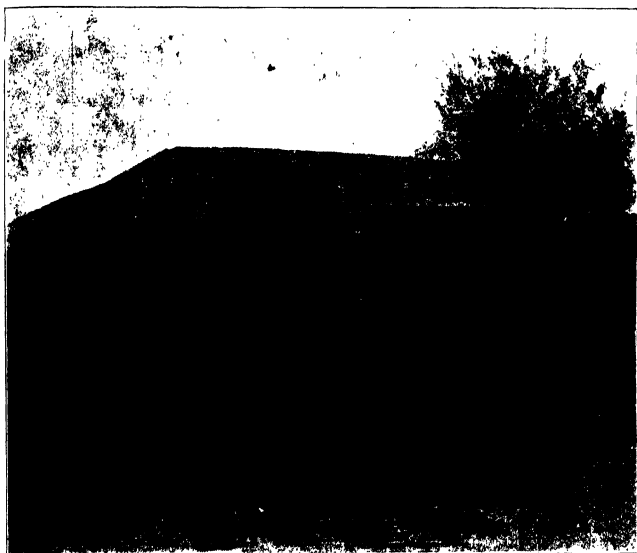


(25th April 1467). He provided for the service of sweet-cakes in the hill shrine from the income of the lands brought into cultivation by two canals that he got made at his own expense. The first took off from the border of Tirucchukanūr, and led the water to the temple village of Korramangalam. The other took off from the border of Periya Maṇḍiyam and took water for Kūraikkāl. When the lands thus brought under cultivation should be cultivated, the share of the income due to him should be applied for the service. It should be ear-marked by him for the use of the *Rāmānujakūṭa* and to be continued for the same purpose even under his successors. We next pass on to No. 36 of Ś. 1390 (A.D. 1468). This document is said to be on the walls of the shrine of Kūrattālvār, a contemporary of Rāmānuja and among his chief disciples, in the Gōvindarāja temple. The same donor built a shrine for Kulaśēkhara Ālvār, and set up the image of the Ālvār, and secured the gift of a *sarvamānya* (free gift) village in a locality which is defined, although the record is partly gone. Apparently the expenses of this service were met by him, and from the income of the *mānya*, the expenses were to be met for a festival to this Ālvār on the *Punarvasu Nakshatra* in the month of *Māsi* (Feb-March) every year. There are also certain other provisions for other Ālvārs and their shrines. The next documents of importance are Nos. 38 and 39 dated Ś. 1390 (28th February 1469) relating to the same donor. These documents provide for four services of food, rice in the curd (*dadhyōdanam*). The expenses for this were to be met from the income got from two canals that he got excavated to irrigate uncultivated lands in two temple villages. One canal was to irrigate temple lands of Tiruvēngadanallūr, and take the used water to a tank next across; and the other was taken round a temple village to bring into cultivation certain garden lands which remained dry round about the temple village. The donor's share of the food was to be made use of for the purpose of the *Rāmānujakūṭa*, the charity feeding house for Vaishṇavas. There are certain other provisions for food distribution. Among them is found the distribution of food among *Sāttāda* Vaishṇavas as they are called, a special sect of Non-Brahmin Vishṇavas. One service for God Nṛsimha on the hill was also provided for. The provision of forty cows is mentioned for supplying the curd necessary for this particular service. No. 40 is of Ś. 1391 (14th May 1469). This makes provision for two royal services of food during the midnight service to the God on the hill shrine and similar service to Gōvindarāja in Lower Tirupati.

The expenses are to be met from the produce of land brought into cultivation by a canal that he dug at his own expense from the borders of the temple of Tiruvēṅgaḍanāthanallūr to the village of Pāṇaham, and uncultivated lands brought into cultivation. There is a reference further down in the document to 400 *kuḷis* of land sold to him for 700 *paṇām* near the temple village of Avilāli. He set that apart for this service. We pass on to No. 43, Ś. 1391 (21st August 1469). This was grant by one Ādirāja, son of Lakkasāni Amman said to have belonged to the *Bējaru-vāya Kula*, *Apastamba Sūtra*, *Maudgalya Gōtra*. He paid 1,000 *paṇam* for a daily offering to God in his name. This he paid for deepening the irrigation tank in Kalidhīramangalam. The income from the lands brought into cultivation as a result of this irrigation work, was to be made use of for the food-service. A portion of the donor's share of the food was to be given to a particular person, whose name is mentioned. The next important records are Nos. 44 and 45 relating to Kāndāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyan cf Ś. 1391 (7th January 1470), and the next Ś 1392 (6th May 1470). The first record relates to the acquiring of a *sarvamānya* (free gift village) for the purpose of a charity feeding house on the hill in return for certain irrigation works that he carried out. The next one refers to his having got two irrigation canals made, the produce of which, when the new lands brought under cultivation should yield, was to be applied for distribution of food in the name of Nṛsimhārāja when the God should be taken to a pavilion in Tirupati on the occasion of the summer festivals. The usual provision for distribution of the donor's share is made. No. 46 of Ś. 1392 (12th August 1470) refers to a Siddhanaiyar, son of Paḍumalai Dēvapagaḷ, described as belonging to the *Jāmadagnya Vatsa Gōtra* and *Bhōsala Sutra*. He is said to have been the secretary of Sāluva Narasimha. He got a canal dug at his expense with its head at the border of Śīrupāḍi, and brought the water for irrigating the temple village of Avilāli. From the lands newly brought under cultivation, the means had to be found for the particular food-service in his name. No. 47 of Ś. 1392 (28th December 1470) is again by Kāndāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyan. This comes from the Gōvīndarāja shrine, and makes provision for sweet cakes service overnight. The expenses of this had to be met from the produce of a new canal that he made at his own expense, which he brought for irrigating certain uncultivated lands on the southern border of Kalidhīramangalam, a temple village. Similarly he took another canal at his own expense from its head at the temple

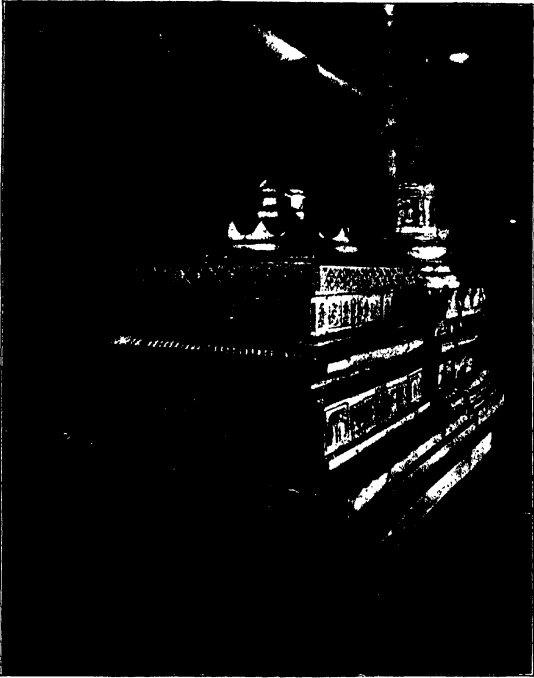
village Baidappalli, and took it over to the other villages where the uncultivated garden lands had been brought under cultivation. The income arising from this had to be made use of for the purpose of the service. The donor's share of the food-service was to be applied for the purpose of the *Rāmānajakūtu* in Tirupati. No. 48 of Ś. 1393 (20th January 1472) is an order in favour of a certain Pullagaṇḍam Tiruvēṅgaḍaḍāsa Obalaiya belonging to a class of Mauṣika, resident in the Śingar Kōil Street of Tirupati. He was to receive one share of the food and sweet cakes after offering to the God, and an eighth of another kind of food called *Akkāli-prasāda* (bare boiled rice). This was done in accordance with the order received from Narasimharaja by writing. No. 49 of Ś. 1394 (27th November 1472) is a document in favour of Karpūram Mūvarāyar, son of Pallikoṇḍa Perumaḷ of Vīram Adakkippaṭṭi. This refers to the grant of a certain village by this person. The village was one Viṇṇavāsala belonging to the division Śārikaikkōṭṭai on Sūttamalli Valaṇaḍu in Śōlamaṇḍalam to one Emberumānār Jiyar for one food-service in his own name and for various repairs, etc., to the Pallikoṇḍan pavilion in the Tirumangai Ālvār shrine. Provision is made accordingly by Emberumānār Jiyar, who was in charge of the Tirumangai Ālvār shrine and the *maṇṭapa* belonging to it. When Emberumānār Jiyar should cease to exist, his successor bachelor in charge of the temple should assume responsibility therefor. The next one is of Ś. 1395 (A. D. 1473). This is a grant by Sōmaṇa Dikshita, son of Śivagūṇa Sōmayāji of the Kaśyapa *gōtra* and belonging to the Purudagunṭa. He is said to have purchased 215 *kuḷi* of irrigated land out of Lakshmināthan Bhaṭṭavṛitti in Ālipura providing for the income from out of *kār*, *kōḍai*, *kaḍamai* and *pon varigaḷ*, meaning respectively income from the summer crop, the dues upon it to the state, and such taxes and cesses as are payable in cash. From out of this one food-service was to be provided for in the temple. The next one of importance is No. 57 of Ś. 1397 (9th July 1475). This is an agreement under the orders of the *stānattār* with one Amudan Tiruvēṅgaḍayya, a disciple of Yatirāja Jiyar Kandāḍai Anṇaiyanagar, who had the management of the temple of Emberumānār. He paid 150 *paṇam* to be applied for the improvement of irrigation of the village of Vikramādityamangalam by improving tank and the irrigation canal, *Udaiyavar Kālvai*, from the income out of which food-services were to be made in his own name on the fifth day of the festival of Rāmānuja in the month of *Chittirai*. The next ones are Nos. 62, 63 and 64 of Ś. 1397 (20th October

1475). The first record is in the Tirumangai Ālvār shrine in Lower Tirupati on the *Kapila Tīrtha*, and the other two in the Gōvindarāja shrine. This is an agreement under the orders of the *stānattār*, between Emberumānār Jiyār, manager of the Tirumangai Ālvār shrine and the leading Vaishṇava of Tirupati, Śaṭagōpadāsar Narasimharāya Mudaliyār, for the payment of 200 *paṇam* into the treasury of Tirumangai Ālvār. Certain services were to be made during the festivals of Tirumangai Ālvār. This sum was to be applied for the improvement of the irrigation channel taking water into the lands of Tirumangai Ālvār in the village Ilāmaṇḍya, and the usual arrangement is made for the distribution of the donor's share of the food among the *Rāmānujakūtas* and otherwise. The next document is also an agreement of a similar character between the same parties. This refers to a deposit of 200 *paṇam* into the treasury of the Uḍaiyavar (Rāmānuja) shrine for a festival to be celebrated in the name of Kandāḍai Rāmānṇa Aiyan, the superintendent of the *Rāmānujakūtas* in Tirupati. The 200 *paṇam* should be applied to improve the irrigation canal leading into the lands of Uḍaiyavar. The provision for details of the food-service and for the distribution of the donor's share is made as usual. The next one is an agreement between the *stānattār* and Śaṭagōpadāsa Narasimharāya Mudaliyār. This refers to a deposit of 5,500 *paṇam* deposited into the temple treasury. This was to make provision for a daily service of *atirasa* for Gōvindarāja Perumāḷ and for its distribution among the *Rāmānujakūtas* in Tirupati. The sum thus deposited was to be applied for improving the irrigation resources of temple villages, and provision made accordingly for the food-service and its distribution. No. 66 of Ś. 1398 (26th March 1496) is an agreement between the *stānattār* with Gōpaiya, keeper of the flower-garden *Malaikkiniyaṇṇān*. He made a deposit of 1,000 *paṇam* to be applied for the improvement of the irrigation resources of temple villages, and the donor's share of the food should be handed over to Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyan and his disciples for the use of the *Rāmānujakūta* in his charge. The next one No. 67 of Ś. 1399 (9th May 1476) is that of Śaṭagōpa Narasimharāya Mudaliyār, one of the Śrī Vaishṇava inhabitants of Tirupati. He made a deposit of 1,500 *paṇam* to be applied again for the improvement of irrigation sources, the tanks and canals, in temple villages, for one food-service in the temple in the name of Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyan, the donor's share going for the use of the *Rāmānujakūta* as usual. Others among whom this should be distributed are also



AN OLD STONE MANTAPA, ONE OF THE MANY THAT WERE BUILT

*(See page 37)*



BALIPITHA AND DVAJASTHAMBA, (ALTAR AND FLAGSTAFF)

*(To face page 25)*

mentioned in some number. No. 68 of the same year corresponding to 23rd November 1476 A. D. is an agreement with the same party, and makes provision for one daily food service in the temple of Raghunātha on the hill, and for service to Emberumānār (Rāmānuja) for 12 days in the month of *Chittirai* when the image is brought down on the occasion of the recitation of the *Prabandha* and then for the eleven birthday asterisms in the year of the saint, and for the annual festival of Nammālvār being brought to the shrine of Rāmānuja on the occasion of the reciting of the *Tiruvāymoḻi* on the birthday asterism of the Ālvār; similarly for festivals on the birthday asterism of every one of the other Ālvārs, and for a festival on which the image of Rāmānuja is taken over to the flower garden going by his name, and for a flower pavilion called *Rāmachandra*, and the taking of the image to the flower pavilion in the name of Kumāra Rāmānuja on the way to Pāpanāsa. The further provisions include the bringing in of the God and the Goddesses for a swing festival in the shrine of *Gnānappirān* (Śrī Varāha) on the bank of the Kōnēri, in the pavilion called *Rāmānujayyan*; in all 35 festivals are provided for, the allotment of the provision for these and their distribution. A share of these food-services should go to the 16 *Śattāda* Vaishṇavas living in the street of Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyān and taking care of the flower garden called *Rāmachandra*; and then there is an elaborate list of the recipients of these *prasādas* among the Vaishṇava residents of Tirupati. No. 69 is of Ś. 1399 (22nd May 1477). The donor is Periya Perumāḷ Dāsar, a bachelor disciple of Periya Perumāḷ Jiyar, and keeper of *Pin-śeṅga-Villi* (the bowman who followed, Lakshmaṇa) flower garden. He made provision for a food-service to the Goddess *Alarmēlmangai* (the lady on the flower), a Tamil name for the Goddess in the hill shrine, on the nine flag hoisting festival days. The deposit amount of 1,600 *paṇam* was paid into the treasury, and had to be applied for the improvement of irrigation resources of temple villages. The food distribution was to be, on the usual pattern for use among the residents of the *Rāmānujakūṭa*. No. 79 of Ś. 1404 (30th May 1482) is a direct order of Saluva Narasimha to the Public Works Department of the temple, referring to a grant of the village made by him on 13th October 1472. The present order directs the appropriation of the revenue by these public works officials for the maintenance of the temple buildings in a good condition of repair. No. 80 of Ś. 1405 (3rd October 1483) refers to one Kandāḍai Appāchiyār Anna, who made a deposit of

300 *paṇam* for one monthly food-service on his birthday asterism. It is followed by the direction for the usual distribution of food. No 81 is of Ś 1406 (11th Aug. 1484) and refers to Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyar as the party concerned. This was an agreement in the name of Saluva Narasimha by this Śrī Vaishṇava. It lays down the details for certain provisions for the festival of ablu- tion of the God on the hill at Tirupati and in the Gōvindarāja shrine, as also for the daily worship of Kulaśēkhara Perumāḷ. This has to be applied to his own village of Kuṇḍipūṇḍi where there was a feeding house, and which was made over to him by Nṛsimharāya. From the income thereof certain articles were to be supplied by his own Non-Brahman (*Śattāda*) Vaishṇava disciples resident in Tirupati. Nos. 83 and 84 are interesting and refer to Ś. 1407 (6th June 1485). They record an agreement between the *stānattār*, and the temple accountant who is named here Nalla-angāṇḍai, who is given the generic designation Tirunūṇṇaiyūr Uḍaiyān. There is an interesting reference in these to a work carried out by Var̥ Satāgopa Jiyar, who is said here to have built a brick pavement in front of the Gōvindarāja temple with a pavilion along it. This was purchased by this temple accountant for 2,000 *paṇam* paid into the temple treasury. He apparently completed the pavilion portion, and made it fit for taking the deity there on occasions of festivals. He made a further deposit of 2, 00 *paṇam* to be applied as usual for improving the agricultural resources of temple villages, and the income to be utilised for a number of festivals throughout the year when the God and the Goddess are to be brought into this pavilion and food-services rendered. Among the festivals mentioned are the *Tiruvadhyaṇa* festival beginning with *Iyarpā* and coming down to the *Nūṛṇṇādāi* through the 22 days that is, the whole of the *Nālāyiraprabandham* including the centum on Rāmānuja, and there is further provision for the recitation of the works of various other *Ālvārs* on their particular birthday asterisms in this *maṇṭapa*. The details of the provision for food-service are made and the directions for the regulation of its distribution. No 85 is imperfect and speaks of this same donor having paid another sum of money for the merit of Narasimharāya for some service to be done in the *Vasanta-maṇṭapa*. No. 86 of Ś 1408 (1st Nov. 1484) is a donation by Valāṇḍi, the daughter of one Ānai Mādi a dancing woman going round the streets in front of the procession on days when the God is taken out in procession. She paid 300 *paṇam* for some food provision on the thirty days of the month of *Mārgaḷi* when



a part of the *prabandha* called *Tirupalli Elucchi* is to be chanted. There is nothing said about applying the money for purposes of agricultural improvement. No. 8<sup>s</sup> of Ś. 1410 (12th August 1488) comes from the Gōvindarāja shrine. This is a document of some importance. It is an agreement with one Vignēśvara, Sri Rāma, described as Tirunīraiyūr Udaiyān, which means the particular hereditary temple accountant of the time. This accountant is said to have made an image of Raghunātha (Rāma) for worship by Rāmānuja (in this case, the image of Rāmānuja in his shrine), and provided for two food-services to this image of the deity. These two were to be in the name of *Mannār Pillai* and *Kumārār Narasaiyan*. He also provided for food services during a number of festivals both in the hill shrine and for Gōvindarāja. He provided further for a water-shed at the head of the first series of steps up the hill (*ēṇṇam*). He paid the money for getting a canal brought in with its head on the borderland of Parittiputtūr, to the temple village of Tiruvēngadanallūr, to bring dry lands on the outskirts of the village under wet cultivation, from the income of which these provisions had to be made. Among other provisions were five food-services on the birthday asterisms of *Sōttai Tiruvēngadattaiyangār's son*, (the name gone); *Mannār Pillai* on the day of his birth-star *avittim*; *Narasaiyan* on his birth star *Punarpūśam*; Sri Rāman apparently himself on his birthday asterism *Svāti*. He further provided for festivals on twelve important days in the year which are specified, and a number of other festivals for the new image of Raghunātha also. He also provided for money payments for a certain number of people, and, among these money provisions, happens to be the pay of the man in charge of the water-shed at the head of the large flight of steps of the hill. There is an elaborate list of donor's share of the food for their services. The points of importance coming for notice in this are that the donation was made by one who belonged to the family of hereditary temple accountants. The name of this particular individual is Vignēśvaran Sri Rāman, which should normally mean Sri Rāman, son of Vignēśvaran. Among the persons mentioned here are *Mannār Pillai* and *Kumārār Narasaiyan*; they look like two separate names, and this is confirmed by two separate birth *nakshatras* given to them in the latter part of the document. There was an officer of eminence with the name *Mannār Pillai*, and a brother *Appā Pillai*. This is probably the person meant although his name comes before that of the Prince. The compound would mean in that case 'the excellent one, the

king'. The second name would be Narasaiya, who is Kumārār or prince. It does not seem impossible that the donor meant that the merits of this benefaction should be shared by the king and the prince. He seems certainly to have been attracted to the prince, as he went the length of calling the canal that he dug at considerable expense, Narasaiyan *kāl* in the name of the prince. So it seems clear that the prince bearing the name Narasa came to be marked off with distinction during the life-time of his own father, although we are not sure as yet whether he was the eldest. The next one, No. 89 of Ś. 1410 (1488 A.D.) was an agreement with one who is named Annaiyāryachakravartigaḷ Śrī Rangarājar Alahiya Manavala Dāsar. This is provision for a food-service on the monthly asterisms of the birth of Bhattarpiṇān Jiyar which is said to be *Punarvasu*. This service was to be also on the days of the flag-hoisting and the seven festival days in the hill temple. He paid 2,000 *paṇam* for these food-services. The distribution of the *prasāda* is provided for as usual. We pass on to No 95 of Ś. 1413 (27th June 1491). This is an agreement with one Jiyar Rāmānuja Aiyar, whose secular name was Pāṇḍi Vēngadāturaivar. He paid 2,000 *paṇam* into the temple treasury for a number of food-services during the year. It is directed that the amount deposited should be applied to the improvement of the irrigation resources. Among the number of provisions of food-services is one for carrying the food from the temple to the *Akāṣaganṇā* for distribution among the *s'ānattār* and others. It is also provided that, on this particular festival in the hill shrine, the work of Tiruvēngada Māhātmyam written by the donor should be read out before the God. No. 96 of Ś. 1413 (28th December 1491) is an agreement with a member of the Tirucchukanūr *Sabhā*, Aravaṇai Perumāḷ Dāsar Ilayaperumāḷ Appaiyan. This provides for a number of festivals during which food-services were to be provided for. Incidentally it is mentioned that he had a *maṇṭapa* constructed in front of his own house. There is also mention of a shrine for Hanumān to which the God had to be taken on the new-moon day of the month of Thai. The whole provision made for this is 4,000 *paṇam* to be applied for the improvement of irrigation resources. The usual distribution of the *prasāda* is also provided for. The next record No 100 of Ś. 1414 (21st December 1492) is an agreement with one Timmaṇa, son of a member of the Tirucchukanūr *Sabhā*. He paid 300 *paṇam* into the temple treasury for a number of food-services on festival days specified. He paid 3,000 *paṇam* into the temple treasury for this purpose to

be applied again for the improvement of irrigation resources. The next one, No. 101 of Ś. 1415 (15th June 1493), is an agreement with one Tammaiya, son of the Bhaṭṭa Dhattrirāja of Guṇakundai. This makes a certain number of food provisions for the image of Nrsimha within the temple on the thirty days of the month of Mārgaṣī, and for other festivals mentioned. The amount paid is 300 *paṇam* to be applied as usual, and detailed provision is made for these. Incidentally there is an interesting reference to Van Śatagōpa Jiyar, who is said here to be the spiritual preceptor of this donor. This Jiyar and his succession of disciples come in for mention here as the recipients of the donor's share of the *prasāda*. The next is No. 102 of Ś. 1415 (30th June 1493). This is an agreement with Bhaṭṭarpirān Jiyar, a disciple of a Jiyar of the same name. He paid 200 *paṇam*, to be applied for the improvement of irrigation resources to provide for a food-service on the birthday asterism of his Āchārya. The food-service was to be rendered to the God, and subsequently to Uḍaiyavar, that is, Rāmānuja. The donor's share of the food was to be distributed among those in the shrine of the Uḍaiyavar. The next one No. 103 of Ś. 1415 (30th June 1493) is an agreement with Periya Naraśāmbā, the wife of Periya Timmarāja Uḍaiyār already referred to with various titles. She deposited 1,000 *paṇam* for a food-service on the flag-boisting day in a pavilion called Anandān Pillai, which had fallen into disrepair, and which she repaired at her own expense. She made an additional provision of 400 *paṇam* for food-service on certain other festivals. The whole of the sum of 1,400 *paṇam* ought to be applied to the improvement of the tank in the temple village of Koṟṟamangalam and from the increased income were to be rendered royal services in her name. The donor's share of the food was to be given to the Srī Vaishṇavas who looked after the garden of Anandān Pillai. The next one No. 104 of the same date is a donation by one Lakshmi Amman, sister of the same Timmarāja Uḍaiyār. She deposited 1,000 *paṇam* for one royal service as in the former case, and the amount was to be applied to the improvement of the tank in the temple village Tiramanēri. She also repaired the pavilion called Tirumaḷiśai Pirān, and provided for those who maintained the garden round it being given the donor's share of the food. No. 105 of Ś. 1415 (8th August 1493) coming from the Gōvindarāja temple is an agreement with two members of the Tiruchchukanūr Sabhā, Astigiri Nāthar, son of Periya Perumāl Dāsar Śōṭṭai Bhaṭṭar and another Alahappirān. This makes provision for a certain number of services of sweet-cakes on

a certain number of specified days, for which he paid 200 *paṇam* to be applied for agricultural improvements. There is incidentally mention of a Chitrakūṭa maṅṭapa in Tirupati, probably in the Govindarāja temple. The next one is No. 106 of Ś. 1415 (19th August 149 ). It is an agreement with one Emberumānār Jiyar, who was the superintendent of the temple and looked after the flower garden named Pērarulālar. This is an interesting document. It refers to the free gift of a village on the south bank of the Kāveri in the Tiruvārūr division in Uyyakkoṇḍasōḷa Valanāḍu. This belonged to the western division and was part of Tirumihai-chūr, sub-division. The name of the village was Maruttuvakkudi. Of the same Chōlamanḍalam, there was another village called Vāḷaikkulaichēri. These two villages he got granted by Kōnēri Rāja, the divisional officer, for food-services in the temple at Tirupati in the name of the said Kōnēri Rāja. The donor's share of the food-service was to be received by those who looked after the Pērarulālar flower garden in Tirupati.

Nos. 107 and 108 both of the year Ś. 1415 (Aug. and Sept. 1493) are two benefactions in the usual form by one Yatirāja Jiyar and Periyā Perumāḷ Dāsar Ariyālaya Mudaliyār Appaiyan. There is nothing noteworthy about them. No. 109 of Ś. 1415 (17th October 1493) is by Kumāra Tāta Aiyangar. He is described as the son of Soṭṭai Tirumalainambi Tiruvēngāḍa Aiyangar of the Saṭhamarshana gōtra and Āpastamba Sūtra. He deposited 3,500 *paṇam* for a number of services of sweet-cakes both for Srīnivāsa and Gōvindarāja. He also paid another 1,500 *paṇam* for a number of services of sweet-cakes both for Srīnivāsa and Gōvindarāja. He also paid another 1,500 *paṇam* for a royal food-service in the name of his disciple Kumāra Kulaśēkhara Mēdini Rao Timmanāyaka. Among other services included in this is one food-service, in a pavilion that he himself built in Tirupati, on a particular day for the beginning of the recital of the *Prabandha*. This large sum was to be applied in the same manner as others for the permanent improvement of the irrigation facilities of the temple lands and the service to be rendered from the income thereof. No. 110 of S. 1415 (8th January 1494) is a benefaction by one Araiyaṅga Dāsar Ānda Perumāḷ Sokkaṅgan, a member of the Tiruchānūr Sabhā. He made provision for certain food-services both in the hill shrine and the temple below in the name of his elder brother Malaiyaṅgan. He deposited 1,080 *paṇam* to be applied as usual for the purpose of this service. There is a reference to the temple of Baghunātha in Lower Tirupati and a

part of the town called Sokkarkoḍi, probably the end of a street or some other point of importance in the town. No. 111 is of S. 1415 (8th January 1494). This is a record that comes from the Gōvindarāja shrine and refers to the deposit of 1,240 *paṇam* by two members of the assembly of Tirucchānūr. This refers to a *maṅṭapa* built by these people to which the God was taken on certain occasions. No. 112 of S. 1415 (10th February 1494) is a benefaction by a *Seṭṭi* merchant of Tirupati. His name is given as *Kulattulā Pudōli Alvār Venkata Setty Nārāyaṇan*, which would mean of course Nārāyaṇa Setty, son of Venkata Setty. He apparently belonged to a place indicated by the first name, and the second name *Pudōli Alvār* refers to a Vishṇu shrine in *Pudōli* in the *Nellore District*, where one of the *Yādavarāyas* built a Vishṇu temple in a previous generation; which would mean that this *Seṭṭi* family migrated from there and settled in Tirupati. This refers to a deposit of 600 *paṇam* for food-services on certain festival days. The next one is No. 114 of S. 1415 (9th March 1494). This refers to a donation by an accountant of the temple, Nārāyaṇan, son of Anantapāla. He is described as of the same family as that of the hereditary accountants. He is said to have built a *maṅṭapa* in front of *Sri Karaṇan Maṭha* in a street called *Mēṭṭu Maṭham Street*. He paid 200 *paṇam* for ten sweet-cakes services. The money was to be applied as in other cases. The usual distribution of food is also provided for. No. 115 is by two accountants of the same family. This refers to a deposit of 401 *paṇam* to be applied as usual for a certain number of services. Among them is an interesting one in which the God on the hill shrine is said to have heard the *Kaiśikapurāṇam* read. It also makes provision for food-services to *Ponmēynda Perumāḷ*, *Narasinga Perumāḷ*, and *Adi Varāha Perumāḷ*. The first one probably has reference to *Srinivāsa* of the main shrine, the *vimāna* of which was covered over with gold more than once, as was already stated. Of course, as usual, it makes provision for services on a certain number of festivals both in the hill shrine, and in that of Gōvindarāja. No. 116 is of the same date. This seems to refer to a donation by two accountants of the temple and alludes to a *maṅṭapa* built by their grand-father in Tirupati. A deposit of 602 *paṇams* was made to be applied as usual, from the income of which the expenses had to be met. No. 117 is an agreement with four people, who seem to have been of the family of the accountants of the temple. This is a donation in favour of the Gōvindarāja shrine, and the record itself comes from there. It was a deposit of 219

*paṇam* to be applied as usual for a certain number of services on the birthday asterism in the month of *Panguni* of *Kumāra Tāta Aiyangar*, their spiritual preceptor. No. 118 of the same date is again an agreement with one of the temple accountants for a provision on the day of opening accounts on the first day of *Āḍi* that is, *Dakṣiṇāyana day*. It has reference to *Gōvndapperumāḷ* being taken to the shrine of *Tirumangai Ālvār*. This is also from the *Gōvndarāja* temple. He made the deposit to be applied as usual for services when the God should be taken out to a *maṇṭapa* on the banks of a new tank in Tirupati. Record No. 128 of S. 1446 (8th July 1494) refers to an agreement with the well-known *Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyan*, the superintendent of the feeding house. It refers to a village granted to him by the *Rāyar*, that is, the ruling sovereign of *Vijayanagar*, which is said to have been situated in *Koṇḍavāli Śīrmai*, where he is said to have constructed an irrigation tank which he called *Ayōddhirāma Samudram*, which he made over for the benefit of the hill shrine, the *Gōvndarāja* shrine and the shrine of *Kulaśēkhara Ālvār*. This was to be applied for a number of services, and the distribution of food is also provided for, the charity house figuring prominently in it. No. 130 of S. 1416 (24th December 1494) is a benefaction by a *Saraṇu Setṭi*, son of *Tirumalai Thammu Setṭi*, a resident of *Narasingarāyapuram* in Tirupati. It refers to a *maṇṭapa* built by him in *Narasingarapuram*, the God being taken over there on certain festival days. The deposit was 480 *paṇam* to be applied as usual, from the income from which the expenses of the service should be met. No. 131 of S. 1416 (28th December 1494) refers to a deposit of 2,000 *paṇam*, and is an agreement between the *stānattār* and the *Pillai Tiruppaṇi Bhandāram* which would mean the office of the works; but the term *Pillai* is not clear in this connection unless it be a second office, somewhat like a sub-office. This refers to two food-services in the name of one *Lingāyamma* and *Nāgappa Udaiyār* which hitherto were being conducted on payment of cash every year. Now they were transmuted into a permanent service by the payment of the deposit which was to be applied as usual, the expenses of the service being met from the income. No. 132 of S. 1416 (10th Jan. 1495) by certain residents of *Paramēśvaramangalam* refers to a deposit of 300 *paṇam* for various services in the hill shrine and the one below. The usual distribution of food is also provided for. No. 133 of S. 1417 (1st July 1495) by the famous *Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyan* is an important document referring to *Immadi*

**Narasimharāya Mahārāja.** This was an effort at renewing and renovating the jewels, silver and gold vessels etc., both in the hill shrine and in the Gōvindarāja shrine in the name of Inmādi Narasimharāya. Rāmānuja Aiyan undertook the expenses of it from out of the savings of the villages granted by the king for the Kulaśekhara shrine and the *Rāmānujakūṭas* at Tirupati. The income from the town of Narasingapuram built by Rāmānuja Aiyan in the name of the sovereign, the income coming from the *sandai* (village bazaar), *makamai*, taxes and *kuttakai* (rent), and from the savings from various other services under these. He was made responsible for renewing these from time to time from these savings, and handing them over for service to the temple. An order was received to this effect. The details of how he managed to save 3,000 *paṇam* every year from out of various services to the temple are detailed. A number of food-services are specified from out of which he saved 1,000, and then he saved 1,000 from the income of Narasimharāyapuram, and another 1,000 from the improvement that he effected in the villages made over to him by the Rāyar for the purposes of the *Rāmānujakūṭa*. With these savings the repairs and renovations were effected, and the agreement was entered into making him and his successors responsible for this duty to the temple. The next one No. 134 of Ś. 1417 (31st August 1495) is also an agreement with the same individual. It provides for a deposit of 6,000 *paṇam* into the temple treasury, to be applied for purchasing 4½ units of land in the Sirukkārvēṭṭai village, 1,300 *paṇam* to be applied for the improvement of *Rāmānujan Kālvāy* (previously constructed by him) and another 1,560 *paṇam* for another *Rāmānujan Kālvāy* to be newly dug up at Mallāpuram. From the income arising from these improvements a large list of services were to be provided for, one item constituting 92 sweet cakes services, four services of a pudding called *sukiyan*, and four pots of sweet drink, and a number more of services throughout the year. He deposited another sum of 500 *paṇam* to be applied for meeting similar other sundry services on the occasion of the *Tiruvadhyayana Utsava* on the 24 days in the pavilion *Rāmānuja* in the street called after Rāmānuja, and other similar services. The usual distribution of the donor's share of the food is also provided for. No. 135 of Ś. 1418 (26th Aug. 1496) is again by the same individual. This refers to Rāmānuja Aiyan's construction of a garden and an irrigation tank with a pavilion in the flower garden where he ordered a certain number of services. All this was within the

limits of Tiramanēri village. For a further service that he provided for, he acquired a *sarvamānya agrahāra* in the name of the deity and made it over to the temple, marking it off with boundary stones carrying the marks of Viṣṇu's disc. From out of the income from this a certain number of services were provided for, to be rendered to God in the *maṅṭapa* previously constructed. The bulk of the donor's share of the food was to be distributed among the occupants of the *Rāmānujakūṭas* through the *Dharmakarta* of the institutions. A certain number of cash payments were also provided for, about a dozen, most of them to people employed in the temple for various services in connection with the temple, followed by another list of a number of inferior servants. He is said also to have provided for service in the twelve *maṅṭapas* on the way to the temple from the Nāvalūru *maṅṭapa* of Kandāḍai Tiruvēngadattaiyan, for which a separate payment of 390 *paṇam* was deposited. No. 136 of S. 1418 (21st December 1496) is by Kandāḍai Appāchchiyār Aṇṇa. This is for a service on the days of ablution every fortnight of the God and the Goddess when a poem, an *Ulā* in Tamil, composed in honour of Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyan was to be read and heard, and a certain number of food-services rendered, for which Appāchchi Aṇṇa paid 1,00 *paṇam*. This sum was to be applied for the purchase of *sarvamānya* lands in the village Kadappēri in the Kalavaipparṇu of the Padaividurāja from their present owners, from the income from which the expenses of the service were to be met. The next one No. 137 of S. 1419 (3rd June 1497) is an agreement with one Periya Perumāḷ Dāsar, a bachelor *sanyāsi* in charge of *Pin-seira-villi* garden, and a disciple of Periya Perumāḷ Jiyar. He deposited 1,200 *paṇam* to be applied for the improvement of temple villages, the income from which was to be used for meeting the expenses of the installation of an image of Rāmānuja in the Raghunātha temple on the hill shrine, and for a food-service to Gōvindarājapperumāḷ. This was an agreement to last for ever, and to be conducted by his disciples in succession. No 140 is again an agreement with Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyan, the superintendent of the *Rāmānujakūṭas* and the golden treasury of Tiruvēngadanātha. This is a payment of 5,000 *paṇam* to be applied as usual, and from the income thereof provision had to be made for a daily service in his own name on his birthday, and for a certain number of other small services. The inscriptions that follow, twenty-five or thereabouts, are all of them imperfect and are of the same general character as those



previous. They do not contain anything of importance for special notice.

**Saluva Benefactions and their Character.** The inscriptions that we have so far considered of the period of Saluva rule in Chandragirirājya show us that the temples in Tirupati, both on the hill and below, were recipients of benefactions in large numbers from private individuals. These benefactions were generally of the character of services of various kinds to God in the shape of food-services, arrangements for festivals, or attention to other needs of the temples and temple life. For these services the means were provided in a form which seems almost deliberately planned to build up the resources of the temple permanently, and the expenses of the services were to be met from the income thus provided for. We are not quite able to see how exactly this came about; but we see it almost uniformly in the case of all benefactions when a fairly large amount is paid into the temple treasury generally with specific instructions to apply these to improve the agricultural condition of temple lands by the works of irrigation and other connected agricultural improvements, with a view to enhancing the income from the lands. Oftentimes this involves the donation of a much larger sum than perhaps would be needed for the particular services merely. There are a few instances, however, in which villages got to be granted directly or even smaller pieces of land. There are half a dozen villages granted by Saluva Narasimha, and just about three or four by other individuals, and these being classed as sarvamānuḡa, which involves the payment to the temple of not only whatever is due to the landlord as such, but also whatever may be due to the government from those lands. Neither Saluva Narasimha himself, nor the more important officials under him, were satisfied merely with these. They oftentimes provided the wherewithal to construct irrigation canals at their own expense and provide for other similar improvements as well. Apart from these, they also provided for buildings and other amenities attached to the one or other of the temples, and for improving the general amenities of town. The general form of these were large pavilions or maṅṭapas; the thousand-pillared maṅṭapa in the hill shrine near the front gōpura and a similar maṅṭapu in the street in front of the temple of Śrī Gōvindarāja alike were provided by officers of the Government. A certain number of feeding houses, particularly for Brahmans of the Vaishṇava persuasion and some even for others were built by various people, Saluva Narasimha

himself being responsible for some. Provision was made for supplying food here from out of the food-services to the temple, and this part of the administration was entrusted to one Kandālai Rāmānuja Aiyān, who seems to have enjoyed the confidence of the ruler himself and his administration. He was entrusted with the superintendence of these feeding houses and made responsible for the distribution of food in these. This person himself was largely responsible for some of these institutions which he had himself constructed and for others' benefactions, for providing the annual supply, generally by means of sarvamānya lands, or by providing the means for improving cultivation by transforming dry lands into wet lands by fresh irrigation works; and for building similar pavilions in salient points of the town for the God to halt on occasions of yātra ceremonies in which the images are carried round the town. One other special feature seems to have appealed specially; the building of tanks and wells and maintenance of flower gardens for services in the temple. We find a large number of these are mentioned, and Sāluva Narasimha himself and his queen are responsible for two such gardens; and Sāluva Narasimha himself had constructed one of the Kōnēris (hill tanks) in Tirupati and a number of mantapas or pavilions round these tanks and amidst gardens elsewhere. Others followed the example as well. Other prominent features of their benefactions also find mention. The steps leading up the hill seem to have been already in existence and in use, although we do not know actually when they were constructed. Sāluva Narasimha himself built the gōpura leading to the steps at the foot of the hill. Not far from it he built a shrine to God Nṛsimha, and between the two a big well or a tank. This Nṛsimha shrine was built in A. D. 1485, and the two Sanskrit ślōkas commemorating the event describe him as a Sārvabhauma, perhaps indicating thereby that he had assumed sovereign rule over Vijayanagar. It was one of his cousins Paryāta Rāja by name, who built a pavilion half way up the hill in the particularly steep part of the steps which goes by the popular name knee-breaker (mulangul murippan). This prince also provided for the supply of water in this particular mantapa. There is a similar reference to the provision of a pavilion at the end of the first series of steps which took one over the longest, and perhaps the steepest, part of the way. Among other minor works we find mention of several buildings, gardens and other features mentioned, which are ascribed to Rāmānuja himself and his contemporaries, according

to the *Itihāsamala*, which incidentally indicate that these works ascribed to Rāmānuja were not all of them altogether apocryphal.

**Other Benefactions of a Different Character.** Among the benefactions of private individuals we come upon a certain number which were instituted in honour of the ruler Saluva Narasimha himself, the heir-apparent, Imuadi Narasimha and even other prominent individuals, such as the administrative officer Mannār Pillai a prominent citizen like Kandaḍai Rāmānuja Aiyangar and a number of others. There is mention of the building of a temple to Raghunātha in Lower Tirupati in the shrine of Rāmānuja, as the deity worshipped by Rāmānuja habitually was Rāma or Raghunātha. Similarly we find a benefaction by which the image of Rāmānuja is installed in the temple to Rāma within the shrine on the hill which Rāmānuja himself is said to have set up. The mention of a flower garden on the way to Akāṣaganṇa, and called Kumāra Rāmānuja has its own tale to tell. This Kumāra Rāmānuja was the son of Tirumalai Nambi, Rāmānuja's uncle, and the *Itihāsamala* has the story that this young man, who predeceased his father, was engaged in the service of water to the temple from the *Akāṣaganṇa*. He made a garden which he called Rāmānuja in the name of the great Ācharya. That garden is under reference, and God is said to be taken on occasions of certain festivals to this garden, and on one festival even to *Akāṣaganṇa*. These details which are given in the pages above go to indicate that, with the advent of the Saluvas to power, the interest in the temple at Tirupati grew, the local rulers as well as the people sharing that interest equally. There are also records of two benefactions in the form of granting villages from the far off Tanjore District, one round about Tiruvarū and another near Mannārgudi.

**Absence of Reference to Vijayanagar Rulers.** Notwithstanding the details in which this interest is exhibited by the rulers, their officials and even private individuals there is not one mention of the rulers of Vijayanagar except perhaps reference to the institution like the *Bukkarāyan Sindhī*. Beyond that we do not come upon any reference to the persons actually ruling from Vijayanagar, which would be strange enough ordinarily but for the fact which we know that Saluva Narasimha began like many other officers, an officer of state, but gradually remained aloof perhaps because he disapproved of certain things at the headquarters particularly when emperor Mallikārjuna died and was succeeded by his brother

Virūpāksha. Even during the eight years of Mallikārjuna's rule there is no reference to him although we have a record of Mallikārjuna having exhibited anxiety in regard to the affairs of that portion of the empire which was under the control of Śāluva Narasimha. Those were days of anxiety for the empire through the activities of the Bahmani Sultans, and much more largely by the active extension of the influence of the Gajapati Kings of Orissa. As the Bahmani Kingdom grew weaker, the power and influence of these Gajapatis rose, and during the time of Śāluva Narasimha's active life, the preoccupation of the eastern half of the Vijayanagar empire was to dislodge the rulers of Orissa from their hold upon the coast districts extending all the way down from the Gōdavari at Rajahmundry right down almost to the banks of the Kāveri. Śāluva Narasimha's preoccupations were to counteract these influences to the best of his ability, perhaps even independently of the empire of Vijayanagar, at the same time keeping the Bahmani Sultans at arm's length at least in the intervals that they were in a condition to resume aggressive activities. This culminated when the confusion in the empire called for his intervention actively and he had to take over the administration to save the empire from dismemberment. The only echo that we get of it is his being described as a *Sārvabhauma* in the Sanskrit inscription relating to the temple of Lakshmi Nṛsimha he built at the foot of the steps.

**Immaḍi Narasimha and Kandadai Ramanuja Aiyangar.** But the inscriptions actually take us to the time of Immaḍi Narasimha and the year A.D. 1404. It is by a special order of this ruler, and with his approval, that Kandadai Rāmānuja Aiyangar was given the superintendence of the jewel-treasury of the temple on the hill and the commission to repair, renovate and even renew the jewels and vessels of gold and silver which were used in the temple service. This he undertook to do successfully by finding the wherewithal for doing it from out of the temple resources that he himself had to administer. He effected economies from among the various services for which he was responsible, utilised the savings that were already there by the benefactors having made provisions in excess, or because the incomes had increased in process of time. He also found a part of the money in the improved yields of the lands and villages that he had brought into cultivation by providing the irrigation resources for them. Thirdly he even secured tax-free lands either by gift or by purchase.

So then there was active royal interest in the temple which might perhaps be regarded as personal and devotional. Royalty in the person of Sāluva Narasimha and his successor, showed an active interest as they occasionally directed the administration of affairs in the temple in a few cases by written orders and by personal direction. During the course of this period therefore, the temple organisation which had already come into existence had more or less been perfected and made more efficient, and the temple resources developed to the extent of providing for all the needs of the temple fairly adequately.

**Two Acharyas Associated with Tirupati.** Before passing on to the next following period, the glorious age of Krishnadēvarāya for Tirupati, we shall have to consider two important names which tradition associated with the temple at Tirupati, namely, the Śrī Vaishṇava Āchārya VaṅṢatakōpa Jiyar as he is called in secular records, and the founder of the *Ahōbala Maṭha* of the Śrī Vaishṇavas; and the Madhva Āchārya, named indifferently Śrī Vyāsātirtha, or Vyāsārāyasvami. Tradition associates both of these with Tirupati; the first as one devoted to the temple of Srinivāāa, and as having rendered devoted service therein before he passed on from there to Ahōbalam from which he never returned. His was, according to Vaishṇava accounts a long period of pontificate at the head of the *Maṭha* that he founded, and lasting for a long period of sixty years during which the *Maṭha* came into shape and assumed its present position of importance.

**The Guruparampara Account of Van Satakopa.** According to the *Guruparamparā* accounts his long period of life was 1378 A.D. to 1460 A.D. That would mean the period covering the reigns of all the sovereigns of Vijayanagar from Harihara II right down to one half of the reign of Mallikārjuna. He would therefore have been just contemporary with Sāluva Narasimha during the first years of his rule as governor of Chandragiri. But the inscriptions in Tirupati during this period do not make any mention of his having been in Tirupati, or of his having done anything there. This absence of inscriptions may not altogether warrant the conclusion that he was not in Tirupati during the period, although it would seem strange that, having regard to the number of inscriptions relating to the benefactions of private individuals in the period that we have just covered, the name of this *Jiyar* and his benefactions should find no mention. He is said to have been

born in 1378 A.D. in distant Mēlkōṭṭai Tirunārāyaṇapuram, and received his education under his own father during the first twenty years of his life. It is after his twentieth year that he had to come down to Conjeevaram to complete his education under the well-known Āchārya Ghaṭikāśatam Ammāl who lived there. He is said to have gone from there to Ahōbālam, and it is after the assumption of the pontificate at the instance of the God there, that he really set out on his journeys, possibly to Tirupati pretty early. His stay in Tirupati therefore must have been in the early years of the 15th century, while yet the great Dēvarāya II was ruling the empire of Vijayanagar. The inscriptions relating to this period we have dealt with in the section previous to the one just completed, and the inscriptional records generally were so to speak comparatively fewer, and we noticed that the names of the rulers of Vijayanagar themselves figure but rarely in these records. But that has really no connection with the absence of any records mentioning the donations of the *Jīyar*. The absence of records of this *Jīyar* and his donations in Tirupati could perhaps be accounted for by the fact that, unlike secular individuals, this ascetic Āchārya did not care to commemorate whatever he did by way of service to the temple, in records, which might smack of self-glorification. That probably is the reason why we do not come upon records of his, perhaps with the additional reason that the system of recording every benefaction to the temple in the temple records themselves had not established itself quite so firmly as in the somewhat later period of Saḷuva rule.

**Van Satakopa in Saḷuva Records.** We have reference in three records of the period of the Saḷuvas in which this *Jīyar's* name comes in for reference. The first one is No. 83 of Volume II of the Dēvastānam Inscriptions, which is a record of a benefaction by the temple accountant who calls himself Nallār Angāṇḍai with the generic designation of these accountants in addition. This record comes from the Gōvindarājasvāmi temple, and is on the walls of the shrine. It refers here to a *maṅṭapa* or pavilion constructed in the front ya.d of the temple of Gōvindapperumāḷ, a pavilion which was constructed in former days by Van Satakōpa *Jīyar*. From the flower pavilion, he seems to have constructed also a pavement with a stone roofing over it which either remained incomplete, or had fallen into repairs by this time, that is, S. 1407 or A.D. 1483. This accountant paid 2,000 *paṇam*, took the *maṅṭapa* over as it was, completed the roofing and

arranged for a certain number of services. It details the festivals in which the Goddesses should be taken to this pavilion on a pretty large number of occasions in the year for various kinds of worship and services there. The next record is No. 101 dated S. 1415 (eight years later) corresponding to 15th June 1493. This refers to a benefaction by a Brahman of Guṇakkundaḷ by name Tammaiya, son of Dattirāja. He made provision for a certain number of festivals and services on a number of days in the year, and, among the recipients of the donor's share of the food-services, figures the line of disciples of Vaṅ Śaṭakōpa Jīyar, his own Achārya, which clearly would indicate that by this time the Jīyar had a succession of disciples among whom he also enrolled himself as one. By A.D. 1493 therefore Vaṅ Śaṭakōpa Jīyar had already established his reputation as an Ācharya, and could count upon a succession of disciples of his. The next record referring to him in this group is No. 112 in the temple at Tirupati on the hill, as the previous one. This document is an agreement with Nārāyana Śeṭṭi, one among the Tirupati *Nagarattār*, that is Śeṭṭi-merchants, son of Venkaṭa Śeṭṭi belonging to the village of Kulattulār and bearing the title Pudōli Ālvār. In the course of this document we come upon a reference to a pavilion (*maṅṭapa*) which goes by the name Vaṅ Śaṭakōpa, and it refers also to Brahman strangers being in residence in this pavilion. This record is of the S. date 1415 corresponding to A.D. 10th February 1494 by which time the Jīyar's reputation was high enough for somebody to build a *maṅṭapa* in his name, or it may be that he himself constructed the pavilion. But the point to be noted is that the *maṅṭapa* had already been established and festivals in connection therewith also had been instituted. So then we see that, from the inscriptional evidence itself, Vaṅ Śaṭakōpa Jīyar already a well-known personality, and had been associated with Tirupati in a way to indicate that he was resident there for some time and had rendered service which left memorials behind. But whether the actual dates given for his life above from the *Guruparampara* could be regarded as accurate, we shall consider when we come to the next period in which his association with Tirupati comes in for reference.

**Sri Vyasaraya.** In regard to the other Āchārya, Śri Vyāsarāyasvāmī we have no evidence in the records at all. According to a poetical work, a Champukāvya called *Śrī Vyāsayōgicharitam* by one ~~Śōmanātha Kavi~~, this Āchārya is said to have exercised a considerable amount of influence at the court of Saluva Narasimha

and was enthroned, with the greatest honour both by him, and by his successor-rulers of Vijayanagar. The claim has been put forward in his favour that he was done the honour of occupying the imperial throne and that he was given charge of the Tirupati shrine which he held for no less than twelve years. There is no reference whatsoever to any of these incidents in the inscriptions of this period as also in those of the period preceding.

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## CHAPTER II.

### THE REIGN OF VIRA NARASIMHARAYA.

Before proceeding to take up the inscriptions of Krishṇadēvarāya, we shall have to consider a certain number of inscriptions that are dated in the interval between the last known date of Immaḍi Narasimha in the previous volume, namely the year A. D 1504, and A. D 1509 when Krishṇadēvarāya actually came to the throne. The first inscription in volume III of the *Dēvastānam* Inscriptions comes from the *Tirumālāi śhrīnē* of Ś 1426 (A. D 4th Sept 1504). This is a grant by one Rāmanāyakar, son of Periya Ōbalanāyaka, described as Mahānayangar Āchārya, which would mean the great respected Nāyak of the empire. He seems to have held the chief command of the forces, and perhaps also the highest civil authority, during the reigns of the Śaḷuva rulers as well as their successors going down to Krishṇadēvarāya. This document refers to the grant of a village called Kūḍalūr from the income of which a certain number of services had to be rendered in the temple. These are food-services called *Nāyaka-Taḷigai* here which means perhaps the food-services usual to be rendered by officials of rank, and for a service of rice pudding (*Iḍḍali*) and for a perpetual lamp in the shrine of Raghunātha within the precincts of the hill temple. He brought royal authority for instituting these services, and granted the village of Kūḍalūr in Tirukkūḍavūr Nāḍu for irrigating which he constructed a canal from Ālipuram. He also granted one hundred cows for supplying the ghee for the perpetual lamp. The royal edicts referred to here must be an order from the ruling sovereign of Vijayanagar at this date actually, Immaḍi Narasa's reign, and this record belongs really to the previous volume. The next one of Ś. 1426 also (19th Sept, 1504) is an agreement of the *stānattār* with one Anusandhānam Tiruvēngāḍa Jiyar the keeper of the Tiruvēngādanāthan flower garden. He made provision for a number of services on various festival days in the year by a deposit of 12,000 *paṇam* to be applied for the improvement of irrigation tanks and canals in temple villages as usual. from the income of which the expenses of the services were to be met. There is nothing calling for any special remark in this record. The next one is of Ś. 1426 also (A. D. 28th Oct. 1504). This is a

grant of 360 *paṇam* by a Rāmānuja Timmaiya Jiyar for certain services in his name. The amount deposited was to be applied as in the other cases. The next one is of . 1427 (A.D. 1st March 1506). This is a benefaction by one Dharmāpuram Sittāmu Śetti, a merchant resident at Tirupati. The donor belonged to the *Nagarattār*, resident in Narasingarāyapuram, a part of Lower Tirupati. It provided for a certain number of services on the fortnightly bath days of the goddess, for which he paid 3,500 *paṇam* to be applied for the improvement of irrigation resources of temple villages, and the income utilised for the purpose. One interesting reference in this is that, among the recipients of the food, after service to God, was the single man in charge of the Vaṅ Śaṅkōpar Maṭham which would mean that this Maṭham was founded by the first Jiyar of Ahōbala Maṭh, which had already been in existence and was placed in charge of a special bachelor. No. 5 of Ś. 1427 (A. D. 5th March 1506) is a deposit of 840 *paṇam* by one Uddaṇḍarāyar Ulahappār of Hārīta *gōtra* and Śatyāshāda *sūtra*. The amount was to be applied for the same purpose as before for an income to meet the expenses of the various services during a number of days in the year. No. 6 is of Ś. 1428 (12th Oct. 1506). This was an agreement of the *stānattār* with one Appā Piḷḷai, son of Karavaṭṭi Puliyālvār of the Kaṇḍinya *gōtra* and Āpastamba *sūtra* of Uttaramērūr, otherwise Mahīpālakula-kālacchēri. This Appā Piḷḷai made provision for four food-services in his name, and for the expenses thereof constructed, at his own expense, an irrigation canal with its head at the temple village of Pādi leading the water down to the village of Taṇḍalam to bring the hitherto uncultivated lands into cultivation. He made no money deposit. He provided also for the maintenance of two gardens, one called Mannasamudram-Tirunandavanam, and the other in his own name, for the maintenance of which he provided for the payment of 12 *paṇam* every month for the Vaishṇavas in charge. Probably all this expenditure was to be met from the new lands brought into cultivation. The next one No. 7 is of Ś. 1428 (30th December 1506). The donor was one Rāmānuja Aiyar, son of Śaṅkōpadāsa Narasingarāya Mudaliār. He paid 1,600 *paṇam*, of which 1,200 *paṇam* was to be utilised for services in his own name in the Tirumalai temple, and 400 *paṇam* for services in the Gōvindarāja shrine. This was paid in two parts, one half of the amount was spent for acquiring 1/3th of one half of the village called Munnaikkūḷi, otherwise Dēvarāyapuram, of which one half

already belonged to the temple. From the other half which was owned by Tiruvikrama Bhaṭṭa, son of Sarvagña Bhaṭṭa, he acquired  $\frac{1}{2}$ th share. The other half of his donation of 800 *paṇam* he paid in cash. The cash deposit was to be applied as in the other cases, and provision for the services made from the income accordingly. No. 8 of Ś. 1428 (19th May 1506) is by Uddaṇḍarāyar Ulahappār already referred to in No. 5. But he is described as the resident of Tiruveṅṅainallūr, obviously the well-known place of the name in the South Arcot District. It provides for services on a variety of days during the year, both in the hill shrine and in the Gōvindarāja shrine, for which he made a deposit of 680 *paṇam* into the temple treasury to be applied for improvements as usual. The grant was specifically made to be perpetual. No. 9 of Ś. 1428 (4th September 1506) is again by Appā Piḷḷai already referred to in No. 6. He is said to have built a pavilion in the midst of a tank in front of the kitchen of Gōvindarāja Perumāḷ to which Gōvindarāja was to be taken on certain festival days. A number of other provisions for festivals during the year is also provided for. He is said to have paid into the treasury, on the date of the record, 3,080 *paṇam* to be applied for the improvement of the temple villages, and the income was to be applied for the purposes of these services. The next one No. 10 of Ś. 1429 (2nd June 1507) is again by Uddaṇḍarāyar Ulahappār and refers to a deposit of 1,200 *paṇam*. The amount was to be applied as usual and provided for a certain number of festivals. Among them figure Tiruvaḷi Āḷvān (Viṣṇu's discus) in the big front gateway tower of the Gōvindarāja shrine, and festivals to Raghunātha within the temple are also mentioned in this connection. No. 11 of Ś. 1429 (4th October 1507) is a donation of 8,305 *paṇam* by one Tippu Ṣeṭṭi, son of Dēva Ṣeṭṭi, one of the *Nagarattār* in Nārasingapuram. It provides for services and a number of festivals, and, among them, we come upon the Vaṅ Ṣaṭakōpan *Maṅṭapam*. It provides for a pretty large number of services in which figure almost all the Gods and shrines in Tirupati including the pavilion of Kumāra Rāmānuja. There is also an elaborate list of distribution of the *prasāda*, to various parties. No. 12 is a mere record of the invocation of blessings upon the donor and writer of the record. Properly speaking this should form a part of record No. 11. No. 13 comes from the Gōvindarāja shrine of Ś. 1430 (18th July 1506). This is again a donation by Appā Piḷḷai. This donation of 7,800 *paṇam* was deposited by this officer for the benefit of the Gōvindarāja shrine.

It makes provision for a swing festival to Gōvindarāja for the spiritual merit of Vīra Narasingarāja Mahārāja. This is dated the month of July, 1506, just about a year after Vīra Narasingarāja's accession to the throne. The money was to be applied as usual for the improvement of the irrigation resources, and provides an elaborate list of the occasions in which various services have to be rendered, and mentions incidentally certain works carried out on behalf of the temple by this very general. For instance here is a reference to the pavilion in the middle of the tank which Appā Pillai is said to have himself built. There is an equally elaborate list of distribution of the food after the festivals, and there is a further list of articles wanted for this new festival as also a certain number of money disbursements to various people connected therewith, all of which is provided for with punctilious care. This service was to be, as several other services connected with the temple, perpetual. No. 14 is as usual an agreement of the temple with a Vaishṇava resident of Tirumalai by name Ulahappar, son of Uddandarāyar of Hārīta gōtra and Satyāshādhā sūtra. This is provision for a service in his own name, another in that of his elder brother, Nallaṅgan, and an elder sister Anantā, and provides for a certain number of services. There is incidentally a reference to a street in the name of Kumāra Rāmānuja Aiyān, who, we already referred to as the son of Tirumalai Nambi and the maternal cousin of Rāmānuja. There is nothing else of particular importance to note in this record. It contains as usual the arrangements resulting from these services instituted. No. 15 is an agreement with two people, Rāmaiya and Timmaiya, sons of Narasingarāja Mudaliār, apparently brothers, and Vaishṇavas of the locality. This is provision for a certain number of services in their own name. Among them is one which relates to a pavilion built by these. There is also a reference to a festival in which the God is taken to the pavilion in the midst of the tank built by Appā Pillai to which there is a reference in the previous record. Then follows an elaborate list of the arrangements for which a deposit of 1,900 paṇam was made to be applied in the first instance for the improvement of the temple lands. Further down the record there is a reference also to a maṅṭapa constructed by Appā Pillai within the precincts of the temple of Gōvindarāja. So Appā Pillai's services were elaborate in Tirupati. No. 16 of Ś. 1430 (31st Oct. 1508) is a benefaction by the Kōmaṭis of the locality headed by Pachohai Lingi Setti as he is called, of the Paulastya gōtra. It is an elaborate list of services instituted by

various members of this community, each one for his own spiritual merit, and some for the merit of the community as a whole. There is reference in the course of the document to a special pavilion constructed by this community in the midst of the flower garden *Malaikkiniyaninrān*. There is also reference to a *maṭha* of the same name, which is described as belonging to this community. The total amount of the donation is 5,030 *paṇam* to be applied as usual, and the expenses of the services were to be met from the income thereof. The usual elaborate list of distribution follows. No. 17 is of date S. 1431, which would be equivalent to A. D. 1509, and seems to be a record of the construction of a Hanumān shrine and its consecration by Karavatti Puli Alvār. This is the name by which the father of Mannār Pillai and Appā Pillai was known. This brings us to the year of accession of Krishṇadēvarāya.

**The General Character of the Records of the period:** The period covered by these few records relates to the reign of Vira Narasimharāya, the elder brother of the great Krishṇadēvarāya. The period of the Sāluvas lasted from A.D. 1485 to A.D. 1504 or even A.D. 1505, in the middle of which year Immaḍi Narasimha's rule came to an end. The history of the period, and the actual manner in which the rule of Immaḍi Narasimha came to an end are alike shrouded in uncertainty and doubt. Immaḍi Narasimharāya, otherwise known as Dharmarāya, succeeded his father, who, while expressing anxiety that his son should succeed, prudently entrusted the administration to his tried general and friend Narasā Nāyaka. Narasā Nāyaka seems to have carried on the administration in the name of the prince till the year A.D. 1505. When Sāluva Narasimha died, he apparently left Immaḍi Narasimha and two other sons, and the murder of the princes recorded in Nuniz' narrative would seem to imply the murder of the two princes other than Immaḍi Narasimha who could have been by no means children. Whatever may have been the motive which brought about this murder, whether it be with the object of discrediting Narasā Nāyaka implicating also Immaḍi Narasimha or not, Immaḍi Narasimha's rule lasted from A.D. 1492 to A.D. 1505, the actual administration having been carried on, with the advice of Narasā Nāyaka. How Immaḍi Narasimha's rule actually came to an end, whether he left any heirs to succeed him or not, remain shrouded in doubt in the material so far made available to us for this period of Vijayanagar history. A study of the inscriptions of the period does not seem to give us any authority

for, or even lend colour to, the assumption that Narasā Nāyaka did anything which could justify the charge of his having usurped the Vijayanagar throne. He seems to have carried on the administration as before on behalf of Immadi Narasimha so long as he lived, and perhaps in the interest of his children if any when he died. Anything that would savour of the assumption of imperial authority we do not find associated with Narasā Nāyaka. It seems to be Vira Narasimha that assumed the imperial titles, and thus became real usurper if he should be so called. Whether he did so by any untoward act against the princes or because the ruling dynasty came to an end, is again left in doubt; but there seems to be comparatively little doubt about his assumption of authority, and, perhaps the manner in which he did it, made people believe that he usurped the throne, and that perhaps was actually the cause of the rebellions and discontent during his reign.

**Vira Narasimha's Reign.** From all we are able to see, his accession to the throne was the signal for a general rebellion in the more distant provinces, and Vira Narasimha had to exert himself to bring the powerful officers and governors back to allegiance to him. He seems fully to have succeeded except for the region round Kānchi and the territory of the Ummattūr chiefs, who held high authority under Vira Narasimha. Vira Narasimha's reign therefore, beginning A.D. July 1505 and coming to an end in March to A.D. 1509, was a period of disturbances and turmoil, although, on the whole, he maintained the position of the empire except for the two regions already referred to. Of course the northern frontier against the Bahmani kingdom must have been uncertain, and the aggressions of the Orissa rulers must have continued as well. Krishnadēvarāya succeeded about that time, between April and July A.D. 1509, and the earliest records we have of him refer to date October-November A.D. 1509. The earliest inscription referring to him in Volume III of the Dēvastānam inscriptions belongs to date 7th April 1511, almost two years after his accession to the throne actually. The only reference to Vira Narasimharāya among the Tirupati inscriptions is in an inscription relating to Appā Pillai's benefaction of date 18th July 1506, just about a year after his accession to the throne. There is nothing in these inscriptions to indicate that he either visited Tirupati, or did anything else to the shrine worthy of record in the temple. The records in Tirupati of the time of Saluva Narasimha generally do not make any reference to the

emperors for the time being. Inscriptions relating to the period of Inmaḍi Narasimha and Vira Narasimha do make occasional reference to the emperors, as we have noted already references to both. With the coming of Krishṇadēvarāya to the throne, we seem to enter altogether upon a new era. Krishṇadēvarāya shows himself to be a great devotee of the God at Tirumalai, and not only paid as many as six visits, perhaps possibly seven, but he also made large numbers of rich donations to the temple to indicate his faith in, and dependence on the deity on the hill.

**Similarity of Character of the Benefactions in this period to the one Previous:** The records of this period may be said to be of almost the same character as those of the previous periods, except for the difference that there is a much larger number of benefactions by royal officers; the rulers themselves are brought into connection indirectly, and sometimes even directly. The benefactions are mostly for services in the temple, and deposits of money are made on the same principle as hitherto with an eye to making temple lands more fruitful and yield more, so that the rise in the income may meet the expenses of the new services. There are a certain number of references to buildings which are as before generally of the nature of pavilions, gardens, etc. The indirect references to Vaṅ Śatakōpa Jiyar, the founder of the Ahōbala *Maṭha*, is one new feature, the interest of which is enhanced by the mention during this period of this Jiyar's *Maṭham*, of a *maṭṭana* or pavilion in his name, and of a garden, which taken together would indicate that he did spend a part of his time in Tirupati, and in a comparatively influential position either for carrying out these works himself, or inducing people to carry them out in his name. Notwithstanding the traditional association of the Madhvāchaārya, Śrī Vyāsarāya, we have noted already that the Dēvastānam inscriptions do not lend support to the residence of the Vyāsarāyasvāmi in Tirupati during this period, although his namē comes in for mention later. We shall have to consider again these two *Svāmis* in connection with Tirupati under Krishṇadēvarāya.

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## CHAPTER III

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### TIRUPATI UNDER KRISHNADEVARAYA.

**The Conditions of the Empire under the Saluva Rule.** We now pass on to a glorious epoch in the history of Tirupati as we get into the reign of the great emperor Krishṇadēvarāya of Vijayanagar. The Dēvastānam inscriptions themselves give ample evidence of the great devotion of the ruler to the holy place and the deity enshrined therein. The devotion was so personal and intense, that the interest of the ruler in the well-being of the temple, as an institution catering to the religious needs of the people, is thrown completely into the background. It is hardly necessary to enquire whence came this great devotion of Krishṇa to Tirupati, an interesting question perhaps not coming exactly within the sphere of the shrine at Tirupati. The circumstances under which Krishṇadēvarāya became emperor, and the very critical character of the time in the history of the empire, might provide some explanation even for this personal feature. We noted already that Sāluva Narasimha ruled the empire for seven to eight years, and passed away without any formal declaration as to his assumption of the empire. He seems to have remained content to carry on the administration without formally proclaiming to the world that he had assumed the position of Emperor. But the son had none of the considerations making for this delicacy of feeling, and Immaḍi Narasimha, when he succeeded to the throne, gave himself the full designation of the ruler of the empire. He could not have been the child that the Portuguese chronicler Nuniz's statement would make us infer. He must have been a man already; but that does not detract from the anxiety that the dying ruler felt for the safety of the empire, and his having given over charge of affairs to his own trusted lieutenant Narasā Nāyaka. The murder of the princes, not children again, must have been due to intrigues by parties unfavourable to Narasā Nāyaka's supreme position. Narasā Nāyaka managed to tide over these crises, and carried on the administration in the name of Immaḍi Narasimha, the Sāluva Emperor. When the Sāluva ruler died in his turn, Narasā Nāyaka was left in possession of the full power as the supreme head of the administration. But there is nothing in the documents



available to us to indicate that he assumed any of the titles and distinctions characteristic of the actual position as emperor. It seems likely that during the short period that he had to conduct the affairs of the empire after the death of Immadi Narasimha and before his own, he had hardly time to have come to a decision or it may be that he had taken a decision to carry on the work of the empire without making himself objectionable by an act of usurpation. But whatever it be, we have no authority in the documents to infer that he assumed the titles of empire to be called legitimately a usurper. Whatever qualms Narasā Nāyaka had against the assumption of the imperial power, his son, when he succeeded the father in the important position, had none of those considerations of policy and perhaps even of loyalty; and so Vira Narasimha, son of Narasā Nāyaka assumed full imperial titles, and thus definitely made himself usurper. That perhaps was the reason why his short reign, extending from about the middle of 1505 to the middle of 1509, was a period when all the more important governors of provinces were up in arms against him, and he had hard work to do to bring them back to allegiance with very considerable success. But even so, he left the empire in a condition to cause anxiety to those who were responsible for its maintenance and rule. Vira Narasimha left very young sons, when actually the condition of the empire required a ruler of capacity to exercise his authority efficiently, and keep all the disturbing elements under control. As a matter of fact almost in every case of succession in the Vijayanagar empire, we have evidence of some kind of a dispute or other. It seems more or less due to this governing consideration, the need of a strong ruler at the head, and that was more emphatically so at this period.

**The Manner of Krishna's Succession made the Position more Anxious.** If the statement of Nuniz should be accepted as correct, Krishna did not come to the throne without fear of his title being called into question. As a matter of fact the story is told that the chief Minister, Sāluva Timma, was ordered by the dying Vira Narasimha that his grown up younger brother Krishna may be blinded in order that Narasimha's own children may succeed to the throne without any hitch as to the propriety of the succession, and that when Sāluva Timma actually attempted to carry out the commands of his master, Krishna dextrously managed to ingratiate himself with the powerful minister and escape the mutilation which otherwise would have been carried out. Whether this actually took place or not, we cannot say for certain. It was

likely that parental anxiety got the better of the needs of the empire in the dying monarch. Whatever the actual facts may have been, Krishna succeeded to the empire, which was hardly in a condition of peace internally; it had in addition two powerful neighbours, hostile to the interest of Vijayanagar, hanging over the northern frontier of the empire like dark lowering monsoon clouds, which might burst into a storm at the slightest provocation. The first of these was the Bahmani kingdom, somewhat distracted by its recent break up into five kingdoms, of which it was Bijapur and Gōlkonḍa that were really dangerous to Vijayanagar, sometimes Ahmadnagar next across playing a leading part. But the more active enemy at the moment happened to be the Gajapati rulers of Orissa who had been advancing gradually through the Telingana part of the Bahmani kingdom. They now advanced farther southwards, and had achieved a good hold upon the parts of the Vijayanagar empire almost as far down as the banks of the Kāveri along the coast, and perhaps even down to the foot of the plateau into the country of Kongu westwards. This they were able to do under Purushōttama Gajapati who had just died. He was succeeded by his son who goes by the name Pratāparudra II. Sāluva Narasimha, since the beginning of his career, had to battle against this advance of the Orissa rulers, sometimes aided by the Muhamadan rulers of the Bahmani kingdom, and it is this service to the empire that he rendered by keeping for thirty or forty years of his active life this enemy at arm's length that made a great man of him, as a benefactor of the empire and gave him the title to assume imperial responsibility, if not the name of the emperor. Neither under Narasimha I himself nor in the short reign of his successor, did the relation between the kingdom of Orissa and Vijayanagar attain to anything of a definitive character. So the problem of Vijayanagar in regard to its relation with Orissa and the Bahmani Sultans remained as uncertain and unsettled as ever before. Coupled with the disturbed internal condition of the empire under Vira Narasimha, this made the position of the emperor of Vijayanagar at the moment one of very heavy responsibility, and therefore wanted, in the ruler, a man of capacity and unquestioned authority.

**The Anxious position of Krishna as Emperor.** Krishnadēvarāya, the younger brother of Vira Narasimha, and the son of the great general Narasā Nāyaka through his second wife, as it seems, Nāgalādēvi, ascended the throne in succession to his elder

brother, a half brother, Vira Narasimha. Narasā Nāyaka had married not only these two wives, he seems to have had a third wife also and had two more sons, Ranga and Achyuta. They do not come into view here, as Krishna was the next man below Narasimha. Whether Vira Narasimha's children, or their friends, actually created any disturbance or not, Krishna was certainly on the throne, heir to the heavy responsibilities of the empire in a critical moment of its history. The first records of Krishna are dated in the July of the year A.D. 1509, Narasimha having died between May and July of the same year. There does not appear to have been much of an interval to justify the inference that there was a civil war or even a fight for the throne. The moment that he ascended the throne, Krishna had to make sure of the loyalty of the feudatories of the empire. Then he had to proceed against just one or two powerful chieftains, such as the Sambuvarāyans round about Conjeevaram, and the Ganga ruler of Ummattūr before he could think of what he should do in respect of his northern frontier. Nuniz has put it on record somewhat graphically that the anxiety of Sāluva Narasimha on his death-bed was the possession of Mudgal, Raichūr and Udayagiri by enemies; of course, at the time, the first two were in the hands of the Sultans of Bijapur and the last one in the possession of the rulers of Orissa. It was not merely a question of the possession of these key-fortresses, which in itself was certainly important; but it was something really more dangerous; namely, what exactly was to be the permanent relation between the two northern kingdoms, the Bahmani kingdom and Orissa, and the empire of Vijayanagar. This should have been plain to everybody with any responsibility for the welfare of the empire, and, if there had been any dispute in respect of the succession, and, if Krishnadēvarāya was actually chosen as a result of this dispute or discussion, it was wisdom's choice. Coming to the throne as he did in these circumstances, Krishna had to play his part in such a way as to justify the assumption of responsibility for the empire in the critical condition in which it was.

**The Main events of Krishna's Reign.** The sources of information for his reign are various. The number of inscriptions bearing on the particular period is large. There is much more of evidence for Krishna's reign in literature, as he was both a writer himself, but, far more, a great patron of letters and the arts. Taking the evidence of all these sources as a whole, the following may be regarded as a true outline history of his reign. The first point to

call for attention immediately that he had succeeded, or, as soon as he felt sure of his succeeding his brother, was to enquire into the condition of the empire with a view to ascertaining the actual resources of the empire for one thing, and to assure himself of the loyalty of the great lieutenants of the empire, the governors of the various provinces, for another. Some of the sources which pretend to give a full account of his reign state it solemnly that he called for a muster, and saw to it that such irregularities as were current were put an end to, and the forces of the empire actually available brought up to the scheduled level of strength. The next thing that he had to do was to place the administration on a footing satisfactory for his going out on a long absence, if need be. The part of the empire which called for his attention first happened to be the southern frontier where the Śambuvarāyans round Kānchi showed themselves restive, and the chief of Ummattūr who enjoyed a privileged position under the empire, seemed rather defiant of authority, probably having regard to the accession of the new ruler, Krishṇa. These had to be brought under control; and, more than this, such influence as that of the rulers of Orissa who had, as stated already, carried their conquests far down South India, had to be dislodged from such places where they affected to maintain a hold. Vīra Narasimha's efforts perhaps met with only partial success. As soon as this had been successfully done, and a further progress in the south showed on the whole he could depend upon the loyalty of these provinces, he made a progress from there upward through the Mysore plateau taking Srīrangapaṭām, Ikkēri on the way. By this such of them as may have had inclinations at all to disregard the authority of the empire, were brought back to allegiance. He is said to have gone further and assured himself of the loyalty of the regions which happened to be the bone of contention between Vijayanagar and the Bahmani kingdom. There seems to have been not much occasion for war of any serious character, and Krishṇa could return to head-quarters with the impression that the empire was on the whole sound. He therefore set about and arranged for a systematic campaign against the rulers of Orissa who still maintained their hold on the eastern part of the empire ever since the days of Śāluva Narasimha. The only other disturbing factor calling for attention was the establishment of the Portuguese in authority at Goa, thereby introducing an element of disturbance in the peaceful trade with the West, particularly in horses with Arabia and Persia. This trade was in the hands of the Muham-

madans; and while, in Virūpāksha's reign, the massacre of these traders in Honovar brought about a disturbance to the regular import of horses, the Muhammadan horse trade was a matter he could not be indifferent to. The advent of the Portuguese therefore was an event of importance from this point of view, and Krishṇa managed to come to a sort of a temporary arrangement. He received the Portuguese ambassador and directed negotiations with them some way without coming to any very definite understanding

**The war against the Gajapatis of Kalinga.** In the meanwhile preparations were going forward for his eastern campaign against the Gajapatis of Orissa. His first objective was Udayagiri, on which the Gajapati had acquired a firm hold. This meant not merely the possession of the single fortress, but a whole chain of fortresses northwards, the strong fortress of Koṇḍavidu, and, across the Krishṇā, Koṇḍapalli, and further northwards almost as far as Viṅḡapatani. This was to be a campaign of great magnitude even for the empire, and he felt that he must make adequate preparations and bring the relations between the empire and the aggressive power, to a definite understanding. He had to undertake three separate campaigns in regard to this, and gradually recover the fortresses one after the other in series. He went as far north as Simhādri not far from Vizagapatam, and erected a pillar of victory there and by threat of an attack on Cuttack and the destruction of his resources, compelled the ruler of Orissa to come to terms with him, entering into a definitive treaty sealed by a marriage of the Gajapati's daughter with Krishṇa. That settled, he could return to headquarters, having accomplished perhaps the most important part of what he felt to be his duty to the empire. He could now turn his attention undisturbed to the Muhammadan power in the north, and come to an understanding with the Portuguese. Having beaten back the Sultan of Bijapur from Raichūr, which he attempted to take, he settled matters satisfactorily by infusing respect for his power among the Muhammadan Sultans in the neighbourhood. All this was achieved in six or seven years, and the remaining period of his reign, he could devote to the normal requirements of administration and the satisfactory maintenance of a court and of a government. He had married pretty early in life and, almost at the outset of his reign, the two queens Tirumalādēvi, the queen proper, and Chinnādēvi. He married at least two more. We mentioned already the diplomatic marriage with the Orissa

princess, and there is a record of his having married another by name Annapūrṇa. This last marriage seems to have come about after the death of Chinnādēvi. For some years he had no sons, and at last the queen Tirumalādēvi became the mother of a son, some time in A.D. 1518, though unfortunately the prince died young, about A.D. 1525, in his sixth or seventh year. He seems to have had a number of daughters, perhaps not by the principal queen. The death of this heir seems to have unsettled him, and the last five years of his reign were somewhat disturbed and unhappy on this account, during which period the administration was carried on, in his name, by his brother Achyutarāya. He seems to have died in A.D. 1530 when Achyuta, as the next younger brother, succeeded to the throne. We stated already that he came to the throne in the middle of the year A.D. 1509, and he died about the end of the year A.D. 1530. It is just possible that he lived on for a few months in the following year, although it is not certain. During this reign of a score of years, he was able to place the empire on a satisfactory footing for permanence and settled administration.

**Krishna's visits to Tirupati.** Busy as the emperor Krishna-dēvarāya was during the first decade of his reign with administrative reform and the number of campaigns on which he had himself to lead his armies, he found time to pay as many as seven visits to Tirupati, on each one of which occasions he made presents and donations to the deity and to the temple quite worthy of the imperial visit. His first visit to the temple was paid in the year Amṛtasa on a date corresponding to the 10th February 1513. On this occasion he presented a crown (Kiriṭam) set with the nine gems, and twenty five silver plates for presenting lights of camphor to the God, on occasions of offering worship. He also presented in addition a chain, to be worn round the neck, of three strings and of very costly workmanship. The king made it a habit to make a record of the benefactions of his to the temple in inscriptions couched in popular language, and in all the scripts and languages current in the locality. His record of this first visit is in eight inscriptions, in Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, in their respective languages. He also made it a point to put up a record in Nandināgari characters, and one or other of these languages, generally Kanarese, or Telugu, probably intended for the edification of visitors to the temple from all parts of the country, north and south. On the same occasion he took with him, as he usually did, his two queens, Chinnādēvi and Tirumalādēvi. Tirumalādēvi



EMPEROR KRISHNADEVARAYA with QUEEN CHINNADEVI to his  
right and QUEEN TIRUMALADEVI to his left (To face page 55)



ANNOUNCING FESTIVAL

*(See page 64)*



was the crowned queen and Chinnādēvi was probably his special favourite. Her name occurs before that of Tirumalādēvi generally. It is probably this circumstance that led to the story retailed by the Portuguese chronicler, and believed in popularly, that she was a very pretty dancing-girl with whom he fell in love as a young man and took her into the harem when he became king. It does not appear to be true altogether. She seems to have been as much of a married wife as the other, and this story perhaps took its origin from one of the popular Telugu literary works bearing upon Krishnādēvarāya's history, *Krishnarājaviṣayamu*, which describes the two as *paṭṭapu bhārya* (the wife to be queen, Tirumalādēvi) and *bhogapu bhārya* (the wife for love, Chinnādēvi). Even in the matter of presentation to the God, Chinnādēvi's records occur first and Tirumalādēvi's records follow. Perhaps it was not regarded as making any difference. Each of these royal ladies presented a golden cup for presenting milk to the God after the late evening service was over. They were of the same weight and value and otherwise exactly similar, and this presentation by the queens is recorded in as many as twenty inscriptions of the same character as those of the King. The period of time at which this visit was made seems to coincide with that in which he had brought the administration of the empire into some kind of order and put it on a footing to enable his going out on his expeditions. We shall see that Krishna's visits to Tirupati seem intended more or less as thanks giving visits whenever he actually achieved something very satisfactory.

**The king's subsequent visits.** The second visit took place on 2nd May 1513. This time he seems to have gone alone, and was content to make a present of three small crowns for the God and His two consorts Sridēvi and Bhūdēvi for the smaller metallic images intended for being carried about on festive occasions. His third visit took place on a date corresponding to 13th June (1515). This time he granted, for the daily food-service that he instituted in his name, and the new annual festival in the Tamil month *Tai* (January - February) every year in honour of his parents, *Narasā Nāyaka* and *Nāgama*, five villages, the grants having effect from the month *Śrāvaṇa* (August - September) of the year. He is also said to have, on the same day, made a gift at *Kālahasti*; probably he made the grant from Tirupati alone. A long inscription recording this visit is inscribed in the *Paṭi Kānal Gōpuraṁ* in the third *prākāra* of the Tirumalai temple. It is a long record containing the usual *prāṣṭi* which we find in the coronation

inscriptions of Krishṇadēvarāya and later, and those of his successors. Krishṇa made the next visit, the fourth visit, on a day corresponding to 6th July (1514). Here for the first time occurs the historical details of his campaign against the Gajapatis of Orissa. The inscriptional records of this visit state clearly that he attacked the Gajapati at Udayagiri, and successfully turning his officers and army out from the e, took the number of fortresses northwards of this, till at last the enemy was driven to find shelter in the fortification of Koṇḍaviḍu. Having done that successfully, the king returning to his capital, and, on the way, paid, a visit to the temple at Tirupati. On this occasion he bathed the God in Gold (*Kunakābhīṣakam*) with 30,000 *varāḥas*. He also instituted certain daily offerings to be made, and presented for the expenses of this, the village of Tālapāka in Pottappi *Simē*. The donor's share of the *prasāda* was to be given in part to *Rangā Dikshitar*, and *Siya Dikshitar*, and the rest of it was to be made over to the superintendent of works in the temple to be utilised for the purpose of feeding the Brahmans in the *Chatras*, or feeding houses, in Tirupati. This time the queens accompanied him. The first *Chinnādēvi* presented an ornamental pendant and a necklace, and made a gift of a village called *Kudiyur* in the *Tondamaṇḍalam* for the daily offerings to God in her name. The donors portion of the food-service was to be made over to the superintendent of works on the same terms as before. *Tirumalā-dēvi*, for her part, presented also a similar pendant to the God and presented the village of *Pirāṭṭikulattūr* as it is called in the *Sholinghur* division. There is the interesting fact noted that the royal priest *Yegṇanārāyaṇa Dikshitar* of *Krishṇadēvarāya* also accompanied him and made a present of 10,00 *chakrams* for certain purposes, dated four days later. He was the son of *Rangā Dikshitar* mentioned above. Another set of four records in Tirupati introduces us to the emperor during his halt at *Vijayanagar*. During his stay there, he made a present of a *prabhāvali*, arched corona, to the God set with the nine gems. All these records in the different languages are dated 25th October 1515. These inscriptions recount his achievements against the Gajapati and the two campaigns that he had undertaken against him till now. The first incident is the occupation of Udayagiri, where he captured one of the noblemen-officers of the Gajapati in the person of *Tirumalai Rāhuttarāya*. Then he marched victoriously onwards taking the various forts between Udayagiri and Koṇḍaviḍu. Then he made a separate campaign against Koṇḍaviḍu, which was

besieged and taken by escalading the walls by putting up a stone-roofed platform covered over for protection, and took the fortress. There he took prisoner a number of noblemen and other officers, among them, the Gajapati prince Virabhadra. Then he went along with his queens to Dharanikōṭa, otherwise called Amarāvati, where, on the banks of the Krishṇā river, he performed the *Tulāpuruṣa*, weighing himself against gold, and distributing the gold among those eligible for the receipt of such charity, and performed also other charitable gifts through his queens Chinnādēvi and Tirumalādēvi, returning to Vijayanagar at the end of these ceremonial services. This brings one part of the campaign against the Gajapatis to close, and Krishṇa became possessed of the fortresses occupied by the Gajapati kings up to the banks of the Krishṇa. Among his early achievements in the course of these campaigns was the taking of the image of Bāla-kriṣṇa in Udayagiri when the fortress fell to him. He carried the image over carefully to Vijayanagar, constructed a temple for it at Krishṇāpuram village, and enshrined it there and granted a number of villages for the conduct of the necessary worship and the festivals in this temple. Apparently Krishṇa dēvarāya considered this quite a definite achievement of his in evidence whereof he assumed the new *birudas* of *Pūrva-dakṣiṇa Paścātima-Samudra-Adhīśvara*, *Yavanarāya-Stāpanācharya*, *Gajapati Vibhāḍa* which begin to appear from this time onwards. The first of these titles, which has since continued in the family, and, we believe, repeated even now among the titles of the Mahārājas of Mysore in their durbars, means that these Vijayanagar rulers were lords of the western, eastern and southern oceans. The second would involve a claim that Krishṇadēvarāya had established the *Yavana* kingdom which would mean the Muhammadan kingdom, in this context, and apparently refers to his achievements on the Bahmani frontier against Bijapur, and what follows next the breaking of the power of the Gajapati nobles, the destruction of the Gajapati's hold upon the fortresses and dependant districts south of the Krishṇa legitimately belonging to the empire of Vijayanagar. These titles have a historical significance, and were added to those usually found in documents previous to his time.

**Krishna's last three visits.** The next visit of Krishṇa was the fifth and took place on 2nd January 1517. This visit took place at the end of the Kalinga campaign against the Gajapati King. It begins with recounting the previous events up to the *Tulā-*

*puruṣa* at Amarēśvara referred to in connection with the previous visit. It begins thereafter with Krishna's starting on his expedition towards Kalinga proceeding first of all to Bezwada, taking possession of the strong fortress there in the Telugu Rājya either in possession of the Kalinga rulers, or well affected towards them, and reached Simhādri Poṭṭunūru, which he made his headquarters. Following the advice of his minister, he threatened the Gajapati with a destructive campaign up to the gates of Cuttack, at the same time successfully creating suspicions in regard to the loyalty of the Kalinga officers in the mind of the monarch, and succeeded in this manner (probably without much of direct battle or siege) to bring Pratāparudra to terms. In the actual circumstances of his position, Pratāparudra was called to accept the terms of the treaty which were certainly not hard by any means, and the treaty was sealed by the marriage of the princess of Orissa with Krishna, the Gajapati ruler making over all the territory taken from him, south of the Krishna, as her dowry. That was all that Krishna wanted, and, having succeeded in his ambition he entered into a permanent treaty, and planted a pillar of victory at Simhādri Poṭṭunūru in token of his victorious campaign, performed one of the series of his *Mahādānas* there and set forward on his return march to Rājahmundry. Here, he again made the *Mahādāna* gifts with his queens, Chinnādēvi and Tirumalādēvi and returned to Vijaynagar. It was after this that he paid a visit to Tirumalai, and presented this time a costly necklace and pendant along with 30 000 gold *varāhas* for gilding the *vimāna* over the sanctum called *Ānanda Nilaya*. He also made over to the temple treasury the tolls collected within the limits of what is called in the record, *Godagarnādu* apparently Kudavūrnādu in which Tirupati was situated, amounting to one thousand *varāhas*. This is set apart for the expenses of the weekly ablutio to the God. He also made another donation of the miscellaneous taxes relating to the same district to the amount of 500 *varāhas* for a morning service that he instituted, probably in his name. The record of his doings in Tirupati, and the recital of his exploits before, make it clear that the Kalinga war was over by the date 2nd January 1517. It must have been as a matter of fact some time since, and it gives us the details of the campaign against Kalinga which is in substantial agreement with the other sources. The granting of 30,000 *varāhas* for gilding the *vimāna* is an indication of his satisfaction at the glorious termination of his campaign, and this gilding of the tower over

the sanctum was completed before the 8th September 1518 in the following year. This was for the fourth time, according to available sources of information, that the *vimāna* was gilded. The *vimāna* or the tower over the sanctum, is known as *Ananda Nilayam* and was regarded as particularly holy. Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya in the middle of the fourteenth century had the *vimāna* plated with gold. He did similar service at Śrīrangam and in Chidambaram. The next man of distinction who did a similar service at Tirupati was the Vijayanagar officer *Saluva Mangidēva*, who played an important part in the campaigns of *Kumāra Kampana*, early in the history of Vijayanagar, and the next service was during the rule of *Saluva Narasa* by *Amātya-śekhara Mallana*. Since *Krishṇadēvaraya*'s benefaction towards this end, we have records of the gilding of the *vimāna* on two occasions, one by *Kōṭikanyakādānam Tāṭchāryar* of *Kānchi* during the rule of the Emperor *Venkata I*, and the next one quite recently in 1909 by one *Rāma Lakshmaṇḍas Bhāvāji*, a fellow disciple of the present *Srī Mahant*.

The next visit of *Krishṇarāya* took place on the 16th October 1518, which is about five weeks after the previous visit, and the happy occasion that brought him to Tirupati seems to have been the birth of a long longed for son to his crowned queen *Tirumalādēvi*. From the fact that there is nothing connected with this happy event in the records of his previous visit, it seems to be that the child was born after the date of these records, and that he should have taken his wife and the child again on a visit so early, after the event perhaps is an indication of the strength of his faith in *Srī Venkaṭēsa* and his anxiety for the welfare of the child. Perhaps it was not a personal visit made by the monarch to Tirupati, as the document recording this is in *Kamalapuram* near *Hampi*. The grant was probably made from there. It is the seventh, and perhaps the last visit, which took place on 17th February 1521. On this occasion he made a present of a *pitāmbaram*, set with nine gems, a cap set with pearls, gems, emeralds, and sapphires, two fly-whisks set with the nine gems, *padakkam* or pendant together with 10,000 *varāhas* in cash. The queen *Tirumalādēvi* who accompanied him apparently made the present of a pendant set with nine gems. This finds record in the inscriptions at Tirupati as usual in three or four languages, and that seems to be the last time that he visited Tirupati.

## CHAPTER IV

### INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REIGN OF KRISHNADEVARAYA.

We have so far taken into consideration the records of the benefactions of Krishṇadēvarāya and his queens at Tirupati which by themselves take up 54 inscriptions of the king and 23 of the two queens. We shall now proceed to consider the other inscriptions in the temple for the light that they throw upon the history of the shrine and its association with the empire. The first inscription which refers to the name of Krishṇadēvarāya is record No. 18 of Ś 1433 (7th April 1511) by the already well-known officer Appā Pillai for the merit of Krishṇadēvarāya. Of course, this Appā Pillai is described as coming from Uttaramērūr, and his parentage and other details are given as in the other records. This inscription records the grant of a village Vīra Kampanallūr in Āraṇi Śīrmai belonging to Murugamangalapparu in the Paḍaividu Rājya. The revenues from this village were to be made use of for a certain number of services on a specified number of days during the year. Among them happen to be his birthday, and that of his mother. It also refers incidentally to a mantapa constructed by him at the Champaka gate in the Tirumalai temple. Appā Pillai certainly was an officer of state. The following record, No. 19 of the same Śaka year equivalent to 25th December 1511, is by Lakshmi Ammaṅgār, the wife of Sāluva Timma Aiyangār, Pradhāni (minister), of the empire, and son of Rācharasar of the Kauṇḍinya gōtra belonging to the Yajus Śakṭhā. She paid 1,200 paṇam to be applied for improvements of irrigation facilities in the temple villages, the income from these being applied for the services instituted in her name. One interesting detail in this record is that a part of the donor's share of the food, after the service, was to be given to her son-in-law Appayya, who is described as the son of Nāridinḍla Timma Rāja. The next important document, No. 21 of Śaka 1433 (13th January 1512), is by the same Pradhāni Sāluva Timmarasa, son of Rāchirāja of the Kauṇḍinya gōtra and Āpastamba sūtra. He instituted a certain number of services to the temple for which he made the gift of the village of Parandalūr in Pottappinādu for a certain number, a comparatively large number, of services to the temple through the year both in

the hill shrine and in the Gōvindarāja shrine. Other interesting details noteworthy in the document are: a reference to the Appā Pillai maṅṭapa, where the God is to be taken on a particular festival when one of his services was to be rendered. In connection with another festival, his maṅṭapa is under reference, which would mean that he had a pavilion in his own name. Further down the document there is a reference to his flower-garden which was looked after by a Śattāda Vaishṇava, Śaingaiyan, for whom a part of the donor's share of the food was to be given. The next document is in three Sanskrit verses in the Gōvindarāja shrine, not on the hill, and states that Timmarasa presented a magnificent silk cloth (Pītāmbara) to God Śrīnivāsa. One interesting detail of this document is that Timmarasa is spoken of here as Martrīndra (Chief Minister) which we shall have to take as synōnymous with the term pradhāni in other documents. No. 23 is a document from the Gōvindarāja shrine of Ś. 1434 (27th June 1512). It refers to a cash deposit of a thousand paṇam by Mannār Pillai, we have already come across with as the brother of Appā Pillai for certain services to Tirumangai Ālvār and Gōvindarāja. Among the services happens to be one on his birthday. The money paid has to be applied, as in the other cases, for the improvement of temple lands. No. 25 of Ś. 1434 (14th July 1512) is a donation by Rāma Nāyaka son of Periya Ōbala Nāyakar. He is described as a Mahānāyangār Āchārya. He made over, as a dēvadāna a village called Śangodippalli in the Chittavolu Śirma of Euluhūrṇādu from the revenues of which a certain number of services was to be rendered, among them one on his birthday. The donor's share of the prasāda was to be used by the officer of works in the temple for feeding those in his own charity-house (Chatram) in Tirupati. Document No. 27 of Ś. 1434 is by an officer Tirumala Nāyaka. This refers to the grant of a village as a sarvomānya by the officer for a certain number of services through the year. There is reference in the document, which is damaged, to a Tirumalai Nāyakan maṅṭapam, probably a structure built by him. This maṅṭapam is under reference in respect of the next following document. The next one No. 29 is of date Ś. 1434 (20th December 1512). This is a donation by Mannār Pillai already referred to several times. This refers to a deposit of 1,200 paṇam to be applied as usual for a certain number of services instituted. There is nothing else of interest in the document. The next one is also by the same person and provides for a few additional services from the income of a deposit of 360 paṇam. No. 69 is a record of a

donation by Ginḍi Basavarāyalu, a servant of Krishṇadēvarāya. The record was indited under the king's orders. No. 88 of Ś. 1435 (8th January 1514) is by the commander-in chief Rāma Nāyaka already referred to. He made over 200 cows for the purposes of a milk service to the God overnight and for the supply of ghee, etc. One interesting particular in this is that a part of the donor's share of the food-service was to go to the feeding of those resident in the Rāmanujakūta of Rāma Nāyaka, which means Rāma Nāyaka had already a charity house of his own. No. 89 of Ś. 1436 (10th July 1514) is by Yegñanārāyaṇa Dikshitar, son of Ranga Dikshitar, Purōhit of Krishṇadēvarāya. He belonged to the Jāmadagnīya Vatsa gōtra, and of the Āśvalāyana sūtra, and he is said also to have celebrated the Sarvakratu, Vājapēya and Sarvutōmukha sacrifices. He was apparently the hereditary Purōhit as he succeeded his father who was also Krishṇa's Purōhit.

**Grants etc., by Private Individuals in Krishna's Reign.** No. 90 of Ś. 1436 (27th July 1514) is a private grant of a village Tivalaipūṇḍi in Kondavāli Śīrmai for three food-services to the God on the hill by a certain Nārāyaṇa, son of Tatvavādi Timmaṇayyan, a resident of Kampasamudram village. It is clearly stated in this case that the village should be accepted as a mānya village by the temple, and the income utilised for the purposes of the donation. The next document of importance is No. 91 of Ś. 1436 (17th August 1514). This is a grant of 240 paṇam by a bachelor Tiruvēngadāyyan, Manager of the Tiruvāli Parappinān Tiruṇāḍavanam on the hill. He is described as a disciple of Vēdāntāchārya otherwise Prativādi Bhayankaram Anṇa's son, Appāvaiyangār. It refers to a maṇṭapa in the flower garden, and down the record there is a further reference to a maṭha by the name Tiruvāli Parappinān, to which a part of the donor's share of the food should be made over. No. 92 of Ś. 1436 (29th December 1514) is the gift of a village Erulapūṇḍi by Śrī Rangarāja, son of Ranjakam Tirumalaināthar. The village of Erulapūṇḍi is described as near Verumāpuram in Mādanallūr Śīrmai. No. 100 is a mere record of this gift. No. 102 of Ś. 1436 (4th May 1514) is a donation by a Śāttāda Śrī Vaiṣṇava by name Bhaṭṭarpirān Ayyan, a disciple of Paravastu Anṇa. He is described as an Ēkaki, that is a bachelor and made a deposit of 150 paṇam in the treasury of the Nammālvar temple. This amount was to be applied to the lands belonging to Nammālvar in the village of Ilāmandyam, showing a separate treasury and organisation for the shrine of this Alvar. The next one No. 103 of date Ś. 1440 (8th July 1518)



refers to a Vaṇamalai Anṇagaḷ residing in Arikandapuram, otherwise Nāgalāpuram in Niṅṇai-nādu of Kuṅṇavardhanak-kōṭṭam. The donor is said to have come of the Kārālar vāṁśa, and is described as the son of a Āvirukalappālar Tiruvēngadamudaiyān. It refers to a deposit of 1,200 paṇam for a daily food-service to Gōvindapperumāl, and comes from the Gōvindarāja shrine in Lower Tirupati. The next one is No. 105 of Ś. 1437 (12th September 1515). This is a grant by an officer of the king's personal staff, who is described as Karaṇikka Basavarasa, son of Sōmarasa of Tiruppēṇṇūr. The grant was made for the merit of Krishṇadevaraya Mahārāya. It refers incidentally to a flower garden on the road to Chandragiri to the east of the new tank Rāmānuja (Rāmānujaputtēri). He instituted the food-service on the particular day referred to. The expenses of this were to be met from the income arising from his having dug out a new canal for irrigation in the temple village of Maṇiyakkōṇpaṭṭu. No. 109 of Ś. 1438 (2nd June 1516) is again a donation for the merit of Krishṇarāya Mahārāya, by one Ūḍiyam (Ūḷiyam) Ellappa Nāyaka. He instituted eight food-services to meet the expenses of which he made grant of three villages Kaṭṭalaippaṭṭu, Nelvāy and Kolli-dumbai, from out of the income from these the expenses of the services were to be met. The donor's portion of the food should be applied for feeding those in the Rāmānujakūṭa. No. 110 comes from Lower Tirupati and is of date Ś. 1458 (28th August 1516). This is a benefaction by Śrīman Nārāyaṇa Jiyar a disciple of Śrī Vaṅ Śatakōpa Jiyar. He made provision for five food-services during the Adhyayana festival to the God on the hill, and for thirteen other services on the monthly nakshatras of his Guru Śatakōpa Jiyar, namely the Nakshatra Kēṭṭai. There is incidentally a reference to the God for whom a service was to be rendered in front of his own Maṭha, and this arrangement was to continue through all the successions of the śishyas of the Mutt. No. 113 also refers to Nārāyaṇa Jiyar of Ś. 1438 (7th November 1516). It refers to a deposit of 3,800 paṇam to be applied for the improvement of the irrigation resources as usual, and the income applied to meet the expenses of the daily service of Gōvindapperumāl and for certain services during the Adhyayana Utsava in the hill shrine. This again was to continue through all the succession of his śishyas. No. 111 also comes from the Gōvindarāja shrine and is a grant of Ś. 1438 (6th October 1516) by the Vaṇamalai Anṇagaḷ already referred to. This refers to a deposit of 1,450 paṇam to be applied similarly for the purposes of these services. We pass on to No.

(116) which comes from Tirumalai of S. 1439 (12th October 1517) This is a grant of a village by Traiyambaka Dēva, son of Pipparasar, a resident of Śivan-Samudram. He is described as belonging to Vasishṭa *gōtra* and Āśvalāyana *sūtra*. He provided for thirty food-services on the days of the *Adhyyana* festival in the month of *Mārgaṣī* (December-January). He made a grant of the village *Mirandai* in the Tirumaṇi *Śīrmai*, the income from which was to be made use of for the purposes of the services. No. 118 of Ś. 1439 (27th November 1517) is a record of a donation by one Sittāmu Śeṭṭi, son of Dharmāpuram Vergalu Śeṭṭi, a resident of Nārasingapuram in Tirupati. It makes provision for a number of services, among them there is mention of *Van Śatakōpa Matham*, and the *maṇṭapa* in the garden of Kumāra Rāmānuja Ayyan, and a *maṇṭapa* built by himself just outside the bund of the tank called *Toṇḍamānār*. He paid, for a number of these services, 14,590 *paṇam* to be applied for the improvement of the irrigation resources of temple villages. In the distribution of food there is provision made over to the *Van Śatakōka Matham*. No. 119 of Ś. 1439 (27th November 1517) is a donation by Koṇḍu Śeṭṭi, son of Thammu Śeṭṭi, a resident of Nārasingarāyapuram. It makes provision for a number of food-services, and the interesting points noteworthy are that he received from Krishnarāya Mahārāya the grant of a village called *Chintayappalli* belonging to the *Velumapālaiyam* division for his own maintenance. Half of this village he made over for some services in connection with the *Kālahastīśvara* temple. He made the other half over for the purpose of these services in Tirupati. No. 124 of Ś. 1440 (4th October 1518) is an agreement of the *stānattār* with one Ekkādi Timmamma, daughter of Nallagangamma, in the name of King Krishṇadēvarāya Mahārāya. This has reference to the payment of 1,500 *paṇam* to be applied as usual to meet the expenses of the services. Then we pass on to No. 130 of Ś. 1441 (17th April 1519). This is an agreement of the *stānattār* with *Rayasam Koṇḍamarasayya*, son of Timmarasa of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, Āśvalāyana *sūtra* and *Yajus śakṭā*. He instituted a number of services for meeting the expenses of which he made a grant of a village *Mulumbūndi* in the *Nellūr Śīrmai* of Udayagiri Rājya. The donor's share of the food was to be made over to the charity house (*chatra*), of his own that he maintained in Tirumalai. Record No. 132 of Ś. 1441 (13th April 1519) is an agreement of the *stānattār* with a certain *Vēdāntāchārya*, otherwise *Doddaiyangār Appai* described as the son of *Kandāḍai Veṅṇu Malaitaperumāḷ Nāyanār* of the *Vādhūla*

*gōtra*, and *Āpastamba sūtra*. He instituted a number of services for which he paid into the temple treasury 2,520 *paṇam* to be applied for the improvement of the irrigation resources of temple lands, from the income of which the expenses were to be met. This donor's father seems to be the individual described by a title here, commonly known as *Doddaiyāchārya* or *Mahāchārya*, residing in *Ghaṭikāchalam* or *Sholinghur*. His ordinary name was *Srinivāsachārya*. He was a well-known scholar and an admirer of *Vedānta Dēśika*, on some of whose works he commented. He also wrote the *Vaibhavanakāśika*, a biography of *Vedānta Dēśika*. The next one No. (133) coming from the Tirumalai temple is an imperfect inscription and contains but one *śloka* of what is perhaps a longer record. The interesting point about it is that it refers to a festival during which provision is made for a food-service to *Sri Varāha*. The next one is No. (155) of S. 1441 (16th April 1519). It is a donation by *Adapam Baiyappa Nāyaka*, son of *Timmappa Nāyaka*. He was an officer in personal attendance upon the sovereign carrying the betel-box for him. The document is very imperfect, and is an arrangement for a food-service. The next one, No. (136) of S. 1441 (10th September 1519) is a donation by one *Tiruvēṅgaḍapperumāl Mudaliar*, son of *Tirunagari Avidikalappāla Tiruvengada Uḍaiyān*, a member of the management of the temple at *Nāgalapuram*, otherwise called *Harivāsapuram*. This is a gift of 11,000 *paṇam* into the treasury of the temple to be applied as usual for the improvement of temple lands, from the income of which the services have to be conducted. He is said to have had a big *maṇṭapa* in front of his own house where a certain service had to be rendered on the occasion of certain festivals to *Gōvindapperumāl*. This is a record coming from Lower Tirupati. The next following are records of donations of the ordinary kind. We then come to No. (141) of S. 1442 (24th November 1520). This provides for a certain number of services for which 256 *paṇam* were deposited to be applied as usual, and the same kind of distribution of food is also provided for. The next one is No. (142) of S. 1442 (23rd Nov. 1520). This is a document which relates to *Mādhava Aiyangār*, a disciple of *Kandadai Rāmanuṣa Aiyangār*, disciple of *Aḷaḷiya Maṇavāla Jiyar*. He is described here as superintending the *Rāmanuṣakūṭas* in Tirupati, and the jewel treasury of the God. This makes provision for a number of services during different festivals in the course of the year. There are interesting references in these services to one instituted by *Krishṇarāya*

Mahārāya. Then there is a reference to a Bhattar maṅṭapam, a Narasarāya Nāyakar maṅṭapam and one Aiyar maṅṭapam whatever this meant. Lower down the document, it is stated that provision for certain services have to be made from a sarvamānya village which Narasimharāya Mahārāya made over to Rāmānuja Aiyangār for services to Alarmēlmangai Nācchiyār, the goddess of the shrine. The 1,600 kuḷis of this sarvamānya with other smaller gifts together measured 1,630 kuḷis as measured by the rod of 42 feet. This land was formed into a village called Tirumalādevipuram, and made over to the temple. These sarvamānya villages are described as Paṅḍaravāḍai villages in the document. The next record of importance is No. (14) of Ś. 1443 (st November 1521). This is an interesting document referring to two officers of the Gajapati king of Orissa. The first is one Subuddhi Rāmadās, son of Śankaradas of the Bhārdvāja gōtra, and is described as the śānapati of the Gajapati. The other is one Ambikā Muduvila, son of Bhima Aiyar of the Kāśyapa gōtra. These were respectively recipients of two villages in gift from Krishnarāya Mahārāya. The village granted to the first was Tandalam in the Tatvāchēri Śirmai, and the village given to the other was Tādapālem. They made over these two villages to the God for certain services to be rendered which are described. The donor's share of the food was to be made over to the person who maintained the flower garden going by their name in Tirupati. The next one is No. 152 of Ś. 1443 (9th March 1522). This is a donation by Yegñānārāyaṇa Dikshita in honour of his father Ranganātha Dikshita of the Jāmadagnēya Vatsa gōtra and Āśvalāyana sūtra and a Rig. Vēdin, who had celebrated the Sarvakratu, Vājapēya, Sarvatōmukha sacrifices. The father and son were hereditary purohits of Krishṇadēvarāya. The gift here was a deposit of 1,850 paṇam to be applied as usual for a certain number of services in the name of the father Ranganātha Dikshita on his birthday asterisms and on the monthly Sankramāṇas (days of the Sun's entry into each house of the zodiac) and newmoon days. The next one is No. (154) in the Gōvindarāja shrine of Ś. 1445 (27th August 1522). This is an interesting document relating to Gōvindarāja, son of Rācha Rāja of the Kaundinya gōtra, Āpastamba sūtra and Yajus Śākha. The person referred to is Sāluva Gōvindarāja, brother of Sāluva Timmarasa, and a trusted officer in the reign of Krishṇadēvarāya. This is a provision that he made for a large number of services to Gōvindarāja throughout the year for the spiritual merit of Krishṇadēvarāya Mahārāya.

He made a free gift of the village of Mēlpādi in the Gandikōtta Śīrmai from the income whereof the expenses of the services were to be met. The next one is No. (156) of Ś. 1445 (21st October 1523). This is a document executed, under the orders of the stānattār of Tirumalai, by the managers of the temple of Nammālvār in Tirupati with a Śāttāda bachelor, Bhāṭṭarpirān Aiyān, a disciple of Paravastu Anna. This is a deposit of 300 paṇam into the treasury of Nammālvār to be applied for the improvement of the irrigation resources of the lands belonging to Nammālvār in the village Ilāmandyam. There is the usual arrangement prescribing distribution of the food. In the course of it we come upon a Jiyar who was in charge of the Nammālvār temple. This document is in the Nammālvār temple at Kapila Tīrtham.

Document No. (157) is of importance as also the next following two as referring to Śrī Vyāsātīrtha. It is of date Ś. 1445 (12th January 1524). It is an agreement between the stānattār and Śrī Vyāsātīrtha with the usual titles of this particular Maṭh. This refers to a gift of a certain number of house-sites which were confiscated to the temple treasury in the days of Narasimhārāya Mahārāya. These house-sites were made over to Śrī Vyāsārāya who built the Vyāsārāya maṭha on the sites and the inscription is found on the walls of the maṭha. The interesting point in the inscription is the reference to a family of Bhāṭṭas who stole some of the jewels of the God, for which they had to suffer drastic punishment ordered by Sāluva Narasimha, which seems to have involved the death of these servants and the confiscation of their property. Document No. (158) is of the same date, but has reference to the Maṭh on the hill. It refers to the same subject, the gift of a certain number of vacant house-sites, this time at Tirumalai, but refers of course to the same incident of the stealing of the jewels by the temple priests. The house-sites were made over to Vyāsārāyasvāmi on receipt of written orders from Krishṇadēvdrāya. The next record, No. (159) is of the same date and refers to the same matter. It confirms what had been stated in the previous records and states distinctly that two house-sites were given both on the hill and in Lower Tirupati on both of which sites maṭhs were constructed. From the donor's share of the food-services which king Krishṇadēvarāya had instituted by the grant of a number of villages, seven in different places, a part was to be made over to the maṭha for the use of those resident therein. No. (161) comes from the Lower shrine, and

is of Ś. 1446 (31st March 1524). This document comes from Lower Tirupati and refers to a mantapa and a watershed just in front of the front gate of the Gōvindapperumal temple. It is the temple accountant for the time being who instituted this service by depositing 700 paṇam to be applied as usual, from the income whereof the expenses of the services were to be met. The next document of importance is No. (65) coming from the hill shrine of date Ś. 1446 (8th November 1524). This again refers to Vyāsathirtha, and to a number of services both on the hill shrine and in the Gōvindaraja temple. It refers to a mantapa in front of the matha on the hill. A deposit of 14,000 paṇam was made for this purpose, which was to be applied for the improvement of the irrigation resources of temple villages. He made over also a village called Śilapandūr in the Paḍaividu Śirmai from out of the income of which the expenses of the total number of services had to be met. The next one of importance is No. (167). This document comes from the ruined temple of Periya Ālvār at the foot of the hill. It is of date Ś. 1448 (17th January 1527). This is an agreement between the smaller treasury of works (Pillai Tiruppani Bhaṇḍāra), and one Chinnappa Reddi, son of Tammu Reddi, who is described as among the Vellālas of Pullālaipattu village in Tuyyānādu. It is provision for a certain number of food-services for the spiritual merit of Krishnadēvarāya Mahārāya. He made the grant therefor, on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun, of a certain piece of land which is defined. The donor's share of the food was to be received by this treasury of works, and to be applied for the maintenance of a flower garden maintained by them. No. (172) of Ś. 1449 (20th September 1527) is an agreement with a member of the Tirucchānūr Sabhā named Śrī Rāmāyyan, son of Velaikadanda Dasar, Annāvaiyaṅgār Anantāyyan. There is a reference to his having constructed a mantapa on the south bank of the Kōneri and to the north of the temple gate. He deposited 300 paṇam to be applied as usual for the purpose of a certain number of services. The next one is No. (173) of Ś. 1449 (19th July 1527). It is an agreement with Rāmānuja Jiyar the keeper of the garden Pankayacchevi for certain festivals including those in which the God is taken to the pavilion in the garden. He and another Yatirājāyyan deposited between them 850 paṇam to be applied as usual, from the income whereof the expenses were to be met. Among those to whom the donor's share of the food-service should be given occurs the name of the head of the matha in the Pankayacchevi flower garden. Whether this is

a different person, or the same as Rāmānuja Jiyar is not clear. No. (175) comes from the Gōvindarāja shrine and is of Ś. 1450 (2nd April 1528). It is an agreement with Śrī Vyāsātīrtha. This makes provision for a large number of services for which the Svāmi made a grant of the village Ōṭṭampattū. The donor's share of the produce was to be made over to him. The next one is No. 177 of Ś. 1450 (21st September 1528). This is a donation by Karanika Basavayya, son of Chandikai Obaladeva of the Kaundinya gōtra and Āsvalāyana sūtra and of the Rig Vēda. He instituted a certain number of services for which he made a deposit of 6,440 *paṇam* to be applied for the improvement of the irrigation resources of the temple lands. There is nothing else worth attention in this. No. (178) is of particular importance and is of Ś. 1450 also (19th Nov. 1528). This is an agreement of the department of works in the temple with the disciples of Śatakōpa Jiyar, obviously Van Śatakōpa Jiyar. They instituted a certain number of services by way of doing honour to their Āchārya (religious preceptor). They deposited 260 *paṇam* for the purpose of a certain number of services to be applied as usual and the expenses met from the income. The portion of the food after service was to be divided between the department of works and a certain number of Vaishnavas, who performed the recital of the *Tiruvāymoṭi*, etc.

The remaining inscriptions a few of which, are intact, contain nothing of importance except giving a date corresponding to 2nd January 1530, the latest so far available. A number of others are too far gone to make anything out of them. One of them No. (194) equates the Gōvinda Pushkariṇi in Tirupati with Krishnarāya Kōṇēri. Probably the tank was dug in the name of Krishnadēvarāya, and popularly known afterwards as Govinda Pushkariṇi as being attached to the temple of Gōvinda-rāja.

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## CHAPTER V

### THE VAISHNAVA CHARACTER OF TIRUPATI UNDER VIJAYANAGAR

The Saiva contention regarding the character of the shrine. We have seen that with the advent of the Śāluvas to power the holy shrine of Tirupati emerges into the broad daylight of history as a Vaishṇava *holy of holies* in this period. The three most holy places of the Vaishṇavas are Kōil, Tirumaḷai, Perumaḷ Koil meaning respectively Srirangam, Tirupati, and Conjivaram. It is a sort of a popular saying that these are the three holiest places of the Vaishṇavas. The reason for this is perhaps that the activities of the first *Āchāryas* chiefly Nāthamuni, Ālavandār and Rāmānuja, who were all people belonging to this region, were the most seen in this part of the country, though we cannot say they were quite confined to this. In this trinity of holy places, it will be seen that Tirumāḷirumśōlai, otherwise Aḷagar-malai near Madura, drops out from the Vaishṇava trinity of classical Tamil. The three Vaishṇava places of the greatest importance in those early days were Srirangam, Tirupati and Tirumāḷirumśōlai as testified to in the Tamil classics like the *Paripāḍal* and the *Śilappadhikāram*. Conjivaram does certainly come into importance and to a rank of its own early enough, and pronouncedly in the days of the later Pallavas of Kānchi. But it actually does supersede Tirumāḷirumśōlai, and takes the third place among the *holy of holies* only in this age. This popular notion merely reflects the change in the historical position of these places due, as was stated already, to the activities of the Vaishṇava *Āchāryas* who lived and worked in this particular region. To this was added the additional influence of the patronage of the local rulers, the Yādavarāyas, to begin with, and the Śāluvas afterwards. We have already demonstrated to the satisfaction of the most critical mind that Tirupati has been held continuously, at least by the Vaishṇavas, as a Vaishṇava holy place as is evidenced by the works of the Āḷvārs collected together in the *Nālāyira Prabandha*. We have also adduced the secular evidence of the *Śilappadhikāram*, and few other inscriptional and literary sources in evidence towards this conclusion. There followed a period of obscurity perhaps due to want of official patronage under



the Chōlas during certain periods. It is during one of these periods that worship at Tirupati got into neglect and gave the opportunity for the contention that led to the Saiva claim that the shrine was one of a Saiva character. This gave the occasion for the advent of Rāmānuja into the scene. He was able to argue the Saivas out of their position satisfactorily, and gained thereby the goodwill of the local ruler, the Yādavarāja. The local ruler's countenance and patronage enabled him to place the organisation of worship in the temple on a footing of permanence. That he did so, and that his organisation continued, is in evidence in the records of the subsequent period, so that there is no mistaking the fact that even the present organisation of worship in the temple in all its details is what Rāmānuja had organised in his time. It is the foolish effort of the later Vaishnava hagiologists that is responsible for the damaging character that is given to the reforms of Rāmānuja for which one finds hardly any authority either in contemporary literature or even the subsequent inscriptional records. This exaggerated statement took hold of the imagination of the people so much that one finds it difficult to remove it by argument or evidence. The age of the early Chōlas was one of Saiva fervour, and, without the rulers being directly or necessarily responsible, it is possible for Saiva sectaries to set up a claim, (such as they are said to have set up,) in respect of Tirupati, and there is nothing improbable whatsoever in a local ruler making a serious effort to get the matter settled for the peace of the locality and the convenience of his own administration. That seems to have been actually the course of events which gave rise to the story which is at the bottom of this controversy regarding the character of the temple. Apart from the fact that the Vaishnavas consistently regarded the temple as a Vishṇu shrine, the Saiva Nāyanārs who travelled about and celebrated even the most obscure of the Saiva shrines of this land, have not even obscurely hinted anywhere that Tirupati was such. This ought to be conclusive proof, and, if further evidence were required, some of the inscriptions of the great Chōla rulers themselves give no countenance to this Saiva contention. Rāmānuja's organisation following this put it altogether beyond doubt, and when, in the following period, the Śāluvas emerge into view we find the place established as a holy shrine of Vishṇu beyond question and comes in for treatment as such.

**The character of Śāluva patronage to Tirupati.** The Śāluvas get to be associated with the place particularly, as they were the

legitimate successors of the Yādavarāyas as rulers of the locality, their headquarters being Chandragiri, whatever their place of origin may have been. They were Vaishnavas by persuasion, and were therefore devoted particularly to the shrine at Tirupati. As the Sāluvas rose in power, their patronage to the temple also increased. Naturally this put the temple in possession of resources systematically fostered not only by the rulers and their officials, but even by the people of the locality almost deliberately, and on a recognised plan, as we have already noticed. Every donation that was made with a view to improving the permanent resources of the temple in such a way as to provide ultimately for a regular annual income, so that however small the donation may be when actually made, it had the ultimate result of becoming a permanent grant to the temple and added to its permanent resources. Thus in the course of the history of the Sāluvas as officers of Vijayanagar and ultimately as even emperors, their encouragement and patronage contributed substantially to make the temple richer, and placed it on a footing of completely independent means for the future. The management was left entirely in the hands of the people of the locality, particularly the devotees of the temple, the Government and their officers stepping in to set matters right only when their intervention was called for either by appeal to their authority, or because of the occurrence of some irregularity cognisable by the officials in the public interest. Beyond that the government did not interfere, and even though the rulers themselves were devotees they did not put themselves on any special footing in regard to the general management of the temple. At the end of the period of the Sāluvas we may say that the temple was provided with an autonomous organisation for conducting its own affairs completely by itself alone, and had been provided with the means for doing this efficiently without depending upon any external assistance. Donations from outside came in plenty, but this went only to add to the resources of the temple, not necessarily to supply any want. Such was the position in which Tirupati was when Krishṇadēvarāya assumed the responsibilities of the empire.

The special characters of Krishna's services to Tirupati. We have already stated that Krishṇadēvarāya came to the throne of Vijayanagar under circumstances of peculiar gravity to the empire. The empire was in imminent danger of external attack while it still was labouring to recover from serious internal disturbances. The actual manner of his accession to the throne,

whether true or not in its circumstantial detail, exhibits undoubtedly the gravity of the position. The trusted minister of the empire Saluva Timuna was commissioned by his master Vira Narasimha, Krishna's elder brother, to put out the eyes of Krishna, because he was a specially competent young man and popular, with a view to letting a young boy of a son of his own to succeed. Whatever Krishna's part in it, the minister at the critical moment judged it right that Krishna should be allowed to escape and succeed ultimately even to the detriment of his master's son to whom in loyalty he was bound to be true at that critical moment. His judgment proved correct, and the fact that ever since popular tradition connects the two as the *Rāyaru* and *Appaji*, the ruler and the old man, old counsellor, in the position of father, is an indication perhaps of the actual relation between the two, and the service that the old minister rendered to the ruler of the future. This peculiarly critical character of Krishna's accession to the throne perhaps is partially responsible for his devotion to God which took the form of a peculiar attachment and devotion to the shrine at Tirupati as a personal feature. We have already pointed out that he paid as many as seven visits to the temple, and, on analysis, these visits are found to be so timed that he went there to the hill as if in gratitude for some distinct and difficult achievement that he made in the course of his difficult career. This gives his benefactions the character of thanksgiving service to the temple. His benefactions were many and magnificent, and all the time he shows himself to be a very fervent devotee of the temple, and seems in the holy presence to forget that he was ruler of a great empire. He probably was essentially a religious minded of man as we are told seriously that he was accustomed to fasting on the days of the eleventh moon, increasing or decreasing, and during his stay in Bezawāda on his expedition into Kalinga he had a dream when the God at the temple of Srikakulam which he visited appeared before him and suggested the composition of a work in Telugu, the subject of which was, wonder of wonders for a sovereign, the story of *Gōdā*, the foundling maiden who would marry no other than Śrī Ranganātha at Śrīrangam. This Telugu classic known as *Amuktamālyadā* (Tam *Śūḍikkoḍuttā* she who gave the garland first worn by her) is the result of this dream as Krishna himself says, and is perhaps responsible for his attachment to Vishnu and his particular devotion to the God at Tirumalai. It was not he alone; his queens generally accompanied him, and they did not fall behind

him in the exhibition of their fervour of devotion. His ministers and officers were equally enthusiastic in regard to the matter. His devotion made such an impression that not only his officers, but even ordinary people, among them some women, made their benefactions in order that the benefit of those donations might accrue to the ruler of the time. The example set by the Sāluvas and carried systematically through the whole of the period of Sāluva rule, of making donations in such a way as to increase the permanent resources of the temple, and such services as had to be rendered to it being met from out of the income without in the least destroying the capital, was followed in this period as well. Except where, as in the case of Krishṇadēvarāya and a few of the others, villages were granted in *sarvamānya*, the money donations were always applied in the same way as under the Sāluvas. Oftentimes the donations took the form of jewels and gifts of that sort. Sometimes useful public works were directly constructed by the benefactors themselves. During the whole of this period, the temple organisation worked satisfactorily and seems hardly to have called for the intervention of the ruler even. The town had grown in importance. The charity feeding houses, for the body of visitors to the temple, increased in number, and almost everybody worth the name seems to have had his flower gardens in the locality with pavilions sometimes in the midst of these gardens. This service of supplying flowers for worship is valued highly among the schools of *Bhaktas* generally, and perhaps the Vaishṇavas the more so. But in the peculiar position of Tirupati on the hill, this seems to have been regarded as a particularly holy kind of service, and one way of rendering it is by providing for the laying out and the maintenance of flower gardens. The management of the temple affairs was left in the hands of the Vaishṇavas as was stated already, but the actual carrying on of the administration was generally entrusted to single men either *Sanyāsis* or other, adopting the general principle enunciated by Rāmānuja so as to put these managers who had to handle large sums of money, beyond temptation. Several of these gardens were under the management of these single men, either Vaishṇava Brahmans, oftentimes *Sanyāsis*, or under Non-Brahman Vaishṇavas called *Sāttada* Vaishṇavas; that is, Vaishṇavas, who, being Non-Brahmans, were not entitled to wear their cloths as Brahman Vaishṇavas do. This arrangement seems to have worked generally well. Of course there were family men who were in charge of several of the charity houses, and one Kandāḍai Rāmānuja

Aiyangār, a much valued *Achārya* of Śāluva Narasimha, was entrusted with the management of the jewel treasury of the temple in addition to superintending the *Rāmānujakūṭams* in the town generally. One case of misfeasance comes to our notice even in these inscriptions, and this has reference to a family of Archakas (temple-priests) who were guilty of having stolen some of the jewels of the God. Drastic punishments seem to have been administered to them by Śāluva Narasimha himself, their houses and lands becoming confiscated to the temple, and we hear of this case only when those house-sites had to be alienated and disposed of otherwise under Krishna. This gives us more or less an insight into the character of the supervision that was exercised, and the drastic character of the punishment that was imposed upon misfeasance of temple funds.

✓ **Krishna's benefactions and their record in Inscriptions:** Krishna-dēvarāya's own inscriptions in the temple at Tirupati cover the period A. D. 1513 to A. D. 1521. There seems to be one record of A. D. 1521. His name, however, occurs in records of A. D. 1527, and there is one mutilated record even of A. D. 1530. His active benefactions therefore were confined to ten years beginning A. D. 1513, and the inscriptions themselves give us an insight into his activities, and the stages in his conduct of the war against the Kalinga ruler, which seems to have been regarded more or less as the main act of the busy part of his reign. These inscriptions by themselves give us a correct idea of the three campaigns at the end of which he entered into a definitive treaty with the Kalinga ruler, thus bringing the war, an unpleasant war as it seems to have been felt, to a happy conclusion, thus releasing the king for work which called for his attention elsewhere. At each stage of this war, when he achieved a definite success, he visited the shrine and made donations suitable to the character of the achievement, as if to mark his feeling of gratitude to the God Venkaṭēśa, whom he seems to have regarded as in the main responsible for his success. This is shown the more clearly in the character of the benefactions which he made on each one of these occasions, and particularly on the occasion in which his queen blessed him with a son and heir. It is in the course of these campaigns, and, in all probability, at the end of his third or fourth visit when he actually put up the most elaborate of the records in the temple, that he felt bound to demonstrate his devotion to Śrī Venkaṭēśa by making copper casts of himself and his two queens, and setting them up in front of the temple in the attitude of worshipping

devotees. Although there is no inscriptional record marking the date of this act of his, we may be certain that it was on the occasion of his fourth visit that this was done, as soon after Chinnādevi seems to have died, and could not be represented as being in his company. That the statues were those of Krishna and his two queens is evidenced for us as their names are marked just on the back of the statues on the shoulder, Tirumala being the queen on the left and Chinnādevi on the right of the King, although the epigraphist's report reverses the position. The epigraphist probably meant the observer's right and left unless he was influenced in his opinion by the fact that the right is the proper place for the crowned queen. On this occasion, his own priest the royal *Purohit* of the court accompanied him as did the priest's father who held that office before the son took his place. The father bore the name Ranga Dikshitar, and the son Yegñanārāyaṇa Dikshitar. We have a separate grant by the son, a little later, made to the temple, while the father is mentioned as the recipient of the donor's share of the *prasāda* from one of the great gifts of Krishna. It is also probably on this occasion that the old man Ranga Dikshitar in all probability, made the fugitive verse to celebrate the occasion in which the king and the queens were in the sanctum offering their devotions with all the fervour suitable to the occasion. The Sanskrit verse\* which, in a mutilated form passess current as one of Appaya Dikshita's in relation to God Varadarāja in Conjivaram, is rendered freely as follows: "Seeing the beautiful lady, the colour of whose body was of golden beauty, and, thinking that it was His consort (Śrī Vaikunṭha (God Venkaṭēsa) with the access of suspicion it might be Śrī herself: glanced down at his chest (to see if she was not there)."

It looks rather like the old *Purohit* to have paid this compliment to the queen directly and to the king indirectly, with all the dexterity of diction he was capable of. That must have appealed specially to Krishna, whose taste for turns of literary expression was considered always great. Among the private benefactions we find a number made by private individuals for the spiritual merit of the king, these including officers of the standing of the chief general Rāma Nāyaka, and generals like Appā Pillai and Sāluva Gōvindarāja down to a woman, Ekkādi Timmamman, daughter of Nalla Gangamman (No. 124).

\* दृष्ट्वा कञ्चनगौराङ्गीम् साक्षात् श्रियमिवापराम् । वैकुण्ठस्सम्भयापन्नः बभ्रुस्तलम् भवेक्षत ॥

**A brilliant reign coming to a gloomy end.** The years since A. D. 1524 became clouded with the calamity that befell him in the death of his son which took place perhaps in that year, or the year following, at the age of six. He cherished the son, young as he was, as heir to the throne, as the child's name occurs in inscriptions as ruler of a province already, and perhaps even as exercising some authority at head-quarters. Krishna's mind seems to have got unhinged, and the government had to be conducted for him by his brother Achyuta for some years. He probably recovered both from the shock, and from perhaps the illness consequent on it, and during the last two or three years of his reign, he managed to conduct the administration, although the period was troubled with some rebellions of his loyal lieutenants, the reason for which we are not able to guess. Two at least of his most famous lieutenants, Sāluva Nāyaka or Sāluva Timmā Nāyaka, a Brahman officer governing the middle country was one, and Nāgama Nāyaka, the old and tried officer of Sāluva Narasimha, and after him Narasa, showed an inclination to disobey, being viceroys of the central region and Mādura respectively. There seems to have been some trouble culminating in suspicion against his chief minister himself Sāluva Timmārasa, and his son. Thus distracted and troubled Krishna came to the close of a brilliant career in which he had succeeded in setting the empire upon a footing of permanence. The inscriptional records of Tirupaṭi give us a faithful picture of his achievements confirming other inscriptions and some detailed accounts that we have of his achievements in literature.

**Krishna's benefactions to literature and religion.** Apart from his military achievements and the exhibition of his great devotion to the temple at Tirupati, he showed himself a liberal-minded patron and supporter of Hindu *dharma* that a Hindu monarch is expected to be. His political ideas which find expression in his works were those of *dharma* as defined in the generally accepted standard treatises of the *Dharma Śāstrā* of the Hindus. He was a scholar himself, and has left us works in Sanskrit and Telugu. What was more, he was a great patron of letters and held an assembly of the learned (*Brahma sadas*), every year on the occasion of the spring festival bringing about literary contests and competitions making liberal presents and gifts with a lavish hand wherever he found merit. It is on record that when Allasāni Peddana, the chief among the eight great literary men of his court designated the eight guardian elephants of the direc-

tions (*ashta diggajai*), he insisted upon his right to take a direct part in carrying the learned Pandit in a palanquin, an extraordinary honour done to learning for extraordinary merit. This is what is generally known as *Bahmarathu*,

His public benefactions to temples and religion were not confined to the Vaishṇava religion or to Vaishṇava temples alone. He made these benefactions to all the temples in South India irrespective of their character, although his personal devotion was specially to that of Tirupati. He seems to have set his heart on repairing all the damages that South Indian temples suffered in the confused period of history preceding that of Vijayanagar, particularly periods of invasion and war, and he did make provision for this restoration extending over a long period of time. Several of them have been carried to completion, some of them have not had the good fortune. One peculiar feature of his benefactions is that all the great *gōpuras* in South India go by name *Rāyagōpura* because of the fashion that he set of providing such front gateways for the temples of the South. In addition to the Krishṇasvāmi temple which he built in Vijayanagar, he was responsible for the structure, at least the major part of it, of the Viṭṭalasvāmi temple in Hampi as well. His benefactions were no less to the great Siva temple at Hampi, The second *gōpuram* is regarded to have been built by him and a temple to Pampāpati, the presiding deity of Hampi, the lower part of the structure of which was unearthed within the area of Hampi, was begun and carried through in part within the limits of the capital. When he actually died, he was succeeded by the next younger brother Achyutarāya, who had already carried on the administration for him for a few years, and, at any rate, in the last years of his reign, held positions of responsibility notwithstanding the fact that Krishṇa was charged with having confined him in the fort of Chandragiri as popular tradition has it. Achyuta succeeded to the throne without dispute, perhaps not altogether without provoking jealousies. We shall have to deal with that later.

**Vaishṇava character of the shrine during Vijayanagar Rule.** Taking into one view the period of dominance of the Śāluvas and that of the Tuluvas down to the end of Krishṇarāya's reign, we may characterise the period, so far as Tirupati is concerned, as that of Vaishṇava reconstruction, and the establishment of Vaishṇava dominance in the principal Vaishṇava holy places,



typically among them, Srirangam, Tirupati and Conjivaram. We have already noted that Rāmānuja's efforts at organisation of worship in Tirupati put matters on a satisfactory footing, and we pointed out already that while all that Rāmānuja did rests upon traditional information only so far, such references as we get to some of his institutions in the later inscriptions give us definitely to understand that Rāmānuja's organisation as a whole obtained and continued to be in force in the period following down to the end of the first dynasty of Vijayanagar, at least down to the reign of emperor Mallikārjuna. During that period we have seen a decline in the position of the South Indian Hindu dynasties which had control of this region followed by a revival. Early in the course of this revival came in the Muhammadan invasions which continued for about a score of years culminating in the establishment even of a Muhammadan dynasty in the south. Such of the Hindu dynasties as did exist in some power had to strain their every nerve so dislodge these Muhammadans, and thus get rid of the Muhammadan influence from these localities. Essentially therefore it was a period of struggle, in which the founders of the empire of Vijayanagar have had to bear their part. When ultimately they were able to overthrow the Muhammadan dominion, there was something like a conscious effort at restoration of the Hindu shrines and religions, and other institutions all over this part of the country. In this movement, it was not only the rulers but everybody that was worth the name, did his best and made honourable contributions towards the restoration. It is the autonomous character of the administration of these religious institutions that is mainly responsible for their maintenance receiving as they did the unstinted support of the state whenever there was need for it, irrespective of the individual convictions of the rulers. It became almost the recognised function of the state to provide for the maintenance of all religions. Vishnu temples were therefore the sphere of the Vaishnavas, and it was their business primarily to see to it that they were placed in regular working order as before under Hindu rule. Tirupati was no exception to this rule and in this work those who made themselves responsible for the management of the temple had the countenance and full sympathy of the rulers of the time being. That was the condition of things so far as Tirupati was concerned in the days of the first dynasty of Vijayanagar. But with the advent of the Sāluvas to power, the proximity of their capital and their being themselves Vaishnavas gave additional stimulus to this work of restoration,

and Tirupati was brought back to, if it ever had departed much from, Rāmānuja's organisation. The contention raised in the days of Rāmānuja as to the Śaiva character of the shrine seems to have been given complete quietus by Rāmānuja, and there is no reference as far as we know in contemporary records or literature, that this claim was put forward even to the extent that it is done now-a-days. If there was any suspicion it is likely to find expression, and we mention that fact here for the simple reason that we have an important piece of evidence on this particular matter. The poet Arunagirināthar, the author of the *Tiruppukal*, was a special devotee of Subrahmaṇya, and the whole of the *Tiruppukal* gives expression to his devotion to that particular form of the deity. We have already pointed out that this deity, Subrahmaṇya, is associated peculiarly in Hindu tradition with hills, so that wherever there is a hill of any prominence, Subrahmaṇya gets to be associated with the hill, if not monumentally, at least mentally. If therefore the author of the *Tiruppukal* had the slightest justification, he would certainly have referred to Tirupati as he does in the case of other hill shrines, in association with his favourite God Subrahmaṇya. We do not know much that is definite about the life history of that author. We cannot even say definitely whether he was a Brahman or other than Brahman, although we may say that, from the internal evidence of his poem, perhaps we may have to regard him as a Non-Brahman, or at least as a Brahman without any particular claims to Brahmanical learning as such. Be that as it may, Arunagirināthar, the author, refers himself to the time of a Praudādēvarāya which title we find associated with Dēvarāya II, sometimes with his brother, and more generally with his son and successor Mallikārjuna. We may therefore safely take Arunagirināthar, the author of the *Tiruppukal*, to have been contemporary with Mallikārjuna, and therefore belonging comparatively speaking to the earlier part of the period with which we are concerned. He makes as many as eight specific references to Tirupati as such. This author seems to be fond of referring to Subrahmaṇya as the nephew of Vishṇu. That point comes in for allusion off and on throughout the work. That is the general motive of these references. Oftentimes the reference is circumstantial, and describes some one or other of the special features of Vishṇu. Seven of these references to Tirupati, of which one is under the name Eḷumalai, three under the name Vaḍamalai, and three under the name Vēngadam are to Subrahmaṇya's association with

Tirupati in general terms. One other reference there is, calling the place Vēṅgaḍam, constituting stanza 175 of the *Tiruppukal* and referring to the Śaiva temple at Tiruvāṅṅiyam, which makes the point clear that the hill Vēṅgaḍam is the hill of Viṣṇu, where Subrahmaṇya also finds a place, a contention which Rāmānuja admitted according to the *Srī Vēkaṅāchala Itihāsamālā*. According to this, the Śaiva contention was first of all that the main image in the temple of Venkaṭeśa is of a character not specially and indisputably associated with Viṣṇu, and therefore the place must be regarded as a place sacred to Śiva because of some Śaiva features in the image and in the mode of worship, or at least, from certain names and associations, sacred to Subrahmaṇya, the son of Śiva. Rāmānuja pointed out that all that is said of Subrahmaṇya is that he performed a penance to Viṣṇu there, and that he is actually associated in that tradition with a part of the hill with a waterfall called Kumāradhārika, because of the place being associated with Subrahmaṇya and his penance. A comparison of this one passage with the seven others leaves no doubt that, in the estimation of the author of the *Tiruppukal*, Tirupati or Vēṅgaḍam was peculiarly the hill of Viṣṇu, though in other passages as in this one, he puts it beyond a doubt that Subrahmaṇya also had a place on Tiruvēṅgaḍamāmalai. The passage concerned in stanza 175 as also a couple of lines from stanza 1,260 is set down side by side for purposes of comparison.\* In the days, therefore of the author of the *Tiruppukal*, Tirupati had come to be recognised as a Vaishṇava place even in the estimation of a devoted Śaiva like Aruṅagirināthar. We cannot ordinarily expect the inscriptions at Tirupati to give expression to anything savouring of the place being associated with Śiva or Subrahmaṇya. In all the benefactions to the temple made by

\* உபசாந்த சித்த குருகுல

பவபாண்டவர்க்கு வரதன்மை

யுகுவேன் ப்ரசித்த கெடியவன்—சிஷ்யோசன்

உலகீன்ற வச்சை யுமையணன்

வடவேங்கடத்திலுரைபவன்

உயர்சார்ங்க சங்கரதலன்—மருகோன்

(திருப்புகழ், திருவாருடியம்), 175 — *Saiva Siddhanta Edn.*

சரிணம்பரி தேர்நிர் செணையும்

உடனூதுரியோதன குதிகை

தாமாண்டியெயெயொரு பாதம்—அதிவேகிக்

கணபண்டவர் தேர்தனிலே யெழு

பரிணண்டய சாரதிடாகிய

கதிரோங்கிய சேமியனாமரி—ரகுராமன்

திரைகீண் டிரைவாரியும் வாலியும்

நெடிதோங்குமரா மரீமொழுடு

தசமாஞ்சிர ராவணனார் முடி—பொடியாக

சிலைவாங்கிய நாரணனார் மரு

மகனாக் குகனே பொழில் சூழ்கரு

திருவிவங்கட மாமலை மேவிய பெருமானே.

(திருப்புகழ், 1,260)

officials and non-officials alike there is no reference to any other shrine than that of the Vaishṇava deities in all the records that have come down to us from these Vaishṇava shrines, perhaps naturally.

#### The Vaishṇava Acharyas and their Association with Tirupati.

We have references, however, to numbers of Vaishṇava Achāryas, ascetics as well as family men among them, as playing an important part in the management of the affairs of the temple as well as in the general management of the affairs of the town itself. We have come upon a number of records, as will be remembered, referring to a Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyangar, a disciple of Āḷagiya Maṇavaḷa Jiyar, who is regarded as in a way the spiritual preceptor of Śaḷuva Narasimha and his successors perhaps. There are a number of others referred to also, though not in the same prominence as these. This is evidence of the intimate association of these Āchāryas with the holy place. But then there are allusions to a number of visits paid by various Vaishṇava Āchāryas as recorded in the Vaishṇava *Gurupa-ampuras*, which find no echo whatsoever in the records of the temple. We have already noted that at least since the days of Rāmānuja, Tirupati had become recognised as one of the three Vaishṇava holy of holies, and almost every Vaishṇava Āchārya of any importance paid more than one visit to Tirupati. The succession of teachers who followed Rāmānuja were generally centred in Srīrangam, while a certain number perhaps actually belonged to localities round Conjivaram and were oftentimes resident there. Among these there was a succession of dominating personalities who occupied actually the position that Rāmānuja did; and a number of others, the next in importance, though high in rank, also were recognised as teachers, one or two of all round capacity

but there were a number associated with one or two of the half a dozen separate branches of learning associated with Vaishnavism.

While therefore other places like Kānchi, Tirupati and Kumbha kōṇam, did claim a very considerable body of scholars and divines resident therein, it was in a way generally recognised that Srīrangam was the head quarters of the Vaishnavas, and the scholars assembled there in the temple more or less under the lead of the most prominent scholar for the time being, continued to be the assembly of Vaishnavism almost since the days of Rāmānuja's successor, Pillān, and for a number of generations under his successors in that leadership. There had gathered therefore in this place quite a large body of scholars, writing and teaching, and quite a number of prominent men who still regarded themselves in a condition of tutelage in the higher reaches of Vaishnava learning. This happy state of things was rudely shaken when the Muhammadan invasions broke in upon the distant south. The main objective of these invasions was seriously nothing more than plunder, and the South Indian temples had a reputation for the accumulated wealth of centuries. Among these South Indian temples Srīrangam was by far the most famous, and might even be regarded as the richest among the richer South Indian shrines. The first Muhammadan invasions under Malīk Kafur and later under Knusru, the general of Mubarak, were both of them passing raids comparatively speaking. When the temple and the town were attacked, this body of religious people scattered themselves from the place and put themselves out of the way, and reassembled when the place had regained something of the peace associated with it. But the invasion of Muhammad Tughlak in the years A.D. 1327-8 culminated in the founding of a viceregal government in the south with headquarters at Madura with garrisons here and there, among them, one place, in some strength, the old Hoysāla capital across the Coleroon, which is now the village Kānṇanūr; and it looks from certain references in literature that the head of the garrison here even exercised active control over the town of Srīrangam. Srīrangam therefore had become untenable for these quiet people for the peaceful pursuit of their religion. It was then that the assembly of the Vaishnava scholars broke up. A pretty large number marched northwards to Kānchi and remained there; and a certain number retired farther south much past Madura into Tinnevely for the peaceful pursuit of their avocations. This caused the split in the united ghōṣṭi (assembly) of the Vaishnavas, and seems to be more or less at bottom responsible

for the later Vaṇa-Kalai and Ten-Kalai sects which found justification even in some doctrinal differences in regard to the relation between the Vaidic learning and the *Prabandha*, and in regard to a few other points of conviction. We have already stated that Muhammad Tughlak's invasions culminated in the establishment of an independent Sultanate of Madura which held its own, though precariously, for more than half a century till it was turned out by the invasions of Kumāra Kampana of Vijayanagar. When the first onset of the Muhammadan attacks was over, Sriṅgam perhaps regained its peaceful life partially, and the assembly of Vaiṣṇava scholars began to gather again. Kānci did afford a convenient centre for some of them, and the more prominent of the older among them continued to stay there and thus created another centre of Vaishṇava religion and learning. They seem ever since to have remained more or less separate except on those few occasions when a dominating personality made it possible to regard Sriṅgam, the chief centre, as under Vēdānta Dēśika just before this split. What concerns the history of Tirupati in this matter is that the establishment of a section of these in Conjivaram brought them much closer to Tirupati, and the Vaiṣṇava ghoṣṭi in Conjivaram came to be in closer association with Tirupati.

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## CHAPTER VI

### TIRUPATI AND THE LATER SRI VAISNAVA ACHARYAS.

**Vedānta Dēśika and Tirupati.** While Tirupati maintained its reputation for sanctity, and holy men among the Vaiṣṇavas, religious and lay, paid visits to the place, they were rather visits of pilgrimage, few and far between generally. But with Vēdānta Dēśika, we come to a somewhat closer association. His very birth is ascribed to the blessing of God Venkaṭēśa, and both his father and mother are said to have paid a visit to the temple. After Vēdānta Dēśika himself became a man of established reputation and the leading scholar among the Vaiṣṇavas, he is said to have paid two visits to the temple, one in the course of a pilgrimage to holy places, and another specially to this particular place. We find no hint of it nor reference to it in the inscriptions that have come down to us from the temple so far. We have no means from the material so far available to us of fixing, if not precisely, at least approximately, the time of these visits. The Guruparamparā account of Vēdānta Dēśika, even that of the Tṛtiya Brahmatantrasvāmi, is a mere jumble of what this great Āchārya did without any kind of order being traceable in the narrative, not to speak of dating the more important events. According to these accounts, Vēdānta Dēśika was born in the year corresponding to A.D. 1268, and an inscription in Srīrangam datable A.D. 1370 is a record of thanksgiving composed by Vēdānta Dēśika for the great service rendered to the temple by Gōpaṇārya, the governor of Ginjee, an officer of the first Sāluva rulers of Chandragiri who acted in cooperation with Kumāra Kampana in his southern invasions. The completion of the work undertaken by this invading army under Kampana has been marked by two great events, one of which was the rebuilding of the temple at Madura, completely destroyed by the invaders, and the restoration of the temple at Srīrangam to its normal position of the great holy centre that it was. So Vēdānta Dēśika according to this dating lived for a little over a century, which includes in it the last third of the thirteenth and almost the first three quarters of the fourteenth centuries. Vēdānta Dēśika's life activity therefore must have been practically all in the fourteenth century according to this dating. Even so, the account that these

hagiologists give of Vēdānta Dēśika's life would seem to make a correction necessary in regard to their dating. If their dating is correct, he must have died soon after, if not in the actual year, A.D. 1370. But these accounts ascribe to him so much that he did after he returned to Śrīrangam that he must have lived some years after the restoration of the temple. We have already drawn attention to the fact that a correction of fifteen or sixteen years, perhaps twenty, seems called for in regard to the actual date of Rāmānuja's life. Whether a correction like that would be enough for Vēdānta Dēśika is doubtful, but at least that correction would seem to be necessary. However, Vēdānta Dēśika's active life comes in the period when the region round Tirupati was more or less under the government of the local chieftains, the Yādavarāyas in particular, the Chōla empire having weakened, and almost passed out of existence, and the empire of the Pāṇḍyas having just begun. While there are inscriptional records in the temple during the period they are not exactly of the same character, as those under the empire of Vijayanagar. It was not merely Vēdānta Dēśika, but his son also who succeeded to his position is said to have paid a visit, and during his time a much respected old disciple of Vēdānta Dēśika known by the title Brahma-tantra Svatantra-svāmī, was put in charge of the temple at Tirupati, and he is said to have resided there for a number of years. Even of that we have no echo in the records. Following Vēdānta Dēśika's son, Varadāchārya, or Nayinārāchārya, some distance down, comes the first Sanyāsin, the founder of the Ahōbala maṭha, known as Ādi Vaṅ Saṭakōpasvāmī. He is associated with Tirupati in the Vaishṇava accounts. We have fortunately a number of references to him, his maṭha, his garden, his maṭṭapa and even a disciple of his Nārāyaṇa Jiyar, all in the inscriptions of the time of Krishṇadēvarāya. His visit to Tirupati therefore and his stay for some years there seem to be historical facts. Even so, his association with Tirupati is not altogether without chronological difficulty.

**The first Ahobala Jiyars and Tirupati.** His period of life according to the accounts of the Ahōbala maṭha happens to extend from A.D. 1378 to A.D. 1458. He was a native of Ttunārāyaṇapuram where he completed his secular education by his twentieth year, and came down to Conjivaram to complete it under the well-known divine and scholar of the time Ghaṭikā Śaṭam Ammal. Having been with him for some time, he proceeded to Ahōbalam, to which he felt a call, and was ordained as a Sanyāsin



by God Lakshminrsimha in Ahōbalam. Thus initiated, he became the first pontiff of the institution, which has since gone by the name the Ahōbala maṭha. He felt it his mission, it was so put to him by God himself as it was said, to go about and restore the teaching of Rāmānuja to its position of influence in all the centres of Vaishṇava activity since the days of Rāmānuja. He had therefore to wander a good deal, and do his work as his particular mission on earth. The account as it is given of his doings does not give us anything like a reliable chronological basis, and his main achievements are merely recited. He is credited with a large number of structures of importance in well-known temples which should have involved immense expenditure. He could not have carried them out without the support of local rulers and influential men. Unfortunately no mention is made of any such of any known dynasty, so that notwithstanding much that is said about him, we are left in the air to locate him on any time scheme. We shall have to re-adjust the account on the basis of the inscriptions at Tirupati.

There are two inscriptions in Tirupati in Volume III relating to the period of Krishṇadēvarāya, namely Nos. 110 and 114, both of them referring to Sri Nārāyaṇa Jiyar, of which the first makes provision for the merit of Ādi Vaṅ Śaṭakōpa Jiyar on his birthday asterism of Jyēṣṭha. The two inscriptions are dated on different days and months of the same year Ś. 1438 corresponding to A.D. 1516. Both the records refer to Nārāyaṇa Jiyar as śishya (disciple) of Śri Vaṅ Śaṭakōpa Jiyar. This might seem to justify our regarding Nārāyaṇa Jiyar as not having yet succeeded to the pontificate of the Ahōbala maṭha. This seems in a way negated by the reference in inscription No. 110 to "our own maṭha", the maṭha that is called Vaṅ Śaṭakōpa Jiyar maṭha, or, more generally, the Ahōbala maṭha. We may therefore have to take the date A.D. 1516 as in the pontificate of Nārāyaṇa Jiyar, the second among the Ahōbalam Jiyars. Apart from the actual specific date given in the Ahōbala Maṭha Guruparamparā according to which the period of life of the first Jiyar, should have been A.D. 1378 to A.D. 1458, this Jiyar had had a period of ministration of sixty years at the end of which he passed the office on to his disciple Nārāyaṇa Jiyar, who occupied the responsible position for a period of thirteen years. So between them there were seventy-three years of tenancy of the pontificate. If we take the date A.D. 1378 as the date of birth of Śaṭakōpa Jiyar, his eighty years bring him down to A.D. 1458, and thirteen years therefrom would make

A. D. 1471, the last year of the pontificate of Nārāyaṇa Jiyar. Whereas we have here a specific date A. D. 1516 given for Nārāyaṇa Jiyar in the inscriptions at Tirupati. What is more, this date is not one given by way of a mere indirect reference, but is the date of an actual record of a donation made by the *Svāmi* himself, and must have been put on record necessarily under his orders, and, it may be, even under his supervision. It must necessarily therefore be taken as a contemporary record which could not be brushed aside. Accepting therefore A. D. 1516 as a date, say, more or less in the middle of Nārāyaṇa Jiyar's pontificate, we shall have to make an adjustment here by pushing up the dates of these Jiyars by about sixty years, if we take the date A. D. 1516 as some time in the middle of Nārāyaṇa Jiyar's pontificate. We have another date in an inscription of the time of Sadāśivarāya for the sixth pontiff Shashta Parāṅkuśa, to whom Sadāśivarāya gave, according to an inscription in Ahōbālam itself, the village of Bhāshya-puram, where he resided for some time and carried on his mission. The Christian date equivalent to it is some time in A. D. 1455. But we have yet another date much more indubitable than this, and relating to this *maṭhu* in an inscription of the time of Śrī Rangarāya dated S. 1506, and therefore equivalent to A. D. 1584-85. That is an inscription which records a historical event of considerable importance not only, but recounts also two incidents in the history of the pontificate which prove landmarks in history.

This is the Ahōbālam inscription relating to a grant made for the merit of a local chief, Koṇḍarāju Venkaṭarāju, the son of Timmarāju. This inscription says that, in a year corresponding to A. D. 1578-79, Ibrahim Qutub Shah of Gōlkoṇḍa invaded the Vijayanagar country and carried the raid up to the walls of Penugōṇḍa. In the course of this raid Ahōbālam fell into his hands and remained in the possession of the Muhammadans for five or six years. In this the Gōlkoṇḍa Sultan was assisted by a Haṇḍe Chief, Malakappa Nāyudu. It was then that Śrī Var Śāṭakōpasvāmi sought the intervention of Śrī Rangarāya to recover Ahōbālam from the Muhammadans. This Jiyar is said to be the seventh in succession to the first Jiyar whom, according to the inscription, God himself called on to assume the robes of renunciation and carry on the mission of the Vaishṇava teaching of Rāmānuja. He is also described as the direct disciple of Śrī Parāṅkuśasvāmi, generally known Shashta Parāṅkuśa, who is stated, in the inscription, to have gone to Purushōttamam (Pūri or Jagannāth) and had been treated with the greatest respect by

the ruler Mukundadēva, with whose assistance he set up the images of the Alvārs in the Vishnu shrine there. As the Kārya-karta of the Srāmi, Rāchappa made an appeal, and Śrīranga ordered preparations for an invasion by himself. When he was told that that was hardly necessary as the chief referred to, Koṇḍayya Venkaṭarāju, volunteered service and his good offices would be quite adequate if the emperor granted permission. The emperor granted the permission sought, and Ahōbālam was recovered. Here the inscription is definitely dated in A.D. 1584-85, which must have fallen within the period of the pontificate of the seventh Jiyar Śaṭakōpa. Then six years previous to this, A.D. 1578-79, Ahōbālam fell into the hands of the Muhammadans, and remained in their possession till it was recovered in A.D. 1584-85. Passing over the references to Ādi Vaṅ Śaṭakōpa Jiyar, which confirms the tradition that he assumed the office of Maṭhādhipati at the instance of God Nrsimha at Ahōbālam, we have the historical information that it was Shashta Parankuśa who went to Jagannāth and set up the idols of the Alvārs with the good offices of Mukundadēva, the usurping ruler of Orissa at the time. Mukundadēva's known dates are A.D. 1551 to A.D. 1571, and Parānkuśa Jiyar would have been his contemporary, whatever the actual date of his visit. This statement of the inscription is of particular importance as contradicting and correcting the Vaiṣṇava tradition which generally takes it that it was the first Śaṭakōpa Jiyar who paid the visit to Mukundadēva and set up the Alvārs which, having regard to the known dates of Mukundadēva, would be impossible. We have therefore three inscripational dates for these Ahōbāla Jiyars of quite contemporary value, namely, A.D. 1516 for the second pontiff Śrī Nārāyaṇa Jiyar, another date A.D. 1555 for the grant of Bhāshyapuram to Shashta Parānkuśa by Śadāśivarāya. This date is in accord with the statement in the Ahōbālam inscription that he visited Purushōttamam in the reign of Mukundadēva, A.D. 1551-1571. Then there is the third date for Vaṅ Śaṭakōpa III, the immediate successor of Shashta Parānkuśa in A.D. 1584-85, a contemporary of Śrī Rangarāya. The traditional dates with a correction of just two years, which is due to an obvious mistake, happen to be for Vaṅ Śaṭakōpa Jiyar A.D. 1378-1458 :

Śrī Nārāyaṇa Jiyar A.D. 1458 to A.D. 1471.

Parānkuśa Jiyar I, A.D. 1471 to A.D. 1482.

Śrīnivāsa Yati A.D. 1482 to A.D. 1491.

Śaṭakōpa II, A.D. 1491 to A.D. 1496.

Parāṅkuśa II, distinguished as Shashṭa Parāṅkuśa A.D. 1496 to A.D. 1510.

Śaṭakōpa III, A.D. 1510 to A.D. 1520.

Parāṅkuśa III, A.D. 1520 to A.D. 1535.

Nārāyaṇa Yati, A.D. 1535 to A.D. 1542.

**The correction Necessary in these dates.** We may neglect the successors for the time being. It will thus be seen that these nine Jiyars of the Ahōbala maṭha discharged the duties of the headship of the maṭha up to the end of the reign of Achyutarāya, beginning almost with the origin of the empire of Vijayanagar. On the basis of the first two inscriptional dates there is a difference of about fifty-eight years, or almost sixty years roundly, and, on the basis of the last date for the seventh pontiff of A.D. 1584-85, the error comes up to as much as sixty-four or sixty-five years even taking the last year of the traditional list. We may therefore take it roughly that the Guruparamparā dates are in error by about sixty years. Over-looking for the moment, that there would be a discrepancy from the dates of the sixth and the seventh pontiffs even on this basis. This error is perhaps due to mistakes in the details of the periods of tenancy of the separate pontiffs. But, taken on the whole, there is an antedating by about sixty years. It would be rather rash to carry this correction of sixty years into even the previous periods, for which perhaps a different correction may be required. We may therefore take it that the pontificate of Ādi Vaṇ Śaṭakōpa covered a period of sixty years which is likely enough as he had become a pontiff a young man of twenty as the traditional accounts have it. Counting sixty years backwards from A.D. 1516, the date available for Nārāyaṇa Jiyar, it would take us to A.D. 1456. It is just possible the date A.D. 1516 for Nārāyaṇa Jiyar may have been a date in the middle of his pontificate or even early, and an error of a maximum of thirteen years is possible. But taking the date A.D. 1516 as somewhere in the middle of the pontificate of the second Jiyar, the first pontiff's period would correspond to the period of Saluva Narasimha and his successors down to the first few years of the reign of Krishnadēvarāya. The first Parankuśa would be contemporary with Achyutarāya, the next three with Sadāśiva and Tirumala, and the seventh with Śri Rangarāya more or less. What really concerns us, however, is not exactly the correct period of the pontificate of these Jiyars; far rather their activity in Tirupati and their association with it. This Ādi Vaṇ Śaṭakōpa

Jiyar seems to have played an active part in the organisation of worship, etc., in Tirupati as his name figures in a number of inscriptions, and as was stated already, a *matha*, a garden, and a number of other services are associated with his name in the *Dēvastānam* inscriptions of the period. But his name actually does not occur in any of the inscriptions either as donor or otherwise. That is not strange, having regard to the fact that practically everything was left to the local people, the government interfering but little. As we shall see, it is not this pontiff alone that remains unmentioned. There is enough evidence, however, to accept the fact that this pontiff played an active part in the affairs of Tirupati, as there is enough direct reference to it. Similarly the fact of omission of references in inscriptions to the other great Vaishṇava Achāryas as well as Vēdānta Dēśika and his son, in respect of their visits to Tirupati and their residence there for short periods in the course of their mission, would be nothing surprising. Their visit and ministration at Tirupati need not be rejected on the ground that they find no mention in the inscriptions. We see then that the period beginning with Sāluva Narasimha and ending with the reign of Krishṇadēvarāya was a period of great Vaishṇava activity in Tirupati. Tirupati received the sympathy and even the active support of the subordinate government of Chandragiri during the first half of the period, and even that of the imperial government of Vijayanagar during the second half.

**From Vedānta Desika to the second Ahobala Jiyar.** The period with which we are at present concerned, namely, the period extending from the beginning of the Sāluvas at Chandragiri down to the end of the reign of Krishṇadēvarāya, may practically be regarded as the period of activity of the first Ahōbolam Jiyars. A number of Achāryas of the Vaishṇavas flourished in the period preceding, and of them practically all the prominent men paid visits to Tirupati and lived for some time in the holy place as was usually the case with them. Among them we must mention most prominently Śrī Vēdānta Dēśika, who as was stated already, paid two visits to Tirupati and stayed for some considerable time in the place during his last visit. Vēdānta Dēśika's time is, according to the *Guruparamparās*, A.D. 1268 to A.D. 1369. This period is not without difficulty for him. It would be difficult to reconcile the details of his life history with this actual period. The main source for Vēdānta Dēśika's history is the *Vaidhava Prakāśika* of Dōḍḍayāchārya or Mahāchārya, who casts this work

on the model of Vēdānta Dēśika's Vatirājasaptati, which is more or less a work in praise (*stōtra*) reciting the various achievements of Rāmānuja without any reference to a chronological order. So does the Vaibhava Prakāśika bear on the life of Vēdānta Dēśika. We can say nothing about the date of his birth except the fact that he was supposed to have been born as the result of a dream in which Śrī Vēnkaṭēśa of Tirupati appeared to his parents in a dream, and presented them with the bell which was being used on occasions of offering worship in the temple. It was discovered that the bell was lost, and, as the result of a search, it was discovered that it had been given away by the God. Hence even now worship is being offered without ringing the hand-bell as is usual in all other temples as at Tirupati before this. Immediately on the birth of a son, the parents are said to have paid a visit to Tirupati, of which we have no reflection in the records that have come down to us. In respect of a certain number of incidents connected with his life, it is possible to have historical proof, and we shall have to take the statement of the life details of Vēdānta Dēśika on the basis of these. Vēdānta Dēśika was a man who had attained to great reputation as a scholar and teacher at Conjivaram, where he was born and had his early education, from where he was invited to Śrīrangam to assume the headship of the Vaishṇava assembly there as a scholar of extraordinary eminence and brilliant achievements comparatively early in his life. It was in this condition that these Vaishṇavas were scattered away from Śrīrangam as a result of the Muhammadan irruption. The *Kōvil-Oḷugu*, which is an account of the temple at Śrīrangam, seems to make this invasion the invasion of Muhammadbin-Tughlak in A.D. 1328, which went farther south and ended in the occupation of Madura and the creation of a Muhammadan governorship there. There are even a few inscriptions in the south of the Pudukkotta state and in Ramnad, referring themselves to the reign of Muhammad which put it beyond a doubt that this invasion of Muhammad Tughlak resulted in throwing the whole Tamil country into confusion and made life impossible for the assembled vaishṇavas in Śrīrangam. The *Guruparamparā* of Tṛtiya Brahmatantrasvāmī, who was near enough in time to Vēdānta Dēśika, to have known the details of his life, seems to refer to a date corresponding to A.D. 1336, when it is possible there was Muhammadan activity in the vicinity of Śrīrangam. That was the year following the establishment of Muhammad's officer in Madura as independent Sultan. He might have streng-

thened the garrison at Kannanūr, or otherwise provided for defending himself against an attack from Muhammad which did not come because of his having been involved at the time with a more serious rebellion in Bengal. But then the *Kōvil Oḷugu* account which narrates the vicissitudes in the fortunes of the Ranganātha image which was being carried away for safety from the temple southwards, seems more or less to confirm the Muhammadan activities following A.D. 1328 rather than A.D. 1336, thus apparently giving us a difference of eight years between the two different accounts. One party on the Vaishṇavas at Śrīrangam went away south, carrying the image of Ranganātha, along with Pillai Lōkāchārya, who dodged the invader by travelling through forest paths and shifting from place as the army came nearer and nearer, till the Āchārya himself died in Tiruk.kōṭṭiyūr in the course of the journey. Vēdānta Dēśika retired northwestwards into the territory of Mysore. The *Guruparamparā* accounts somehow mention the place of his stay at Satyamangalam on the banks of the Kāvēri. But the local accounts in Mysore mention the village Satyagālam a few miles from Kollegāl, which is on the banks of the Kāvēri, while Satyamangalam is on the Bhavāni, much farther down. He resided there for a number of years quietly even paying a visit to Tirunārāyaṇapuram where he is said to have built a temple to Rāmānuja in front of the big shrine and installed Rāmānuja's image there and arranged for its worship. When the chieftains who founded Vijayanagar had successfully carried their invasions southwards and dislodged the Muhammadan garrisons from various localities, they felt sufficient confidence to make an attempt at rebuilding the temple of Madura which was completely destroyed, and restoring the temple at Śrīrangam, bringing back the image which had wandered all over and found shelter in one of the secret glades round the hill of Tirupati and reinstalling the image in the temple. Vēdānta Dēśika is said to have returned then to Śrīrangam, and one of his verses is found in an inscription in the temple which records the fact that Gōpaṇārya, the governor of Gingee who played his own part in the conquests of the chieftains founding Vijayanagar, had brought the image down from Gingee and installed it there. The inscription is dated A.D. 1371, whereas, according to the *Guruparamparā* accounts, Vēdānta Dēśika must have died in A.D. 1369. That is not all. Vēdānta Dēśika is said to have lived in Śrīrangam for a number of years afterwards, and did certain things through the

good office of Gōpaṇārya himself, one such act being the reinstallation of Gōvīṇḍarāja in his original shrine in Chīḍambaram at the instance of Vēḍānta Dēśika. He is also said to have remained teaching in Śrīrangam and writing just a few of the most important works of his in the last period of his life.

According to these accounts, he is said to have paid two visits to Tirupati. The earlier visit may have been when he was still in residence in Conjivaram studying and teaching, and other-wise equipping himself for the great mission of his life. That may have been in the period before he assumed the headship of the Vaiṣṇava assembly in Śrīrangam. The second visit which he made, came later when his position as the head of the Vaiṣṇavas had been recognised. He is said to have made some stay in Tirupati and looked after the affairs of the temple and conducted the ministrations from there, while it is barely possible that this visit also took place before he had to flee for safety from Śrīrangam. It was stated already that in Vaiṣṇava estimation, Śrīrangam, Conjivaram and Tirupati became the three holy of holies, and in special charge of the head of the community. In the later days of his life, and, as a result of the visit to Tirupati mentioned above, Vēḍānta Dēśika is said to have ordered one of his principal disciples, the first Brahmatantrasvāmi to remain in Tirupati and look after the affairs of the temple. He ordered his own son Nayinārchārya, a somewhat younger man, though higher in point of dignity, to remain in Śrīrangam and continue his mission, while he entrusted the affairs of the temple at Conjivaram to another of his principal disciples, though he was not such a prominent figure as either the son or the Brahmatantrasvāmi. This person's name is given as Tirumalai Śrīnivāsāchārya who, in his turn, became famous later on. This Brahmatantrasvāmi continued in charge at Tirupati. Even when Dēśika's son Nayinārchārya as he is called, his secular name being Varadāchārya, visited Tirupati somewhat later, and when the Brahmatantrasvāmi died an old man, the management of the temple was taken over by another disciple who was known by the name Pērarulālan appai, who became later on the dvitīya (second) Brahmatantrasvāmi, who continued in the management of the temple at Tirupati. But we find no echo of these transactions in the inscriptions, in the temple at Tirupati which cover this period; but a certain number of prominent disciples who were contemporaries of the first and second Brahmatantrasvāmis, namely, a Ghāṭikā Śatam Ammāl and Doddavāchārya and Prativādi Bhayamkaram Appā,

(2) 22. 10. 12 - 12. 10. 12  
 12. 10. 12 - 12. 10. 12  
 12. 10. 12 - 12. 10. 12



the youngest of them all, do find reference in the inscriptions of the days of Krishnadēvarāya. We are therefore not in a position definitely to reject the association of Vēdānta Dēśika or his son with Tirupati in spite of a certain amount of chronological uncertainty. The first Brahmatantara Jiyar is said to have built the shrine to Vēdānta Dēśika both in Upper Tirupati and in the Lower We find mention of these Vēdānta Dēśika's shrines in inscriptions as already existing, and we are not told in those records as to who built them or when these shrines were made. That gives us clearly to understand that the shrines must have been built before, and had been in existence at the time to which the reference relates. It therefore seems clear that all these Vaiṣṇava Achāryas made it a point to visit Tirupati as an important shrine for the Vaiṣṇavas, and render some kind of service or other there chiefly by remaining and looking after the affairs of the temple, at least so far as the conduct of worship as organised by Rāmānuja was concerned. So far therefore as Vēdānta Dēśika and his contemporaries are concerned, it looks as though the correction of fifteen or sixteen years that we applied in the case of Rāmānuja will suffice, and the period of Vēdānta Dēśika and his immediate successors would then correspond to the period of the struggle culminating in the establishment of the empire of Vijayanagar, the formal establishment of which may be ascribed to the year A.D. 1382 when Harihara II gave himself the full imperial titles, including among them "the establisher of the Castes and Orders", even adding the peculiarly sacerdotal title of the "establisher of the Vēda," (*Vēda-Mārga-Pratiṣṭāpana-Achārya*), usually applied to these religious teachers, whether they be ascetics or family men. Two or three generations of successors of Vēdānta Dēśika, his son and two successors beyond him, would just cover the period of the first dynasty of Vijayanagar, and then would come in the first Ahōbalam Jiyar. Thus we seem to be in possession of fairly reliable information for the association of the Vaiṣṇava Achāryas succeeding Rāmānuja with Tirupati in unbroken continuation.

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## CHAPTER VII

### THE MADHVA ACHARYA VYASARAYASVAMI.

The Śrī Vaishṇava Āchāryas above referred to were associated with Tirupati as visitors exercising great influence as respected Achāryas of the community, and not because of any official prestige associated with them except to the extent of having been patronised by the rulers for the time being as persons worthy of great respect. Otherwise their position was as private individuals, however respected. We have now to consider another Achārya of great name, though not belonging to the group of Śrī Vaishṇavas. This is the Madhvāchārya known by the name Śrī Vyāsarāya-svāmi ordinarily, oftentimes by the names Vyāsa Guru and Vyāsa Yōg. In regard to him and his association with Tirupati, we are lucky in the possession of a life of the Svāmi composed by one of his disciples by name Sōmanātha which is even said to have received the approval of the Svāmi himself. This is the Champu work, combined prose and poetry, by name Śrī Vyāsa Yōgi Charitam by a Sōmanātha Kavi. This has been made available to us some time since by the late Mr. B. Venkoba Rao of the Mysore Civil Service, and has been brought out from the manuscript in possession of another member of the service, the late Mr. Srinivasamurti who secured the manuscript while he was the *Kāryakarta* of the Śrī Vyāsarāya *Maṭh* at Sosale near Mysore. As usual with Indian poetical works, this work recounts the life of the *Guru* with all the circumstantial embellishments associated with a poetical work, being at the same time substantially true to life. The one thing wanting to make it historical is a chronological setting, which perhaps is not exactly the fault of the poet, as it may be that his contemporaries and immediate successors had no difficulty in following the account, while it is found to be difficult by us, because of our peculiar circumstances. Mr. Venkoba Rao has provided an illuminating introduction running through 186 pages of the work which certainly contributes to make the work as intelligible as the circumstances of its composition would admit. The main events of the life of the Svāmi that concern us are :—

He was born in Mysore at a place called Banṇūr near Śrīrangapatam, and had his early education, which brought him into contact with the occupant of the Madhva Maṭh for the time

being, who, for some reason which is not quite obvious, advised him to visit the ruler of the time Śāluva Narasimha. So Śrī Vyāsarāyasvāmi travelled by the high road of those days through Mulbāgal and arrived at Chandragiri, and was received at the court with all the honour due to a man of the extraordinary learning that he was, and one who had renounced the world withal. He is said to have stayed with him as a valued adviser and regarded almost as a permanent member of the court. With the accession of Narasimha to imperial power, the Svāmi's influence increased and probably he removed himself to Vijayanagar along with the monarch, and continued to remain there through the reign of his son and successor Dharmarāya, to whom the work refers in this name, as we know this to have been the actual name of Immaḍi Narasimha of the Śāluva dynasty. When about the end of the century Narasā Nāyaka became the all powerful Kāryakarta (vicegerent) of the empire, this Svāmi continued with him and was the recipient of extraordinary honours even from his Muhammadan contemporaries, among them a drum carried on the back of a camel and a green flag which one of the contemporary Sultans probably the Adil Shah presented to him. He continued to occupy the same position of influence during the reign of his successor, Vira Narasimha and even under Krishṇadēvarāya. During the period that he spent at the court at Chandragiri, it would be perfectly natural to take it that he made visits to Tirupati perhaps several times, and he could have lived there for long periods of time, if he liked it, as even a regular member of the court. As a man holding the holy office of a Sanyāsin, he may have given himself the honour of residence at the holy place for comparatively long periods of time, going to court whenever his presence was called for. This seems quite likely from the position that he occupied at court. Popular tradition, supported by this work, gives him credit for a stay of twelve years at Tirupati conducting actually the worship of Lord Venkaṭēśa on the hill. Of course the years during which he made that stay and occupied that high office are not stated to us in precise terms. But the fact is generally stated that he stayed in Tirupati for twelve years and for a considerable period of this time was doing the work of a worshipping priest in the temple. Luckily for us the Tirupati inscriptions shed valuable and welcome light upon this particular position. The information however comes from a certain number of records three of them specifically, comparatively late in the reign of Krishṇadēvarāya.

The records are actually dated in A. D. 1524 and a later one in A. D. 528. These records refer to the grant of a certain number of house-sites to this pontiff for building a *Madhva Matha* both on the hill and in Tirupati at the foot of the hill, and in both the places the extent of land given was two house-sites, whatever the actual size of each site at the time. These house-sites are said, in these records, to have been vacant sites in the possession of the temple, as having been confiscated under royal orders as the property of temple priests who had been charged with, and found guilty of, having stolen some temple jewels. The matter seems to have been brought to the notice of Saluva Narasimha and he punished them severely as they deserved—it seems to be, although it is not explicitly stated—with death. The order was carried out so thoroughly that no competent priest of the family of sufficient age was left to carry on worship in the temple. It will be remembered here that the actual worship in the temple was entrusted to such of the descendants of the original priest Bimbā-dara, whom Rāmānuja was able to discover alive when he organised worship in Tirupati. There could not have been a very large number of families, as in fact these temple priests are not even now, and therefore if the principal ones of them implicated in the crime were punished, we could well imagine there may have been no qualified person left. As it was generally accepted that a man who had renounced life was likely to be under no temptation to commit crimes of this sort, it was a recognised principle in Tirupati that such people, single men, either bachelors or men who had renounced life, were placed in charge of important positions of trust and responsibility. Being near at hand and living there, it is very probable, as tradition states it, that Śrī Vyāsarāyasvāmi was entrusted with this office, till some one belonging to the family of the hereditary priests should become qualified to carry on the services in the temple as heretofore. That is what is actually said to have taken place on this occasion. The manner in which the reference occurs, and the almost casual and allusive way in which the whole thing is referred to, stamps the account of the inscriptions as a mere statement of fact. So then that particular event in the life of Śrī Vyāsarāyasvāmi that he stayed for some years at Tirupati and even officiated or supervised the conduct of worship for twelve years as the chief priest conducting worship in the temple may be accepted as a fact, though the worship should have been in the manner prescribed in the Vaikhanasa *sutra*. But the fact of his

having acquired the house-sites for building his *Maṭha* so late in the reign of Krishṇadēvarāya, makes the other details of his life, which describe him as occupying a position of extraordinary influence at court, and being practically the principal adviser of the rulers, look like an exaggeration. But that need not necessarily lead us to regard his having been honoured as a principal member of the court valued for the high character of his life and learning as untrue. So then Śrī Vyāsarāyasvāmi might have lived at the headquarters of the empire and advised the monarchs when that advice was sought, but otherwise occupying a position of great respect. The association of the *Svāmi* with Tirupati however, seems narrowly limited to his having lived for long periods at Tirupati. His having officiated for a comparatively long stretch of years as the temple priest till the posthumous child of the family of priests should attain to age and assume the responsibility of his hereditary office stands on a different footing. This may have been due to his position and influence at court as at the time that this had happened actually there were perhaps others in Tirupati, such as Kandāḍai Rāmnūja Aiyāṅgar, who may as well have been entrusted with this important work. The position, therefore, of Śrī Vyāsarāyasvāmi was perhaps as a valued member of the court and comparatively less as a habitual resident of Tirupati exercising influence there, though he may have lived at one time for twelve years and on other occasions as well for the very good reason that living at a holy place for a number of years is considered an act of merit by the Hindus generally. That he lived on to late years in the reign of Krishṇadēvarāya and received a grant for the building of the *Maṭha* which he himself built both in the hill and at the foot of the hill, and continued to be influential even during the succeeding reigns is all because of the great spiritual merit of the *Svāmi* as well as the judgment of the imperial rulers, who valued the presence of a man of high character at court. The advent of Rāmarāya to a position of influence even in the days of Krishṇadēvarāya is said to have altered the conditions of life of the *Svāmi* in Vijayanagar, and that does not concern us for the present. So far as Tirupati is concerned, Śrī Vyāsarāyasvāmi was one who was resident for long years in the place and exercised a considerable influence in the affairs of the temple for some time. His period of life activity and association with Tirupati would have been, for the most part of it, contemporaneous with the first Ahōbālam Jīyars, to whom also there are references in the

inscriptions of the period which we have so far taken into consideration.

**Krishna's peculiar devotion to Tirupati explained.** Before taking leave of Krishnadēvarāya of Vijayanagar in connection with Tirupati, perhaps we may advert usefully to a point in his life, which, to some extent, would explain why he was so devoted to the temple. It was pointed out that the historical circumstances under which he came to the throne, and his responsibilities, as he conceived them, for the empire, made his position critical. At the same time, he seems to have been oppressed with the notion of a number of crises in his life astrologically, and these periods happened to coincide with such critical periods of his life as about the time of the battle of Raichūr, the time when his son Prince Tirumala died, and even one or two occasions of his own illness, would indicate that he took his duties seriously, and, like a pious man, threw the burden of his responsibilities at least partly upon God. Hence the particular purpose of his visits to Tirupati and his peculiar devotion to God Venkaṭeśa, though normally he seems to have been a man of piety who realised his duty to God and *dharma*. Notwithstanding the troubles which afflicted him in the later years of his life, his period of reign, on the whole, must be regarded as a success from the point of view of the emperor, and he could leave the world with the consoling thought that all was well with the empire, for which he laboured so hard, and let his younger brother, Achyuta succeed to the throne, notwithstanding popular accounts to the contrary.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### TIRUPATI DURING ACHYUTARAYA'S REIGN

Achyuta, or in full style Achyutadēvarāya Mahārāya, was a half brother of Krishṇa. The father Narasā Nāyaka is said to have married three wives, Tippāji, Nāgalādēvi and Ōbāmbā. Vira Narasimha was the son of the first, Krishṇa of the second and Achyutarāya and Ranga of the third. It is doubtful whether Achyuta or Ranga was really the elder of the two. But it looks as though Ranga died comparatively early and passes out of view except for his children, among them the next succeeding ruler Sadāśiva. It is generally said that Krishṇadēvarāya on his accession ordered Achyuta, the young son of Vira Narasimha and other members of the royal family, at least those near enough to put forward a claim to the throne, to be immured in the fortress of Chandragiri. While it may be fact that these were sent forward to Chandragiri to be beyond reach of the possible intrigues of the capital, it seems open to doubt whether we should on this account regard Krishṇa as having actually put them into prison. This seems the more unlikely as we find Achyuta entrusted with the administration during Krishṇa's reign, as we shall see presently. We noticed above that Krishṇa had an anxious time of it during the last decade of his rule. The war against the Muhammadans, generally described as the battle of Raichūr from the chief event although it seems to be known in Hindu authorities by other names, was really a critical period in his history even astrologically, apart from the serious character of the war in which he actually was engaged personally. Then followed periods of illness, the death of his only son and the consequent upsetting, mental and perhaps even physical, which seem to have created a certain amount of confusion. As early as A.D. 1524 we have records of the young prince Tirumala governing a province in the Mysore country. He seems already designated heir-apparent and was entrusted with the government of, it may be a province or division, governing by deputy as it usually was the case in similar circumstances. That son died early in A.D. 1525. Soon after records in the name of Achyuta begin to appear. Achyuta seems to have been carrying on the administration for his brother during a period of, it may be illness, or perhaps

absence. Whatever it was, during the last five years of Krishna's administration Achyuta was associated with him. Another person who comes into view about this critical period is Ramaraja already spoken of as the son-in-law. Whether he was actually Krishna's son-in-law or not, we find him associated with the administration in A.D. 1525. The character given to him, however by a contemporary literary work seems to show him already as a bad man. He is described as the son-in-law, Ramaraya, governing the land, much given to the vice of sexual indulgence and games at dice. He is spoken of as doing daily that which was unpleasing to Brahmins and Gurus. The last part of this statement is reminiscent of an old tag in the Tamil classics where a good feature of character in a man in power is described as one that refrains from doing anything that would cause pain to a Brahman. The coming of Aliya Ramaraja to power along with Achyuta coincided with the fall of the great minister, Saluva Tiruma from power, all apparently the result of the death of the prince Tirumala. In the years following, we do not hear quite so much of Ramaraja, although inscriptions are found here and there referring to him in authority. It seems the administration was actually carried on by Achyutaraya, even when Krishna was actually exercising authority.

**The Coronation of Achyuta and Tirupati.** The actual coronation however of Achyuta seems to have taken place in A.D. 1529. There are records to indicate that the coronation took place once in Tirupati, the earliest; the next at Kalahasti, and the next formal one at Vijayanagar, all within a period of about a month, October-November of the year. This is from the evidence of the inscriptions and must have taken place while Krishna was yet alive. This seems in a way to be confirmed by statements in the *Vyāsa-yōgicharitam* that Krishna actually crowned his younger brother and placed him upon the throne, and prepared himself for

1. जामाता भूम्मीपालः रामराय इति स्मृतः  
त कामवशमात्रं नित्यं ह्येते च निश्चितः  
ब्राह्मणानां गुह्यानां च नित्यमप्रियमातनोद ।

*Mahisura Narapati Vijayam,*  
Mysore Archaeological Report for 1907.

2. स्वंगतरंगावलिचोषिताक्षौरमोमिराण्डदितसार्धौ (मः) ।  
यस्यान्ननिध्दंदिममानभासः करा इकाभति चस्तुसमुद्रः ॥  
तत्रान्तरे स खड्गं कृष्णनृपोऽनुजय्य नान्नाण्डुतस नन्मोजपरप्रमस्य  
इस्ते मही मरणशासन लक्षण (स्व) मस्तो मण्डितवर्धितं मङ्गलं म्यवत् ॥





KALYANA MANGARA

*(To face page 104)*



ORNAMENTED PILLARS IN THE ROYAL PAVILION (See page 145)

death by appealing to Śrī Vyāsarāya. So Achyuta came to the throne with the countenance of his brother in A.D. 1529, Krishna dying perhaps more than a year later. The actual time of his accession to the throne again happened to be a critical period in the history of Vijayanagar. One of the trusted officers of Krishna, an officer of great ability and in high favour with the monarch, set up in revolt from his government in the central region of the empire; and when hard pressed, escaped into the Tiruvadi country (Travancore) and had to be brought to submission. Perhaps that was the reason which made Krishna crown Achyutadevarāya and proceed on the campaign. Almost about the same time, another powerful viceroy of his the trusted officer Nagamanāyaka of his father Narasā, seemed to have showed himself to adopt a policy of his own as against the local rulers, the Pāṇḍya and Chōla in particular. These were undoubtedly serious inroads into the authority of the headquarters. The first, Sāluva Nāyaka, was turned out and perhaps the rebellion was put an end to so far as the imperial territory was concerned. Nagamanāyaka's son, Viṣyanātha Nāyaka volunteered to lead an expedition against his father and satisfactorily arranged matters by bringing the father to court and ultimately to an understanding as the result of the old officer's submission. It still remained to bring the escaped rebel to reason as well as the Tiruvadi ruler who gave him asylum. That was the first act of Achyuta's reign. But he seems to have remained at headquarters during the first year, and perhaps more, till Krishṇadevārāya actually passed away. Having regard to the fact that practically during the whole reign of Krishna, Achyuta remained in Chandragiri, it may be under surveillance, with sufficient freedom to visit Tirupati and get into something like an attachment to the temple, such as Krishna himself had developed in the course of his life, Achyuta's devotion to Tirupati does not appear to be anything less than that of Krishna. Though his visits are not quite as many, his donation to Tirupati does not appear to be the less magnificent, and mementoes of his good will to the shrine are available in number.

Achyuta's visits to Tirupati. He is said to have paid three separate visits to the temple. The first one was in January A.D.

तस्मिन्कालनिविलम्बमि वसुमतीवलयं श्रीरया उन्नयति सति केसुरस्य निरपय चतुश्पाथे  
श्रीमदच्युतदेवराये.

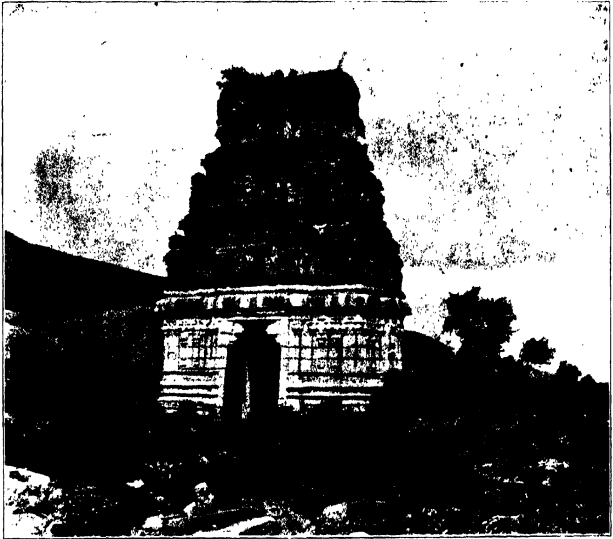
कृष्णभूपतिरायुबोऽमर्षा व्यासतापसमभि स सुस्मयीः ।

स्वर्गमार्गसुखार्थं प्रवृत्तये वेदिकामिष विवृष्टुरागमत् ॥

pp. 76-77 Vyāsajogioharitam.

1533. On this occasion he visited the temple with his wife, Varadāji Amman, and his son, prince Kumāra Venkaṭa. Achyuta himself offered worship while the temple priest recited the thousand names of Śrīnivāsa (*Śrīnivāsā Sahasranāma*), and a number of costly jewels and ornaments, as also some presents in the names of his wife and son. This visit follows closely upon his invasion of the Tiruvadi country, which is described in circumstantial detail in the *Achyutarāya-Abhyudāyam* of Śrī Rājanātha. Achyuta actually went on this expedition only as far as Śrirangam, where he was asked to stay, his brother-in-law Salakam Timmarāju, volunteering service to conduct the invasion further and bring the rebels to book. He did that with success, and brought both the Tiruvadi ruler and the rebel Timma who rendered submission to Achyuta. After that he paid the visit to Tirupati.

Achyuta's second visit to Tirupati seems to be on record in two of his inscriptions, Nos. (54) and (58) of volume 4 of the Devastānam Inscriptions dated A.D. 23-12-1533. He instituted on this occasion a new festival called Lakshmidēvi Mahōtsava to be celebrated for five days for Tiruvengadamudaiyān and Alarmelmangai Nāchchiyār. He also instituted another annual festival for Śrī Rāma on the days of the Punarvasu *nakshatra* during the thirteen days of the year of that *nakshatra*. Towards the expenses of these festivals, he granted the revenues to the temple of Uttarāyam of 300 *rēkai pon* and sixty *rēkai pon* respectively from the two villages situated in the Kondavidu Sīrmai. In return for these the temple treasury was to supply all the articles necessary. The term Uttarāyam here seems to be used in the sense of royal revenues or revenues paid to the state over and above such local revenues and taxes that may be levied and collected by the local authorities. The Lakshmidēvi festival was intended to be begun on the day of Uttaraṭṭādi and brought to a close on the following day of Rōhiṇi. This record No. (54) mentions seven separate pavilions (*maṇṭapam*) where the God is to be taken on certain festival days and food-service offered. These are two each in the names of Achyuta, his queen Varādāmba, and one in the name of Kumāra Chikka Venkaṭādri, one in the name of Narasa Nayakar, and one in the name of Ōhāchi Amman. The last two were the father and mother of the king. There is a distinction made in the character of the pavilions; but ordinarily pavilions are built either in gardens or in streets. Another variety called Angapā Maṇṭapam, would mean a maṇṭapa forming the



RUINED GOPURA OF ACHUTARAYAPURAM, TIRUPATI

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KAPILA TIRTHAM, LATER ALVAR TIRTHAM

*(To face page 107)*

centre surrounded by houses and streets. There is also a reference to a tank in the name of Achyutarāya, Achyutarāyakōṇēri round which he laid out a town called Achyutarāyapuram installing in it Achyutarāya Perumāḷ in a shrine and constructing a charity house (Chāṭram), in his own name, providing food supply for it by instituting a service in the temple. Similar memorials are found elsewhere also in the empire. It does not appear that Achyutarāya was accompanied by his queen and the prince on this occasion. But there are references to a number of donations by his officers very soon after from which an inference is possible that they accompanied him. The principal ones referred to are Rāma Bhattar Ayyan, Rāyasam Rāmachandra Dikshitar, Malaiyappa Ayyar, and two ladies holding the office Aḍaippam (betal box), Rukmini Amman and Padmada Amman. He appears to have paid a third visit to Tirumalai from certain gifts made by his officers almost simultaneously. These grants by the officers were all dated Ś. 1458 equivalent to A. D. 12-1-1537. There is also an inscription by an officer whose name is gone, who granted the village of Mallāpuram at the suggestion of Achyutarāya himself for services on the seventh day of Tirukkōḍi Tirunāḷ at Tirumalai. The donor's share of the food-service according to this was to be made over to a certain Appayyan, whom the Dēvastānam report takes to be Nādiṇḍla Appa, an officer of Krishṇadēvarāya and a nephew of the great minister Sāluva Timma, inferring as a result of this identification that the donor-officer probably was Sāluva Timma himself. Apart from these visits, he made other donations to the temple. One of them the earliest on record is of date S. 1453 (25-6-1531) put on record in three languages, Telugu, Kanarese and Tamil. The tank, Kapilātīrtham in Lower Tirupati was provided with stone steps all round with Sandhyāvandana maṅṅapas on the eastern and western sides, marking the boundary with stones marked with Vishṇu's discus. He renamed it Chakratīrtha in order that he might thereby gain the four ends of human life, Dharma (righteousness), Artha (wealth), Kāma (wishes), and Mōksha (salvation). The next piece of his service is the building of a temple to Achyuta Perumāḷ in the temple village of Kōṭṭūr. He established an agrahāra of 120 houses, which he got built round the temple, buying the land for 2,400 paṇam paid into the temple treasury. To meet the expenses of its daily worship, he made a grant of the village called Parittiputtūr dividing it into twenty shares. On a date corresponding to A.D. 8-2-1539, he

presented 100 out of the 120 houses to Brahmans reserving twenty for the temple for the residence of the priests maintaining themselves from the twenty shares of the village of Parittiputtūr. This new *agrahāram* was in the northern suburb of Lower Tirupati where perhaps the ruins of the village could be traced even now. The *agrahāram* must have been constructed by Ś. 1538 (31-1-1537) when there is a reference to this temple and a service in connection therewith. There is also a charity house under reference in another inscription. Another peculiar service of Achyuta to the temple is the provision that he made for maintaining two dancing girls for service by sending two such all the way from Vijayanagar. One of them is named Kuppāyi and described as the grand daughter of a Sri Rangarāya, who had the title *Vidvatsubhā Rāya Ranjakam* which would mean that this person was a music and dancing master, whose proficiency was appreciated by the assembly of the learned as well as the king, thereby indicating that perhaps the woman was an expert in the art, and was sent over as such. The other one is called Hanumasāni, the termination *Sāni* which was generally an honorific term meaning what the English word lady does now-a-days. It has now become generally applied to dancing girls, who are called *Nāyakasānis* in Kanarese, perhaps indicating their association with the subordinate courts under Vijayanagar rule. She is described as the daughter of Uṭṭida Timmaiyan in Tamil. The first part of the word *Uṭṭida* is probably a Tamil version of the Kanarese *huttida* which seems to indicate that he was one of those palace servants who was born in the servant's quarters of the palace. These are described as *Emberumān Adiyār*, God's servants, intended to render service of various kinds in the temple.

The queen who is generally called in these inscriptions Varadājidevi Amman, known to literature as Varadāmbikā, provided for a certain number of services in the temple. She provided for a food-service to God to follow similar services already instituted in the name of Achyuta and Krishna. She set apart the revenues from six villages for meeting the expense of the service instituted by her. Two of the villages were in the Gandikōṭṭa *Śīrmai* and three villages from the Kondavidu *Śīrmai*, and one from Nārāyaṇapuram. She made provision for another large number of services in the Gōvindarāja shrine; but the grant is too far gone to make anything out of it. The prince Kumāra Venkaṭādri is associated with some of these grants made by the father. There is no record of any independent grant of his.



A number of officers are recorded to have made grants for the merit of Achyutarāya Mahārāya. The first one is Salakarāju Śiṟu Tirumalarāju. This is the younger of the two brothers of the queen, by name Tirumalarāju. He purchased a piece of land in the west street of the hill town and laid out an *Angaṇa Tiruvīdhi* for the merit of his sister in Ś. 1463 (21st December 1541). There is a Singarāju, son of Salakarāju, probably another brother, who instituted certain offerings in Ś. 1458 (12th January 1537), which provide that the donor's share of the service was to be made over to the *Achārya* of his own sister, probably the queen. Another officer who distinguished himself by such a service is Śri Ranga Nāyakar, son of a Tuluva Vengalū Nāyakar of Padaividu. He made a deposit and arranged for a service in Ś. 1458 (14th December 1536) for the merit of Svāmi Achyutarāya Mahārāya, Vāradaji Amman Avargaḷ, Chikka Venkaṭātri Uḍaiyār. Another officer by name Śiṟu Timmaiyaṟ, son of Bhandaram Apparasan made provision in Ś. 1456 (23rd August 1534), for the coating over of the image of the God with civet on the thirteen days of the *Mṛgaśīrṣhā* asterism, the birth star of the King. Numbers of other officers have provided for services, but without any specific reference to the royal family. We shall take them up in order as before.

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## CHAPTER IX.

### INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REIGN OF ACHYUTARAYA.

Although Achyutarāya's reign is about half the length of Krishnadevarāya's, the number of records belonging to it is far larger and consists of the same class of inscriptions, records of the king and his family, records by officials and others associated with the king in various capacities and purely private inscriptions. Several of these last also state it that the benefactions were made for the spiritual merit of the king or the prince. Of these grants, the grants by the king or the queen are generally gifts of villages or assignments of revenue; while in the case of the other grants, some of them do happen to be grants of villages; most of them however are money deposits for particular services, single or a series, throughout the year. In all cases of these money grants, the condition that the money should be applied for the improvement of temple lands or temple villages by improvement of irrigation resources or otherwise, and that it is only the income, the annual income, that should be utilised for the purpose of the various services, is prescribed. It is therefore only such matters as call for remark other than these general characteristics that would be mentioned in the following summary of the inscriptions. Inscription No. (1) of this Volume, Volume IV of the Devasthanam inscriptions, refers itself to the reign of Achyutadēvarāya Mahārāya and for his spiritual merit. It is dated without the Śāka year in the year *Virōdhi* (14th January 1530). It was a donation by Kumāra Rāmānuja Aiyangar, the superintendent of *Rāmānuja-kūṭams* or charity houses at Tirumalai and Tirupati, as also of the temple treasury, thereby showing that he was the successor of Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyangar in this office. He was probably the latter's son; but another member of the Kandāḍai family comes between him and Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyangar. This Kumāra Rāmānuja Aiyangar constructed a wooden car for Śrī Raghunātha in the Rāmasvāmi shrine in Lower Tirupati. This record shows that, on the 14th January 1530, Achyutadēvarāya Mahārāya was already ruling. An inscription in Kānchi refers to his coronation on a date corresponding to 21st October 1529, and there is a reference in certain Conjivaram inscriptions to a coronation in Vijayanagar on a day corresponding to the 20th

November 1529. It however appears that his first coronation was in Tirupati, where he is supposed to have been anointed to the rule of the kingdom by his having bathed in the water poured out of the conch in the hand of God Śrī Venkaṭeśa at Tirupati. This circumstantial detail is stated in the *Achyutarāyabhyudayam*, (canto III, verse 33). This would seem to lend support to the statement referred to in the *Vyāsayōgi Charitam* that Krishna himself anointed Achyuta, and appointed him to rule while yet he was alive. Probably the ceremony in Tirupati has reference to that, and must therefore have been earlier than the other two coronations referred to, although they may all of them have constituted one series. The next record is No 3 from Tirupati and refers to the same donor as the one above. This record makes provision for services of a large number of festivals throughout the year, for which he paid into the treasury 8,779 *paṇam* to be applied as usual for an annul income. There is a reference to a festival instituted by Achyutarāya, and another one to a *maṅṭapa* built by himself in front of the *Rāmānujakuta* in Lower Tirupati. The fourth of the *Prasāda* due to the donor should be made over in this case to the *Dharmakarta* of the *Rāmānujakūṭas* on the hill and in Lower Tirupati. Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyangar seems to have been followed by a Kandāḍai Mādḥava Aiyangar, a disciple of his and perhaps also a relation, and he in turn was followed by this Kumāra Rāmānuja Aiyangar. The next record worth noting is No. 5 of s. 1452 (8th July 1530). This refers to a benefaction by a dancing girl, Gōvindasāni for a service to Gōvindarāja in Lower Tirupati, who was to be brought over to a pavilion built by her on the bank of the *Gōvinda Pushkaraṇi* on the day of the *Māsi Makham* a date in February—March. She paid 300 *paṇam* into the treasury for this service. The next document is No. 6 of s. 1452 (31st October 1530). This is an agreement with Tallapākkam Tirumalai Aiyangar, son of Annamaiyengar, the songster of the temple by special appointment. This refers to the making over of four villages in different localities for the purpose of a number of services in the year. There is a reference in this to the festival instituted by Achyutarāya and to a *Sankirtana Bhaṅḍāra* or treasury containing the *sankīrtanas* or songs composed by this poet. The copper plates containing these are kept in a room even now in careful custody, and, among the days for services mentioned, happens to be the birthday of Achyutarāya in the asterism Mrgaśirṣam. Documents 8, 9 and 10 refer to the transformation of the *Kapilāvṛtha*

into *Chakratīrtha* by Achyutarāya in A. D. 1531, as was already stated. No. 11 of Ś. 1453 (6th June 1531) is a document which conveys the interesting information that Achyuta sent two dancing girls from Vijayanagara for service in the temple. One of them Kuppāsāni was the daughter of Muddukuppāyi, who had the title *Vidvatsabhā Rāya Ranjakam*. She must have been an artist of high quality. Provision was made for her maintenance in the *Gōvindarāja* shrine. The document actually has reference to her being entitled to one unit of food-service daily to be made over to her and to her children for all time. The next document worth noting is No. 13 of Ś. 1453. (14th March 1532). This document is executed in favour of a Tammappa, son of Bhaṇḍāram Apparasa, which would mean Apparasa of the treasury office. He deposited 3,000 *paṇam* for a certain number of services. This amount was to be applied for purchasing a certain number of pieces of land from various persons to whom Krishṇadēvarāya made these over as charitable gifts. They are described to be under the irrigation of Mādhan channel. The next one is No 14 of Ś. 1454 (27th March 1532). This is again a document in favour of the Tallapākkam Tirumalai Aiyangar. For certain services that he instituted, he made over a number of villages granted to him by Achyutarāya the revenues of which amounted to 1,000 *rākhai pon*. One interesting detail given in this is that he received the donor's share of the produce, and he was to be supplied with one pair of the sacred thread and a portion of the civet used for coating over the image of the God on the occasion of his *sankīrtana* (singing). No. 20 is dated Ś. 1454, and states that Tallapākkam Tirumalai Aiyangar was discoursing sweet music for the pleasure of Śrī Venkaṭeśa. He renovated the *Achyutarāya Kōṇēri* (tank), and erected a new *maṇḍapa* in the middle of it. He also erected the enclosing walls for the Achyutarāyasvāmi temple on its bank. This renovation work seems to have been done for the merit of his father. The record however, is imperfect. No. 21 of Ś. 1555 (9th July 1533) is an agreement with two dancing girls, Lingāsāni and Tiruvēngaḍa Māṇikkam, daughter of Emberumān Aḍiyāl Tippāsāni. It refers to a service in the pavilion in their own garden on certain festival days, for which a deposit of 330 *paṇam* was made to be applied as usual for the expenses of these services. The next one of importance is No. 23 of Ś. 1455 (1st July 1533): This is an agreement with one Rāyasam Rāmachandra Dikshitar, an officer of the secretariat obviously. He belonged to the village Agaram Kaḍalādi, otherwise

wise named Kumāra-Venkaṭādrisamudram. He is said to have constructed a *maṅṭapa* on the bank of the tank of Achyutarāya. He presented the village Tāmarapākkam in the Erumiha *Sīrmai* yielding a revenue of 200 *paṇam* for a certain number of services that he instituted. The donor's portion of the food was to be received by himself. The next one is by the same person for certain services in the same *maṅṭapu* on his birthday asterisms, for which he paid 5,000 *paṇam* to be applied for agricultural improvements, from the revenues of which the expenses of the services were to be met. No. 25 is of date Ś. 1455 (21st August 1533), and relates to a benefaction by *Mahāmaṅḍalēśvara* Timmarāja, Salakarāja. This refers to a pavilion for a water-shed which he built on the smaller rise (*śirreṅṅam*) in the steps going up the hill, for which he deposited 600 *paṇam*. The part of the document subsequent to this is gone. The way that the person is named, *Mahāmaṅḍalēśvara* Timmarāja Salakarāja, seems to indicate the person who was the father-in-law of Achyutarāya. The next one is of the same Śaka year (6th October 1533). This is a donation by a certain Ellappa Pillai of Tiruvakkarai, the son of a Gōpāla Setṭi, who is given the titles here *Kacchirāyakkōṅār*, *Piravikku Nallār* and *Antakālam Tīrta*. These seem to mean that he had the titles, the chief shepherd of Kacchirāya, one who was good to all creation, and one who had got rid of *antyakālam*, the last days, whatever that meant. This donor had a garden and a pavilion of his own. Among the provisions made happen to be one for the maintenance of the man who looked after the garden, and another one who was in charge of the pavilion. He bought a certain piece of land from a Brahman for 2,500 *paṇam*. The land was 4,000 *kuḷi* under the Avilāli tank, the village itself being a temple village. The amount was to be used for a canal from the tank, the income from which was to be made use of for the expenses of the services. No. 27 of Ś. 1455 (11th November 1533) is a donation by one Nārāyaṇa Setṭi of the Nagarattār community in Tirupati. He was the son of one Nāgu Setṭi of the Nedumkumāra *gōtram*. Among the number of services that he instituted, one relates to a service in front of the Vaṅ Śatakōpa *Maṅḥam*; another one relates to one Śiyan, son of the Āchārya Puruṣa Appa Tōlappar of the Kaundinya *gōtra* Āpastamba *sutra*, and Yajus Sākha. It relates to a deposit of 21,430 *paṇam* to be applied as usual. No. 30 of Ś. 1456 (17th June 1534) is an agreement with one Trivēdi Mahādēva Sōmayāji, son of Revanūr Lingam Bhaṭṭa, for which he made over land, which he got from a Rāma Bhaṭṭar

in the village called Valittiraṭṭu in the Viḷuppuram<sup>\*</sup> Sirmāi and Trivadi Rajyam worth 250 *rākai pon*. No. 31 of the same Śāka year (3rd July 1534) is an agreement with Salakarāja Periya Tirumaladēvarāja's wife, Periya Kommamman. She is said to have constructed a *maṅṭapa* in the flower garden called *Varada Nārāyaṇan* as a service to her Āchārya Kōvil Kaṇḍāḍai Anṇan. She provided for a number of services, among them one in the name of the said Āchārya, for all of which she paid 1,300 *paṇam* into the temple treasury to be applied as usual. She made arrangements for the distribution of the donor's share of the food, some of the details of which are gone. No. 32 of the same Śāka year (20th July 1534) is an agreement with a certain Bācharasayya, son of Sri Rāmayyan of Pādirikuppam. This was provision for the merit of Chikka Venkaṭāḍri, the prince. No. 35 of Ś. 1456 (16th August 1534) is an agreement with Karanika Basavarasa Aiyān, son of Ōbaladēva. It refers to a deposit of 3,000 *paṇam* to be applied as usual for a daily service to God. Among those receiving the donor's share of the produce happen to be those cultivating his garden. No. 36 of Śāka year 1456 (23rd August 1534) is an agreement with Śiru Timmayya, son of Bhaṇḍāram Apparasa. It relates to a deposit of 4,000 *paṇam* to be applied as usual for a certain number of services, which included the weekly application of the civet on the fifty-three Fridays of the year, and on the thirteen birthday asterisms of Achyutarāya. There is nothing else of interest in it otherwise. The next one No. 38 of Śāka 1457 (13th April 1535) is an agreement with Uḷiyam Ellappanāyaka, son of Sāṭṭaiyappa Nāyaka, personal servant of Achyutarāya. He made provision for services on the days when the God was taken to his own garden, and the garden maintained by the *Sabhā* of the place. The deposit was of 600 *paṇam* to be applied as usual. Nos. 40 and 41 come from Tirupati and are of Śāka date 1457 (17th May 1535). No. 40 is in poetical Tamil of which the next following one seems to be more or less a Telugu Translation in verse. It refers to the Tallapākkam Tirumalai Aiyangar and his sons reciting songs before God, so that everybody on this earth might attain to salvation. He renovated the steps of the big tank, built a *maṅṭapa* in the middle of the tank *maṅṭapas* on the sides, and provided the Varāha shrine with a compound wall and *maṅṭapas* within. He is also said to have provided the east *gōpurā* of the temple. This Tirumalai Aiyangar seems to have possessed extraordinary talent in languages, and his high erudition in eight languages has become

proverbial and is in evidence in the works that have survived. We pass on to No. 46 of Ś. 1457 (7th July 1535). It refers to an agreement with a Vadavēṅgaḍa Jiyar, superintendent of the *Pankayaccheḷvi* garden. It makes provision for services on the birthday asterisms of himself, of his *Guru*, Tiruvāymoḷi Tirumalai Nāyanār, and another one he refers to as Parāṅkuśa Jiyar. It is a matter for doubt whether the last refers to the *Ahōbālam* Jiyar of that name; but there is nothing in the record to indicate the identity. Further down in the course of the document there is a reference to his Paramāchārya (*Guru* par excellence) Aḷagiya Maṇavaḷa Jiyar. It refers to a deposit of 285 *paṇam* to be applied as usual. The next one is No. 49 from the Gōvindarāja shrine of Ś. 1457 (13th July 1535). This is an agreement with the two dancing girls already referred to once before, Lingāsani and Tiruvēṅgaḍa Māṇikkam. It refers to a deposit of 230 *paṇam* to be applied as usual for services during the return of Gōvindarāja after distributing holy water from the *Aḷvar Tīrtham* and on other occasions. We pass on to No. 59 from there of Ś. 1457 (26th December 1535). This is an agreement with Rāyasam Rāmachandra Dikshitar already referred to, as perhaps an officer of the Secretariat of Achyutarāya. Among the services provided for, there is reference to a garden of his own and a pavilion within it. He made a deposit of 5,000 *paṇam* which together with a deposit of 150 by Bhaṭṭarpīrān Aiyan, and another 300 by Koṇḍaiyyan were to be applied as usual for the improvement of temple lands. The donor's share of the *prasādam* was to be received by himself alone, and these services were recorded as intended for the merit of his mother Nāgamma. The next is No. 61 of the same date and is an agreement with Rāma Bhaṭṭar, son of Chandragiri Bhūtanātha Śittar Bhaṭṭar. He is also said to have had a garden and a pavilion on the hill. He is also stated to have constructed the *Agrahāra*, Tiruvēṅgaḍapuram, to which Raghunātha, that is, Rāma, was to be taken daily. The amount deposited was 1,000 *paṇam* with other sums in addition yielding ultimately a revenue of 365 *paṇam* to the temple, for a certain number of food-services. The next is No. 64 of Ś. 1457 (8th January 1536). This is a donation by Basavarasa, son of Chaṇḍigai Ōbaladēva. He is said to have had a *maṇṭapa* of his own in front of the main *gōpura* of the temple. He made a deposit of 200 *paṇam* for this service. The next is No. 66 of date Ś. 1457 (17th February 1536). This is again a benefaction by the wife of Periya Tirumalarāja. The name is here given as Taduḷkōnamman, probably a different

person from the one already mentioned. This refers to a deposit of 150 *varāha* in the temple treasury to be applied as usual. The donor's share of the service was to be made over to her Achārya, Srirangam Kandāḍai Appan. The next two documents of importance are Nos. 72 and 74 of Ś. 1457 (26th February 1536), both of them referring to Śāluva Timma. It is almost certain that it refers to the great minister of Krishṇadēvarāya as No. 72 actually mentions his brother Śāluva Gōvindarāja. The document itself is stated to be a sale-deed of the *prasāda*, the quarter share of the food offered to God given to the donor. The first refers to the sale regarding a service instituted by Śāluva Gōvindarāja, which he sold away for 4,600 *paṇam* in lieu of which Tāllapākkam Tirumalai Aiyangar was to enjoy in perpetuity the donor's share of the *prasāda*. Similarly No. 74 relates to a service instituted jointly by Timma and his brother Gōvindarāja. The donor's share of the *prasāda* was sold for 5,203 *paṇam*. This again is an absolute sale of all that appertained to the donor's share. In regard to these two documents and the transactions recorded therein, the following points require to be noted. Śāluva Timma was a much respected and greatly honoured chief minister of Krishṇadēvarāya. His brother Śāluva Gōvindarāja was equally trusted, but more as a military man. He seems to have held positions of the highest trust and led the van in the invasions against Bijapur ending in the battle of Raichūr. The information available hitherto was that at any rate Timma was overthrown from his position and was punished badly. His son set up in rebellion in consequence against Krishṇadēvarāya, and stood a siege in the fortress of Rāmadrug. What had happened to him afterwards was not known. These documents make it clear that he was alive and still occupied a position in the court of Achyuta. But that he and his brother should be in a condition to sell away the donor's share of the food for substantial sums of money makes one doubt whether the brothers held the same or similar positions of importance under Achyuta as they held under Krishṇa. It seems however that we cannot deny that they still occupied positions of some considerable importance at court. The next documents calling for attention are Nos. 77 and 78 of Ś. 1458 (15th December 1536). This is an agreement of the *stānattār* with Perumgōṇḍai Virappaṇṇan, son of Lēpākshi Nandi Lakki Setṭi. He made a deposit of 200 *paṇam* and assigned a revenue of 120 *paṇam* from a village in the Gandikōṭṭai *Śīrmai* for a certain number of services to the temple. In the distribution of



the produce figure the Venkaṭa Jiyar; who looked after his garden and received one share; an outsider resident Pēraruḷāla Ayyan, received half a share, and the Jiyar superintending the big temple (on the hill) half; another Brahman half and the temple accountant half. No. 78 is a donation by the same person of a gold cup weighing 330 units of superior quality of gold (ten *māttu*, 10½ being regarded the best quality), and valued at 5,000 *pon*. This is said to have been presented at the gate of Achyutarāya, and the previous benefaction was also for the merit of Achyutadēvarāya. This person seems to have been an officer of influence under Achyuta, and has to his credit the building of a temple at Nārāyaṇavaram for the merit of the prince. The next one No. 79 is of Ś. 1458 (15th December 1536). This is a grant made by one Śrī Ranga Nāyaka, son of Tuḷuva Vengalū Nāyaka of Paḍaiviḍu of the fourth *gōtra*, meaning that they belonged to the *śūdra* caste. It refers to a number of services during the year for which he deposited 650 *paṇam* on the usual conditions for the merit of the king, the queen and the prince. There is reference in respect of these services to a pavilion in his own garden, and the gardens of Rāma Bhaṭṭar, and Rāmachandra Dikshitar as well. The next one of importance is No 81 of Ś. 1458 (12th January 1537). This is an agreement of the *stānattār* with Viśvanātha Nāyaka, son of Aḍaippam Nāgama Nāyakar. It refers specifically to a *maṇṭapa* built by him on the banks of the *Achyutarāya Kōṇēri*. He deposited 15,000 *paṇam* on the usual conditions, and provided for a large number of food-services. The donor's share of the produce, was to be made over to a Vaishṇava Brahman, Appayyan, son of Uttama Mādhavan, who kept the flower garden of Viśvanātha Nāyaka, and kept the *maṇṭapa* in good repairs. The six following records are all of them of the same date and are benefactions of a similar character by other officers. No. 82 is a donation by a Krishṇappa Nāyaka, son of Chinnappa Nāyaka. He deposited the same amount and is credited with a similar pavilion on the *Achyutarāya Kōṇēri*, and that the donor's share of the produce was to be received by a certain Nāyanār, son of Pēraruḷāla Nāyanār Appai. No. 83 is by a certain Bācharasa, son of Pādirikkuppam Śrī Rama Aiyangar. There is a reference to his own *maṇṭapa* on the banks of the same *kōṇēri* and the deposit is of the same amount. The donor's share of the produce was to be received by himself alone. No. 84 is by a Rāma Bhaṭṭar Ayyan, son of Chandragiri Bhūtanātha Śittar Bhaṭṭar. The other conditions are similar to the above including

the recipients of the donor's share of the *prasāda*. No. 86 is a similar benefaction by one Ellappa Ōḍaiyār, son of Timmaṇṇa Ōḍaiyār of Vankāpuram. The donor's share of the produce offered in this case was to be made over to one Nārāyaṇa of Chandraḡiri, who was to maintain the garden and the *maṇṭapa* in good repairs. No. 88 is a similar donation again by Śingarāja, son of Salakarāja. The deposit is of the same amount, and he had a *maṇṭapa* on the same *kōṇḍri* bank, and the donor's share of the *prasāda* was to be made over to the Āchārya of his sister. This apparently refers to the queen, and this Śingarāja seems to be the third son of Salakarāju, the father of the queen. We had hitherto known of the two sons of his, both of them known by the name Timmarāju, the elder and the younger, and this one is apparently a third son. No. 89 is of interest, as it seems to refer to a renewal of an old document under orders of Achyutarāya. It is gone in parts, and does not make the purport of it clear. The Dēvastānaṁ editor suggests Saḷuva Timma, as the donor. There is nothing in the document to lead to that exactly. No. 92 of Ś. 1458 (17th January 1537) refers to a deposit of 1,230 *paṇam* by one Nāmi Śeṭṭi, son of Satayapalli Tippu Śeṭṭi, resident of Krishnarāya Paṭṭaṇa, apparently a part of Lower Tirupati from which the record comes. The record states that he purchased land from the weavers measured by the rod of 36 feet, on which he built a *maṇṭapa* to which Gōvindarāja as well as Achyutarāyapperumāl should be taken on certain occasions in the year. There is nothing else of interest in it. No. 93 is again of Ś. 1458 (28th December 1536). It is again an agreement between Tallapākkam Tirumalai Aiyangar and Saḷuva Timmarasu, son of Rācharasu, thus making him unmistakably the great minister of Krishṇadēvarāya. This is again a sale-deed of the donor's share of the *prasāda* for certain services of Tirumalai Aiyangar for 1,900 *paṇam*. It is transferred to him so that he may live habitually in Tirumalai all the year round and maintain himself on this. No. 94 coming again from Lower Tirupati is of Ś. 1458 (7th January 1537). It is an agreement with Rāma Bhaṭṭar, son of Bhūtanātha Śitta Bhaṭṭar. There is a reference to Vadirājapuram in Tirupati, where he had a garden of his own, in which he had installed an image of Gōpālakrishṇa. It refers to a deposit of 1,700 *paṇam* for the daily service of this God. The donor's share of the produce was to be made over to a somebody else whose name is gone. Vadirājapuram apparently has reference to the Madhva pontiff Vadirāja a contemporary and successor of Śri Vyāsayōgi,

in whose name or in whose honour the town-suburb must have been built. No. 96 of Ś. 1458 (2nd February 1537) is a donation by one Tiruvēṅgaḍa Ayyan, a disciple of Aḷagiya Maṇavāla Jīyar, and an outsider-resident of Tirupati. He made a deposit of 460 *paṇam* for certain festivals in connection with the commencement of the recital of the works of Nammālvār, Periya Ālvār, Kulaśēkhara Ālvār, Tirumangai Ālvār, and Uḍaiyavar (Rāmānuja), and of some festivals in connection with Gōvinda-rāja in Lower Tirupati on the bund of the *Tirukkōṇēri*. This was to be applied as usual, and the donor's share of the food was to be made over for the use of the Śrī Vaishṇava new-comers in the place. Document No. 97 is very badly broken up and even the date is gone. It is apparently a benefaction by the queen Varadāji Amman. One new piece of information in this is a reference in the body of the imperfect record to a pavilion of Muttaraiyar, a dynasty which played an important part in South Indian history before the Chōlas. But Tirupati is rather a far cry for them. The next one is No. 100 of date Ś. 1459 (25th October 1537). This is again a donation by Tallapākkam Tirumalai Aiyangar. There is a reference to God being taken to a pavilion constructed by him and into the pavilion in the middle of the tank *Tirukkōṇēri*. Then there is a reference to a pavilion in front of some of the houses, probably his own. For meeting these expenses, he made over the revenues from two villages and some money grant as well. The document is gone in parts to be thoroughly intelligible. Document No. 101 is of the same year, *Hēviḷambi* (22nd January 1538), and is a benefaction by Perumṅonḍai Virappaṇṇan referred to already. It refers to a deposit of 6,000 *paṇam* for certain services for the merit of the emperor Achyutarāya. The next document of importance is No. 110 on the walls of the *Yemunaitturaivar Maṇṭapam* of Ś. 1460 (6th September 1538). This is a donation by Adaippam Baiyappa Nāyakar, who claims to have constructed a pavilion on the bank of the *Achyutarāya Kōṇēri*. Further down there is a reference to his own pavilion in a garden. There is nothing else of particular importance. The next is No. 112 from the Gōvindarāja shrine. This is of date, S. 1460 also (9th October 1538). One peculiar feature of this inscription is that the emperor is given here the old Śāluva titles, and titles before the Śāluva days, such as *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, *Arirāya Vibhāḍa*, *Bhāshēge Tappuvarāyara Gaṇḍa* and *Mūvarāyara Gāṇḍa*. We have not met with these titles in these inscriptions since the Śāluva days. This seems to record an

agreement among the weavers which prescribes the use of certain kinds, of thread in a particular fashion, and the agreement is supposed to be of force in the interior parts (*Uḷmaṇḍalam*), and the exterior parts (*Puṛamaṇḍalam*) of *Toṇḍamaṇḍalam*. One interesting point in regard to this is, it seems to include a particular mode of weaving which should be done only by Muslims and not by Hindus. Any breach of this agreement involved a fine of twelve *varāhas*. The next one is No. 115 of Ś. 1460 (24th November 1538). This is a donation by Venkatādri Ayyan, son of Tirumalai Jōsyar, who instituted this service for the merit of a somebody else, it may be to the merit of the emperor, or his own father. The service was of twenty-four food-services of two kinds, and one big lamp burnt with ghee. For these services he made over the revenues of a particular village in the Pottappināḍu (division) yielding a revenue of 700 *pon*. The donor's share of the food-service was to be received by himself. The next one is No. 122 of Ś. 1460 (15th January 1539). The donor again is Periya Tirumalai Aiyangar of Tallapākkam, who instituted certain services for which he made over the revenues of a *grāma* yielding 133 *varāhas*. He bought the village in the Ganjikōṇḍa *Śīrmai* from Bukkarāja and Timmarāja. The next one No. 123 of Ś. 1460 (8th February 1539) gives the full details of the temple village Kōṭṭūr which Achyutarāya bought, built a temple to Achyutaperumāḷ and constructed an *agrahāra* of 120 houses round it. He set apart twenty out of these 120 houses, with twenty shares of the Parittiputtūr village, for the Brahmans in temple service; and the remainder he made over as a permanent gift to other Brahmans. The boundary of the village is defined. The record comes from the locality east of the *Kapila Tīrtham* in Lower Tirupati. The next one is No. 127 of Ś. 1460 (17th March 1539). The donor in this case is the temple accountant Periya Śōlai, son of a Samayar Gōvindarājan, and refers to a deposit of 3,000 *paṇam* to be applied as usual. The donor's share of the *prasādam* or service was to be made over to him. The next one is No. 129 of Ś. 1460 (17th March 1539). This is again by Tallapākkam Periya Tirumalai Aiyangar and refers to a deposit of 2,000 *paṇam* for a comparatively large number of services throughout the year. It refers to a *maṇṭapa* in front of the houses of the *Bhaṭṭars* (temple-priests) and a pillar that he planted on the bank of the *Tirukkōṇḍēri*, on which a light was to be burnt every Thursday. The donor's share of the services was to be received by him. No. 130 is of date Ś. 1460 also (17th March 1539). This is

a donation by one Astigirinātha, son of the elder brother of Astigiri Nāyaka of Puduppākkam. The donation was intended for the benefit of the donor's daughter Vayambūni. The record states that the day of *Aḍi Ayanam*, the first of Āshāḍha every year was the commencement of accounts both in Tirumalai and in Tirupati. The next one is No. 134 of S. 1461 (7th June 1539) and is a donation by Ālvān Kōvil Tiruvēngāḍa Ayyan, a disciple of Appā, the superintendent of *Malaikkiniyaniṅṅān* garden. It provides for a large number of services in which there is a reference to his own Achārya, Kandāḍai Appā, on whose birthday the service was to be rendered, and then there is a reference to the birthday of his Paramāchārya, Periya Appai. It is not clear whether this is the same as the previous one. Then there is a reference to a Daivanāyakan *Maṭha*. What *Maṭha* was so called is not made clear. The deposit was 2,300 *paṇam* to be applied as usual. The document ends in addition to the usual *Śrī Vaishṇava Rukshai* with the expression '*Śrīmatē Rāmānujāya Namaḥ*', the first time we meet with a salutation like that in the course of these inscriptions. No. 136 is of S. 1461 (17th September 1539), and is an agreement with one of the Nambis worshipping Sri Venkaṭēśvara. The Bhaṭṭar's name is Vēngāḍattu Uṟaivār, son of Malainiṅṅān Bhaṭṭar Appayyan of the Kaśyapa *gōtra*, Vaikhānasa *sūtra* and Yajus *Śākha*. It refers to a service rendered to the God in front of his own house. Further down there is a

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1. The name that appears in No 134 above as *Malaikkiniyaniṅṅān* has occurred several times before, both in this form and with the doubling of the *k* as well. In this form the name *Malaikkiniyaniṅṅān* would be rather irregular in construction and with no clear meaning, although a meaning could be made out. It is of course the name of the deity on the hill, and should be taken to mean that His standing on the hill was to make the hill happy or pleasant. But we see immediately in the following records another form *Malainiṅṅān* which would be quite an intelligible name, meaning He who stood on the hill which is distinctly the feature of the deity Venkaṭēś on the hill. It is open to doubt whether we could regard this as an abbreviation of the previous name, as by itself it is quite intelligible and regular in construction. In the documents following, such as No 152, the very name occurs in another form *Malakuiniyaniṅṅān*. This would mean the God stood on the hill making the hill bow, which is a some what inappropriate term in the sense that the standing of God on the hill may make the hill come down as a whole. To describe that as bowing down would seem rather inappropriate, unless we import the notion that the hill where stands the temple of Sri Venkaṭēśa is traditionally taken to be on the hood of the cobra, the whole of the Venkaṭāchalam Hills extending from Śrīśāilam to Kālahasti being generally regarded as a cobra lying about coiled, Vēngāḍam constituting the bent hood on the highest part Kālahasti being the mouth. On the basis of this, it is just possible to regard the name *Malakuiniyaniṅṅān* appropriate for Vēngāḍam. But the actual traditional authority for the name in this form is not quite clear nor for the first term *Malaikkiniyaniṅṅān*.

reference to the Lakshmidēvi *Tirunāl*, obviously the same as the one instituted by Achyutarāya. The deposit is a comparatively small sum of 50 *paṇam*, but to be applied as other sums. The next one is No. 138, a document by the same donor and of the same Śāka year, but 9th November 1539. But there is another Bhaṭṭar associated with him. His name is given as Malainiṅṅar Perumāḷ, son of Karuṇākara Bhaṭṭam Gōvindaian of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*. Among the services there is mention of the recitation of *Tiruppalli Eḷucchi* for *Gṇānappirān* (Varūha). The deposit amounted to 150 *paṇam* to be applied as usual. The next document No. 141 is interesting as referring to a presentation by the same Perumṅonḍai Virappaṅṅan, son of Nandi Lakki Śeṭṭi. This time it is a presentation of a silver plate of 6,000 units of weight, and one cup of 900 units of weight, both of silver. This same donor made a present of a gold cup already as will be remembered. The date is about the same year corresponding to A. D. 1541. No. 142 of Ś. 1461 (30th January 1540) is a donation by Hanumasāni, the dancing girl, daughter of Uṭṭida Timmaiya already referred to before. A garden-*maṅṭapa* built by her is under reference, and the donation is of the value of 820 *paṇam* to be applied as usual. No. 144 is of interest and comes from the temple of Śrī Kalyāṇa Venkateśasvāmi at the village Mangāpuram near Chandragiri. This and the next following one No. 145 are in Telugu and come from the same temple. It is of the same Saka year 1461 (22nd March 1540). This is a document by the same elder Tallapākkam Tirumalai Aiyangar who is here described as having found refuge in the diamond cage of Vēdānta Dēśika's feet. Vēdānta Dēśika is described as propogator of the teachings of Rāmānuja and is given the title *Kavitārkika Kēsari*. Of course the additional title of the establisher of the path of the Vēla is given to him, thus making it very clear that these Tallapākkam people were devoted disciples of Vēdānta Dēśika. The document refers to the son of this Tirumalai Aiyangar called Chinna Tirumalai Aiyangar, who is said to have built this temple, at least renovated it under the name Alamēlumangāpuram, which is described as a *sarvamānya agrahāra*. He installed there Śrī Venkaṭēśvara and his two consorts, and the attendant deities including the Ālvārs and Rāmānuja. Further he set up the images of the *Pūrvāchāryas* including his own Āchārya, Annamāchārya, and provided for the daily services in these temples. No. 145 coming from the same temple notes down carefully the birthday asterisms of the Ālvārs and the Achāryas referred to. The next one is No. 148 of Ś. 1462 (1st May 1540)

This is an agreement with Venkaṭātri Ayyan, son of Tirumalai Jōsyar. This is a donation for service in the Gōvindarāja temple, for which he made over the village Gollapalli in the Panganāḍu of Udayagiri Rājya, yielding an annual revenue of 120 *pon*. The donor's share of the food-service was to be made over to the donor himself. The next noteworthy document is No. 152 of S. 1431 (31st December 1540). This is an agreement of the *stānattār* with Periya Timmappa and Chinna Timmappa, sons of a Basava Nāyaka. The deposit is one of 15,000 *paṇam* as in the other cases of influential officials we have noted already, to be applied for the purpose of the food-services. One point of interest here is a reference to a *viḍhi* (street) bearing the name Narasā Nāyaka in which he had a *maṅṭapa* built in his name. The donor's share of the food-service was to be received by Śāttāda Appaiyan, son of Tiruttani Timmaiyan, a resident of Rāmānuja Ayyan *Tiru-viḍhi*. The next one is No. 153 of S. 1462 (31st December 1540). This is a benefaction by a certain Timmarasa, *Daḥavāy* of Achyutarāya, and son of Pradhāni Sōmarasa Ayyan of Chandragiri. He is said to have belonged to Kaśyapa *gōtra*, Aśvalāyana *sūtra* and Rik *Śākha*. This is again a deposit of 15,000 *paṇam*. He is also said to have a *maṅṭapa* of his own in the said Narasā Nāyakan street. In addition to the deposit, he also made over the annual revenue of 150 *rekai pon* from a village which is named Samapuram Tinnai in the Gōkulakuṅṭa *Śīrmai*. The donor's share of the *prasāda* was to be received by himself. The next one is No 155 of S. 1462 (12th February 1541). This relates to a Tōḷappa Periya Tirumalai Aiyangar. He provided for a service in front of the Sankirtana Bhaṅḍāra in the temple of Tiruvēṅgaḍamudaiyān, and made over a village Kiḷanguṅṅam and a *kuppam* yielding a revenue of 300 *rekai pon*. He also paid a cash deposit of 450 *paṇam* to be applied as usual for a certain number of festivals throughout the year. Among the recipients of the donor's share of the *prasāda* are the Śrī Viṣṇavas in front of the Bhaṅḍāra. The next is No. 156 of S. 1462 (13th February 1541). This is a benefaction by a certain Ēkāṅgi Pērambala Aiyān, the superintendent of the Tiruvēṅgaḍanāthan *Tirunandavanam*. He is described as the disciple of Emberumānār Appan, who is said to be the grandson of Prativādi Bhayankaram Aṅṅan, otherwise Vēdāntāchāryar. There is a reference to this Āchārya further down in the course of this document, and the amount of deposit was 675 *paṇam* to be applied as usual. Among the recipients of the donor's share figures an outsider resident in

charge of the *Tiruvēṅgaḍanāthan Maṭha*. The reference to the grandson of Prativādi Bhayankaram Anṇan on this date 1541 would give us an idea of the time in which Anṇan lived, and Anṇan was a younger contemporary and a disciple of Vēdānta Dēśika during his last years and survived him. The next is No. 158 of Ś. 1462 (27th January 1541). This is an agreement with Perumṅonḍai Virappaṇṇan already noticed several times. He also claims to have had a *maṅṭapa* built in Narasā Nāyakan Street. The deposit was 15,000 *pons* and the donor's share of the service was to be received by himself alone. No. 159 belongs to the same Sāka year (27th January 1541). It is an agreement with Angarāja Nāgappaiyan, who had constructed a *maṅṭapa* of his own in Narasā Nāyakar *Anṅaṇam*. We cannot be sure that this is different from Narasā Nāyakan Street. It may be. The deposit is again 15,000 and the donor's share of the *prasāda* was to be received by himself alone. The next is No. 160 of S. 1462. The date does not appear to be quite regular. This is a benefaction by one Ulagappan, son of Setṭṭalūr Ponnambalanāthar of the Kauśika *gōtra*, Apastamba *sūtra* and Yajus Sākha. From the name this donor appears to be a Smārta Brahman who deposited 800 *paṇam* to be applied as usual. The donor's share of the service was to be received by him alone. No. 161 is of date Ś. 1463 (28th May 1541). This is a benefaction by Rāyasam Koṇḍamara-sayyar, son of Timmarasaiyar. He had a garden and a *maṅṭapa* in it in Lower Tirupati, to which Gōvindarāja was to be taken on certain festival days. He paid 233 current *rēkai pon* and purchased land equivalent to it and made a further deposit of 1,200 *pon* to be applied as usual. He was to receive the share of the donor's *prasāda* himself. This person Rāyasam Koṇḍamara-sayyar was one of two nephews of the famous minister Sāluva Timma. These were generals who distinguished themselves in war and were expert in civil administration, who were usually sent out to organise a government and an administration in provinces recently brought under Vijayanagara rule whenever it occurred. They were practically the right-hand men of the chief minister. Of course, being younger men, it is nothing strange they have lived on, perhaps holding office under Achyutarāya, while we see the uncles Timma and Gōvindarāja continued under Achyutarāya. No. 162 of Ś. 1463 (8th June 1541) is an interesting document, as the donor is a Srī Vaishṇava lady by name Tiruvēṅgaḍattār, daughter of Siru Tiruvēṅgaḍa Chakravarti Aiyangar. The deposit amounted to 300 *paṇam* to be applied as usual and the



donor's share of the food was to be received by the Vaishnavas of the locality. One share of another service was to be received by a Srinivāsa Ayyan, son of Kandāḍai Tiruvēṅgaḍam Uḍaiyār. There is nothing else of interest in the document. No. 163 is of date Ś. 1463 (21st June 1541); this is a donation by Yatirāja Jīyar, the superintendent of the big temple (Periya Kōvil Kēlvi), a disciple of Alagiya Maṇavāla Jīyar, the superintendent of the Pērarulālan *Matha*. He made a deposit of 820 *pon* for certain services, of which a part was to be received by the Srī Vaishnavas of the locality and another part by the Jiyar himself. Then comes No. 166 of date Ś. 1463 (5th November 1541). The donor is Gōvindarāja, son of Rāchi Rāja of the Kaunḍinya *gōtra*, Āpastamba *sūtra*, and Yajus *Śākha*. It is stated that he had a *maṇṭapa* of his own and provided for a number of services for which he made over a village, the name of which is gone, from the income of which the expenses of the services were to be met. The donor's share of the *prasāda* was to be received by himself alone. The next document of importance is No. 168, of the same year *Plava*, which may be December—January 1541 or 1542. It is found in a detached stone lying in one of the streets adjacent to the temple at Tirumalai. This is an agreement between those in charge of the temple treasury and Salakarāja Siru Tirumalarāja, the younger of the two brothers of the name, brothers-in-law of the king. This is a conveyance of land by sale. The document is imperfect, and in defining the boundaries of the land sold, there is a reference to the crowned queen Varadāji Amman, who is said to have constructed an *Angana Tiruvīdhi*, in the place. *Angana Tiruvīdhi*, as was explained already, meant a pavilion in the middle of streets with houses surrounding it. The next document is No. 170 of Ś. 1463 (10th February 1542). The donor is a Singarāja, son of Salakayyadēva Mahārāja. This is the third son of Salakarāju the father-in-law of Achyuta. There was a *maṇṭapa* constructed by him to which the God was to be taken on certain festival days. The deposit is, as usual with officers of high standing, 15,000 *paṇam* to be applied as usual. The donor's share of the food was to be received by his own Āchārya, Tirumalai Tātaiyengar, son of Tirumalai Sottai Kumāra Tātaiyengar of the Śatamarshaṇa *gōtra*, Āpastamba *sūtra* and Yajus *Śākha*. These people, father and son, by their *gōtra*, etc., bring themselves into connection with the family of Tōlappar claiming descent from Tirumalai Nambi, the uncle of Rāmānuja. The next is No. 171 of the same Śāka date. But the other details are gone. The deposit

is one of 500 *paṇam* and the recipient of the donor's share of the *prasāda* was the superintendent of the Vaṅ Śatakōpa *maṭha*. The next document of importance is No. 174 of Ś. 1463 (23rd May 1542). This is an agreement with certain Malai Perumāl, whose father's name is gone in the document. He is said to have constructed a *maṭṭapa* and a garden which he made as a piece of charity, to which the God was to be taken on certain festival days and made it over to his own Āchārya, Śrī Vaṅ Śatakōpa Jiyar. In honour of this Āchārya he instituted a festival also, for which he made a deposit of 1,600 *paṇam* from the income of which the expenses were to be met. The last remark of importance is that the donor's share of the service was to be received by his own Achārya, Vaṅ Śatakōpa Jiyar. This last remark by itself, and much more therefore in combination with the others, indicates that this Vaṅ Śatakōpa Jiyar, the Āchārya of the donor in the year A. D. 1542 was resident in Tirupati to receive the *prasāda*. We get here a precise date for this Jiyar in addition to the three inscriptional dates we have already noted above; but those dates indicated a discrepancy in regard to the dates of the sixth and the seventh Jiyars, and leave the dates of the previous five Jiyars in some little uncertainty. But here this document of March 1542 referring to a Vaṅ Śatakōpa Jiyar being a resident in Tirupati and receiving the donor's share of the produce makes it that this Vaṅ Śatakōpa Jiyar was resident in Tirupati in that particular year. After the Ādi Vaṅ Śatakōpa Jiyar, the Vaṅ Śatakōpa Jiyar that comes in is the fifth, Nārāyaṇa Jiyar, Parāṅkuśa Jiyar and Śrinivāsa Jiyar coming between them. We noted a date A. D. 1516 for Nārāyaṇa Jiyar, and he must have been succeeded by Parāṅkuśa and Śrinivāsa before this Śatakōpa could come into office. Going merely by the periods of office of these Jiyars, the date given here A. D. 1542 would work itself down to almost the first year of his pontificate, making the first three Jiyars contemporary with Krishṇa, the third and the fourth, and the fifth almost at the end of Achyutarāya's reign, contemporary with Achyuta, the fifth and the sixth contemporary with Sadāśiva and the seventh contemporary with Tirumala and Śrīraṅga. There is obviously an error in the association of the pontificates of the last two Jiyars, the sixth and the seventh Sashṭa Parāṅkuśa, and another Śatakōpa Jiyar. They must have had a much longer period of pontificate than those given to them by the *Maṭha* accounts. Possibly the fifth one Śatakōpa Jiyar also had a longer pontificate. So here we have a date A. D. 1542 for the

second *Ṣaṅkopa Jiyar*, which enables us to readjust the dates of these *Jiyars* to some considerable extent. No. 175 is without date. The donor of this is one *Appā Tiruvēngada Aiyangar*, keeper of the *Tiruvāḷiparappinān* garden. This is said to be an order of the *stānattar* which perhaps means it is not a donation, much rather it is an arrangement for the distribution of certain food-services. It is however said to be in the name of the person above mentioned. The donor's share was to be distributed between the *Vaiṣṇavas* who recited the *Iyal*, that is, the last section of the *Prābandhā* and the superintendent of the *Maṭha*, who was the keeper of the garden. Next we pass on to No. 179. The first portion of this inscription is gone and so the date. It seems to be a gift in *sarvamānya* of certain lands in the *Avilāli* village by the inhabitants of the locality. The next is No. 180. There again the beginning is gone. But it refers to a deposit of 1,800 *paṇam* to be applied as usual for a certain number of services. Nos. 190 and 191 are ordinary documents of donations. Then follow a number which are imperfect and gone in parts. There are, however, some interesting references, say for instance, No. 196 refers to a *Pudōliyār*, *Pudōli* being a place containing a *Vishṇu* temple in the *Nellore District* associated with the family of the *Yādavarāyas*. Then No. 249 refers for the first time the *Nādamuni*, apparently the image of *Nādamuni*, and a certain food-service in a particular street. This is the first reference that we get to the first *Achārya* in *Tirupati* inscriptions.

That brings Volume IV of the *Dēvastānam* Inscriptions, dealing with the inscriptions of the reign of *Achyutadēvarāya Mahārāya*, to a close. The last date available in this group of inscriptions is the date of No. 174, which corresponds to the 23rd February A.D. 1542 the earliest date noted for *Achyutarāya* being as was stated already, 14th January A.D 1530. The number of inscriptions for this reign, although it is only twelve years, is larger than that of the previous period. All the inscriptions almost are uniformly dated in the reign of *Achyutadēvarāya Mahārāya*. As we have already stated, a certain number, comparatively a small number is by the king himself or the queen; but a comparatively larger number is by his officers and other men of position. The far greater number, however, are from private individuals. *Achyutarāya's* devotion is indicated not only by his own visits and presentations, to the God at *Tirnmalai*, but also by other works of his benefaction, such as the building of the *Achyutapperumāḷ Kōvil*, the reforming of the

*Kapila Tīrtha* into *Chakra Tīrtha*, and other measures already adverted to. On the whole, these records of Achyutarāya leave in us the impression that he was a monarch pious and devoted to God Venkaṭēśa and conducted himself accordingly. The example thus set would be followed by those of the court, and we find that the members of his court followed his example, more or less closely, in respect of their various donations to the temple. Of course, other note-worthy points have been drawn attention to. We find mention in the course of these records of a number of Vaishṇava Āchāryas, and some of the Jīyars of the Ahōbala Maṭha which lead to important conclusions in regard to their dates. A certain number of other Āchāryas of influence generally, but not occupying any recognised positions, are similarly mentioned, so that, on the whole, these records leave in us the impression that in the reign of Achyutarāya Tirupati came in for a great deal of attention by the monarch and his court as pious devotees, and the temple itself was kept in a flourishing condition. Efforts of the previous period for developing the permanent resources of the temple are equally visible in this, and additions by actual donation are also conspicuously large. It may be said that Tirupati reached a very high state of prosperity in the reign of Krishṇadēvarāya, whose devotion to the temple was peculiarly great.

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## CHAPTER X.

### SADASIVARAYA OF VIJAYANAGAR.

**How Sadasiva succeeded to the throne.** We now pass on to the reign of Sadāśivarāya, who followed Achyuta. In several of the inscriptions of Achyuta we came upon a prince, his son, Chinna Venkaṭādri. Probably he was a comparatively young prince, and what happened to him we do not know for certain. As a matter of fact, the reign of Achyutaraya itself became obscure in regard to what took place after A. D. 1535, and the remaining years have been generally passed over by historians so far. But these Tirupati inscriptions take us to a date in March A. D. 1542, the last record in the name of Achyutarāya. Therefore it is clear that Achyutarāya lived down to 23rd March A. D. 1542, the date of this particular record. But Sadāśiva's records as ruler begin to appear about six or seven months earlier, the earliest known date referring to the year Ś. 1463, corresponding to 21st July A. D. 1541. That would perhaps mean Sadāśiva was formally installed as ruler in A. D. 1541. It is, however, stated in other records that Sadāśiva was chosen crown prince in the Ś. year 1459, corresponding to A. D. 1537. This does not, however, make it clear whether this nomination was intended to make Sadāśiva succeed in preference to the young prince, Venkaṭādri. This prince Venkaṭādri was obviously young, but seems to have lived on to the end of Achyuta's reign. He is mentioned in records of Achyuta in A. D. 1541. A record of the following year in South Arcot refers to Venkaṭa as Mahārāja<sup>1</sup> of date Tuesday 22nd August 1542. It seems then as if Achyuta died in or about 25th June 1542, and his son prince Venkaṭa succeeded to the throne normally. Then he must have been forced out of the throne by Sadāśiva or others interested in him. Since Sadāśiva was nominated for the succession by Achyuta himself, the dispute about the succession after the death of Achyuta may have been brought about otherwise than by any anxiety on the part of Sadāśiva or his friends. If Ferishta is to be believed, the matter was pushed to an extreme by Salakam Tirunala the senior. Having placed the young prince on the throne and, perhaps

1. E. C. X Melūr 62; see Sewell's *Hist. Ins. of S. India* p. 249.

suspecting designs on the part of Sadāsiva and his friends, he seems to have put the prince to death and assumed the power himself, which at once called for intervention from Rāmarāja and his brothers to take up the cause of Sadāsiva. The position was soon aggravated by Salakam Timma calling in the assistance of the Adil Shah of Bijapur with the result that Salakam Timma was overthrown and Sadāsiva was placed upon the throne by Rāmarāja and his brothers. That according to Ferishta was actually the course of events notwithstanding the very confused character of his narration of the events. In the actual circumstances of the case probably Ferishta's is about the correct account. I am setting down here that account:—

“ Ramraj having expended the treasures of his military chest wrote to his deputy to send him a supply of money from Beejanuggur, in order to enable him to continue the war; but the deputy, on opening the vaults of the treasury, and perceiving the magnitude of its wealth, instantly resolved on rebellion against his patron, and set at liberty the young Ray, having first induced Bhoj Tirumul Ray to embrace his interest. The deputy now assumed the office of minister, and began to levy troops. Several tributary rays, who were offended with Ramraj's administration, hastened to Beejanuggur to rally round their lawful King, and in a short time thirty thousand horse, and vast hosts of foot, were assembled under his standard at the city. Bhoj Tirumul Ray apprehending that the slave, now the minister, might repent of his rebellion and eventually betray them to Ramraj, put his benefactor to death and assumed the management of affairs at Beejanuggur.

Ramaraj, on hearing of this revolt, concluded a hasty peace with his enemy, and returned towards Beejanuggur; but being deserted by several of his officers, who left him on the route to join their lawful sovereign, he thought it advisable at present to desist from war, and to rest content with his extensive jageer. A treaty was accordingly brought about between him and the young ray, by which Ramraj was suffered to remain in independent possession of his country. Quiet being now restored, the nobility, who had supported the revolution, left their sovereign under the care of his uncle Bhoj Tirumul, and returned to their several districts. Not long after this event, the uncle becoming ambitious of reigning, strangled his nephew, and seized the throne of Beejanuggur, and being a member of the royal family the nobility

preferred his authority to that of Ramraj; but in a short time, being unwilling to endure his tyranny and oppression, they became disaffected towards him, and invited Ramraj to return, and assume the administration of affairs.

Bhoj Tirumul Ray, obtaining intelligence of their designs, despatched ambassadors with a sum of six lacks of hoons<sup>1</sup> and many valuable presents, to Ibrahim Adil Shah of Beejapoor, soliciting him to march to his assistance, in return for which he promised to acknowledge himself tributary, and to pay down a sum of three lacks of hoons for every day's march his army might make. Ibrahim Adil Shah, tempted by the greatness of offer, and by the advice of Assud Khan, moved from his capital

**A. H. 942** in the year 942, and arrived at Beejanuggur without  
**A. D. 1535.** opposition, when he was conducted into the city by Bhoj Tirumul Ray, who seated him on the royal musnud, and made rejoicings for seven days. Ramraj and the confederate nobles now sent letters to the Ray expressing contrition for their rebellion, and assuring him of their future firm allegiance. They represented in strong colours the evil consequences of introducing the Musselmans into their country; that their temples and the idols would be defiled and destroyed, and that the children of all ranks of people, as in the times of the Bahmany kings, would be carried away into captivity. Ramraj, moreover, swore never again to depart from his allegiance, if Bhoj Tirumul Ray would cause the retreat of the King of Beejapoor to his own dominions. Bhoj Tirumul Ray, thinking he had now no further use for his allies, requested the return of the Mahomedan army, and paid down fifty lacks of hoons<sup>2</sup>, the amount of the settled subsidy besides making presents to a vast amount to the king, among which were twelve fine elephants and some beautiful horses.

Ibrahim Adil Shah had not yet recrossed the Krishna, when Ramraj and the confederates, who had bribed many of the troops in the city, broke their promises, and hastened towards Beejanuggur, resolving to put the Ray to death, on pretence of revenging the murder of his predecessor. Bhoj Tirumul Ray finding he was betrayed, shut himself up in the palace, and becoming mad from despair, blinded all the royal elephants and horses, and cut off their tails, that they might be of no use to

1. £ 240,000

2. About £ 1,750,000 sterling.

his enemy. All the diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and other precious stones and pearls, which had been collected in the course of many ages, he crushed to powder between heavy mill-stones, and scattered them on the ground. He then fixed a sword-blade into a pillar of his apartment, and ran his breast upon it with such force, that it pierced through and came out at his back; thus putting an end to his existence, just as the gates of the palace were opened to his enemies. Ramraj now became Ray of Beejanuggur without a rival."

**The Explanation of the Revolution.** If Achyuta himself nominated Sadaśiva should have succeeded without question. But during the later years of Achyutarāya's reign, all the power in the state had been exercised by his brothers-in-law, the two Timmarāzus, elder and younger sons of Salakarāzu. It is probably they that found the accession of Venkaṭa in their own interest, and possibly their rivals Ramrāja and his brothers wanted a change. This might have been because Sadaśiva might have shown a leaning towards Aliya Rāmarāja and his brothers, as Rāma was son-in-law of Krishnadevarāya, and, as we know, Rāma was already associated with Achyuta during the period of Achyuta's regency for Krishnadevarāya, soon after A.D. 1525, perhaps owing to Krishna's illness. Rāma with the assistance of his brothers perhaps found their position in danger, and had to fight and dispossess the Salakam brothers and take the real power in their own hands, Sadaśiva becoming the ruler. It is probably this disputed succession that occupied the year A.D. 1542-43, and it is perhaps an echo of this which we have in a record of the 19th April A.D. 1543 which conveys the happy announcement of the enthronement of Sadaśiva. Another record dated 6th August A.D. 1543 also refers to the joyous occasion of Sadaśiva capturing Vijayanagar on a date equivalent to 6th August A.D. 1543. It is therefore clear that Sadaśiva was actually nominated to the succession in A.D. 1537, perhaps actually began to exercise authority in A.D. 1541. He must have formally become ruler in the following March A.D. 1542, and then must have come in the dispute which lasted till April A.D. 1543. An inscription of date June A.D. 24, 1545 actually says that Prince Venkaṭa succeeded Achyuta, and died soon after. The same record declares Sadaśiva as having been placed on the throne by Aliya Rāmarāja his



brother-in-law who thus became the real ruler of the Karnāṭaka Kingdom.<sup>1</sup> It is this war brought about by the intrigues of Salakarāzu Timmarāzu, the elder, that perhaps gave him the name mad Tirumala, and brought about the influence of Rāma and his brothers in the administration of Sadāśiva. Taking therefore for the moment A.D. 1541 as the date of accession of Sadāśiva we find the latest records of Sadāśiva going down to S. 1495, in the Tirupati inscriptions, to a date equivalent to 29th January 1574. But a date later by about two years is found elsewhere, corresponding to 9th May A.D. 1575, though Tirumala the younger brother of Aliya Rāmarāzu seems to give himself imperial titles in the year A.D. 1571, that is, six years after the battle of Talikota. Neglecting even these later years, Sadāśiva would have had a reign of forty years.

The number of records of the reign of Sadāśiva in Tirupati is not larger than that either of Achyuta or Krishṇa, and the actual number of records of the ruler himself is much smaller. The number relating to the officers of the state is also comparatively smaller, the number of private benefactions continuing as ever before. Perhaps an inference of a certain diminution of interest in the temple, in the ruling sovereign and his officers, may be a justifiable inference. If that were so, that would only confirm the reference we quoted before from a work *Muhisura Narapati Vijayam* that Rāmarāya was a person addicted to vice and dice, and unfriendly to Brahmans and Gurus. Whether that was actually so or not, the lack of interest shown in regard to Tirupati would in a way confirm that position in regard to him. We shall now take up the inscriptions in detail.

**Inscription of the reign of sadasivaraya.** The inscriptions of Sadāśivarāya begin with an introduction quite similar to that of Achyutarāya, and even Krishṇadēvarāya generally, and the records are dated uniformly in Śaka dates with full details making it easy for verification. The earliest record of Sadāśiva in the Dēvastānam inscriptions, Volume V, is dated S. 1463 corresponding to 21st July 1541, though the date of Achyuta's death lies six or seven months ahead. The document is a benefaction by a Sri Rama Bhattar, son of Tirumalai Jōsyar of Yenḍalūr, and refers to the grant of two villages one in Siddavattam Śirma i

1. E. C. IV, No. 58.

and the other in the Paḍaivīdu Rājya, yielding 100 and 200 *rekai pon* (10 *paṇam* each) respectively. The donor's share of the food service was to be received by Śrī Rāma Bhaṭṭar alone. The next one is of the same Ś. date corresponding to 27th January 1542. This is an agreement with two *Jīyars* (ascetics). The first of them is called *Kōvil Kēḷvi Jiyar*, which means the ascetic superintending temple affairs who is described as a disciple of Vānamāmalai Jiyar, and in charge of the garden and *maṅṭapam*, *Aḷagiya Maṅavāla Maṭham*. Another one is called *Vānamāmalai Jiyar*, a disciple of Rāmānuja Jiyar. These names perhaps show that they belonged to Ten Kalai section of the Śrī Vaishnavas, and were connected with the *maṭha* at Vānamāmalai in the Tinnevely Dt. The donation by these people is to provide for a certain number of services on a number of occasions throughout the year, for which they deposited 2,500 *paṇam* to be applied as usual, and from the income there from the expenses of the services were to be met. There is one point calling for remark here, and that is a temple for Daivanāyaka Perumāḷ, a temple not met with so far. Among the recipients of the *prasāda*, the document is here partly gone, happen to be the name Anandān Pillai Jiyar, who is described as the *Āchārya* of the donors, and *Kōvil Kandāḍai Anṇan*, who were to receive a part. The next one calling for attention is No. 5 dated Ś. 1464 corresponding to 5th February 1543. This is an agreement with the temple accountant. *Dēvar Vaṇaṅga Varuvār Vēṅgaḍattu Arabu* with the usual hereditary titles of the accountants. He made provision for a food-service to Alarmēlmangaināchchiyār "who is on the chest of Tiruvēṅgadamudaiyān" for the merit of his mother *Brahmāttāl*. The donor's share of the service was to be received by him. This description of the goddess being on the chest of God is worthy of remark. According to the Paurāṇic accounts God Vishṇu is supposed to have given up *Vaikunṭha* and come down to reside in Tirupati, because of *Lakshmi*, generally resident on his chest, having gone away from him in anger because he took no steps to protect her efficiently when Rishi *Bhṛgu* kicked Him on the chest, as he found Him asleep while his duty was to be watching over the universe. Of course, according to the story, the kick fell on her, and that instead of punishing the Rishi for the insult offered to her, he apologised for his own seeming carelessness. Hence the God in Tirupati is supposed to be without Lakshmi on the chest, and when he had married *Padmāvati Lakshmi* in human form, the foster-daughter of *Ākāsārāja*, he

made a representation of her in gold, and made that a part of the jewel round the neck. Notwithstanding the absence of Lakshmi on him, it must be remembered, the God on the hill is named Śrīnivāsa, the abode of Śrī or Lakshmi. This contrariety is difficult for those not accustomed to Hindu philosophy to understand. With this tradition at the bottom of the temple in Tirupati, here is a specific statement in the inscription that Lakshmi was there on the chest. This is of course in conformity with the belief that she is never absent from him (*Śrī-Anapāyini*). The next one is No. 6 of Ś. 1464 (16th February 1543). This is an agreement with the temple accountant (*Kuppaiyan*) 'The inner street in Tirupati is here called, as in some previous records, *Bhāshyakārar Agrahāra*. A house in this street which was gifted to the superintendent of works in the temple, was taken over as a charity gift, and the said accountant built on the land a small temple for *Gōvinda-Krishṇa* and a pavilion for the spiritual benefit of *Tirunithā-ur udaiyar*, that is, the family of accountants. Provision was made for the daily food offerings of the image in this temple by the deposit of 1,500 *paṇam* to be applied as usual, the donor's share of the food being given over to the donor himself. The next record of interest is No. 11 of S, 1465 (5th Jan. 1544). This is a benefaction by *Maṭṭa Varadarāja*, son of *Pōttarāzu*, grandson of *Maṭṭa Sōmarāzu*. These are given the *birudas* of the family which state that they belonged to the *Chōla* family of the solar race, and regarded as a distinct section from the *Pottappi Chōlas* and even the *Uraiūr Chōlas*. This *Varadarāja*, would appear from literature was a son-in-law of *Krishnadevarāya*, had married *Krishnāmbā*, daughter of *Krishnadevarāya*, the other daughter *Tirumālāmba*, having married *Araviṭi Rāmarāju*. It provides for a certain number of food services for the spiritual merit of his mother *Channamma*, and other food-services for which he made a deposit of 312 *pon*. The donor's share of the food-services was to be distributed among the *Vaishnavas* reciting the *Iyal, Iyarpā*. This son-in-law of *Krishnadevarāya* does not appear in any of the records of *Krishna* or *Achyuta* before this. We pass on to No. 17 of Ś. 1466 (14th June 1544). This is a benefaction by one *Bhayakar Rāmappaiya*, son of *Periya Timmarasa* of *Pādirikkuppam*. The document relates to the gift of the village *Kulattūr*, an *Agrahāra* in lieu of three villages in the *Koṇḍapalli Śirmai* which had been gifted to the temple by his father yielding a revenue of 150 *pon*. In lieu there of *Rāmappa* gave half of this *Agrahāra*, as one half of it

already was a charity gift to the Brahmans of the Agrahāra. This half gave an equivalent revenue of 150 pon. He also made over another village Koppōli in Manamabōli Śīrmai yielding a revenue of 350 pon, so that his gift provided for an annual income of 500 pon. With this income the previous arrangement of service by the father was to be conducted and a certain number of additional services instituted by the son. Another donor Krishnappaiyan is mentioned here, who made over five other villages yielding a revenue-income of 950 pon, and a certain number of services were instituted from this. The donor's share of the produce of the first service was to be received by the donor himself. That of the second service was to be made over to a certain Śrinivāsa Aiyar, son of Udayagiri Dāvanna Bhattar, as a permanent gift. This Rāmappaiyan was a distinguished officer of the state, and the grant by the father referred to in the body of the document, is a grant made in A. D. 1534 by the father, under Achyutarāya, for the merit of prince Venkaṭādri. He was not only a distinguished administrator both under Achyutarāya and Sadāśivarāya, but held important positions even under Rāmarāja. He was also a distinguished scholar and musician. The work Svaramēla Kalānidhi is a work ascribed to him. The next is No. 27 of Ś. 1466 (19th January 1545). This is a donation by a certain Singarāja, son of Obalarāja for a certain number of food-services that he instituted. He made over the income from half the village of Rāmappākkam in the Paḷayam Śīrmai, the other half being Agrahāra. The income from the half was 100 rēkai pon, and the donor's share of the produce was to be received by himself alone. The next is No. 29 of Ś. 1466 (equivalent to 19th January 1545). This is a donation by Aliya Rāmarājadēva Mahārāja, son of Sri Ranga, son of Araviṭi Bukkarāya. This is a donation for the spiritual merit of Sadāśivarāya, and the donation has reference to the village Puduppaṭṭu in the Arya Śīrmai yielding a revenue of 200 pon. It also made provision to Rāmarāju's son Timmarāju for a food-service on Dvādāsi days. There are a certain number of other services besides. Lower down in the document another service is instituted for the merit of Sadāśivarāya Mahārāja and Śrī Rangarāja, obviously the father of Rāmarāja. There is another service again here by Pottapāti Timmarāja, apparently one already referred to as the son of Rāmarāja. It provides also for the maintenance of the Brahman who was reading the Tīruvēṅgaḍa Māhatmyam both in the hill and in the Gōvindarāja temple, who was rewarded with

the donor's part of the food-service. The next is No. 31 of Ś. 1466 (15th February 1545). This is a donation by a lady Tirumalamma, wife of Senbaga Kāmayyar, who was the son of Ādinātha of Vānavan Mahādēvi. She deposited 4,000 *paṇam*. and a supplementary deposit of another 100, which was to be applied as usual for the purposes of the various services instituted. Of the donor's share of the services a part was to be given to the husband, and a smaller part to a daughter of hers called Alarmēlmangai. No. 32 is of the same Ś. date, but 26th February 1545. This refers to a donation by the dancing girls Lingāsāni and Tiruvēngada Mānikkam of 1,600 *paṇam* to be applied as usual. A part of the donor's share of the food-service was to be given over to a Kumāra Tāta Aiyangar, and the rest was to be received by the donors. The next following is No. 34 of Ś. 1466 again (19th March 1544). This is by Tallapākkam Periya Tirumalai Aiyangar already familiar to us. This is a service for Nammālvār at Kapila Tirtham on the car festival day for the Ālvār. The deposit was 1,020 *paṇam* to be applied as usual for an income. The donor's share of the *prasāda* was to go to the donor himself. The next one is No. 38 of Ś. 1466 (6th March 1545). This is a donation by a Lady Gōvindi, daughter of one Timmaiyan, of the shepherd caste, among Vaḍuhars (Telugus). She made a deposit for the spiritual merit of her father Timmaiya, mother Rāghava Amma, and an elder sister Vengalu. There is reference here again to the beginning of accounts on the first day of Āshada (Tam: Āḍi) every year. There is a further reference to a manṭapa in a garden belonging to her. The total deposit was 2,080 *paṇam* to be applied as usual and the donor's share of the service was to be received by her. No. 40 is of interest as making a donation of 100 *paṇam* by a certain Krishṇa Mangai, daughter of Gōvindi, daughter of a Timmaiyan. A provision was to be made for a food-service to the person reading the Kausikapurāṇam in the temple. This is generally done on the twelfth day of each fortnight. The donor's share of the food-service was to be distributed among the Vaiṣṇavas of the place. No. 41 of Ś. 1446 (11th March 1545) is a document of interest as it is of a dancing girl of Tirupati by name Senbaga Vengu, daughter of Tunga Chelvi Timmi. It is a deposit of 600 *paṇam* the income from which was to be used for the expense of the service. The donor's share of the service was to be received by her after providing shares for her own Guru Kumāra Tāta Aiyangar, another share to one Uruppattūr Anandaiyengar, and a third to the reader of the

## HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Tiruvēṅgaḍa Māhātmyam, Vēṅgaḍatturaivār (the same as the above). No. 46 is of S. 1467 (2nd July 1545). This is a donation by a Nāgasāni, who was sent over to the temple at Tirupati by Achyutarāya. The latter part of the document is gone, and therefore the other details. The next is No. 47 of the same S. year (3rd July 1545). This is again a donation by Tallapākkam Tirumalai Aiyangar. Among the distribution of money we meet with provision for two people at the conclusion of the *Sankīrtana*, that is, the singing of poems composed by him; similarly provision at the conclusion of the reading of the *Śrī Bhāṣya*, both in the hill shrine and in the lower temple. The deposit was to be an income of 280 *rēkai pon* for which he apparently made over a village; but, as there was some obstacle in the way of the carrying out of this, he made a deposit for meeting the expenses at the treasury, and was conducting the services, when he got sanction apparently for the village being gifted both from Sadāśivarāya and Rāmarāja. They are referred to as Sadāśivarāya's Rāyasam (order) and Rāmarāja Aiyar's Tirumukam (letter). He made a further deposit along with a disciple of his, of 386 *rēkai pon* which was to be applied as usual, and from the income a certain number of other services was to be instituted. The donor's share of the services was to be received by him, as is generally the case with them. No. 51 of S. 1467 (5th July 1545) is a grant by Viṭṭalēśvara of Āraviḍu, son of Timmarāja, son of Rāmarāja, son of Bukkarāja. Among the services, the distribution of clothing to those that come for the festivals, and of the distribution of butter milk at the front door of the temple are mentioned. It refers to a number—a larger number—of services. Among them are mentioned distribution of money among the *Nambimārs*, temple priests engaged in the service, and readers of *Vēḍapurānam*, reciters of the *Tiruvāymoḷi*, readers of the *Veṅkaṭēśvara Māhātmyam*, the astrologer who fixes days for festivals, etc. The total expenditure is made out to be 1,000 *rēkai pon*, for which he made over three villages yielding respectively 500, 250 and 250 *rēkai pon*. The donor's share of the *prasāda* was to be received by his Āchārya, Śrīraṅga, son of Kandāḍai Bhāvanāchārya. This Viṭṭalarāja is the great officer of distinction who carried the arms of Vijayanagar down the whole length of the peninsula to Cape Comorin asserting the authority of the empire of Vijayanagar as against the ruler of the Tiruvāḍi Rājyam, and the rebel chieftans like Tumbichchi Nāyaka and Sāluva Nāyaka. This trouble actually began early in the reign of Achyutarāya, nay, the last years of Krishna really, and had

been brought under control as a result of the campaign undertaken by Salakarazu Tirumalarāzu. But it apparently cropped up again under Sadāśiva and resulted in a protracted campaign in which both this Timmarāzu Vittalaraju as he is called, and his brother Chinna Timma were engaged, till, in the year A.D. 1557, the Travancore ruler submitted and even paid a visit to Tirupati and made a benefaction to the God there. It was not merely the local trouble that was the cause of this vast campaign. The matter probably was complicated by the intervention of the Portuguese by an attempted invasion of the east coast and by their subsequent doings in Travancore. An additional stimulating cause was the work of conversion to Christianity, carried on a large scale in the southern districts, through the active exertions of Father Xavier. Of course Rāmarāzu Viṭṭala was one among a comparatively large number of cousins who each played his own distinguished part in the course of Vijayanagar history under Sadāśiva and helped the administration under Rāmarāja in the maintenance of Vijayanagar in undiminished power. The next record of importance is No. (53) of S. 1467 (15th July 1545). This is a benefaction intended for the spiritual merit of Sadāśiva and Rāmarājayya. The donor was a certain Timmarājayya, whose father's name is gone in the document as it has come down to us, but seems to be the Timmarājayya of the Auk family, one of the cousins of Rāmarāja and coming of the group going by the name Araviṭi, the family of Aravidu. This provides for a large number of services, among them the reading of the Tiruvēṅgaḍa Mahātmyam both on the hill and in Lower Tirupati for which two separate provisions have been made; the reader was Anantaiyengar, son of Uruppattūr Tiruvēṅgaḍayyan as he is called. This person is also described as Vēṅgaḍatturaivār. The provision actually made was 13,220 paṇam to be applied as usual, and the expenses met from the income. The donor's share of certain services was to be received by Annantaiyengar, reader of the Tiruvēṅgaḍa Mahātmyam. What was left over of the donor's share after this was to be received by the donor himself, who is called here Potlapāṭi Timmarājayyan, Rāmarāja's cousin already referred to. The next document is No. 55 of S. 1467 (2nd August 1545) and is a donation by Tallapākkam Periya Tirumalai Aiyengar. The donation consisted of 114 rēkai pon, the income from a village called Gaṇḍama Timmāpuram yielding a revenue of 100 rēkai pon. For the rest of it he made a cash donation, and with two other small donations made by others, his disciples, there was a cash donation

of 16 *rēkai pon*. Of the donor's share of the service the full cooked food was to be received by Tirumalai Aiyangar himself, but the other eatables were to be distributed among the Śrī Vaishnavas. The next one of importance is No. 60 of Ś. 1467 (26th November 1545). This is a benefaction by one of the Nambis (temple-priests) conducting worship in the temple. The name of the donor is Vēṅgaḍatturaivār, son of Malainiṅṅan Bhattar Appaiyan. He is described as belonging to the Kaśyapa gōtra Vaikhānasa sūtra and of the Yajur Vēda. He made a deposit of 1,155 *paṇam* for certain services, among which there is a reference to a tank called Alarmēlmangui Samudram, which this donor is said to have constructed along with a garden and a pavilion in it. Another of the Bhattars also made a donation of 185 *paṇam* and among the services provided for is the reading of the Kaṇṣikapurānam on Uttāna Dvādasi.—This is the 12th day of the bright half in the month of Kārttikā (November—December) every year. There was another donor also who joined, who provided for a certain number of services as well and paid a donation of 97 *paṇam* making a total of 2,650 *paṇam* to be applied as usual. The donor's share of the services was to be received by themselves alone. The next document is No. 61 of the same Ś. year, but of 8th January 1546. This is a benefaction by a Dēvarāya Bhattar, son of Udayagiri Narasinga Bhattar. He had provided for a water-shed for which he constructed a building immediately to the west of Vyāsa Uḍaiyār maṅṅapam, probably the pavilion belonging to the Vyāsarāya Maṅṅa. He also provided for a water shed at the foot of the hill in the place called smaller Ghat, for all of which he paid 1,600 *paṇam* to be applied as usual from the income whereof the two water-sheds had to be maintained. No. 65 is an imperfect document coming from the Gōvīndarāja temple in Lower Tirupati, which has but a few lines forming part of the inscription. These lines contain the interesting detail that the donor's share of the services was to be made over to the donor's Āchārya Vēdānta Śaṅakōpa Jiyar, and his disciples for all time to come. This, as we have noted already elsewhere is an important synchronism, as it brings this Jiyar into contemporaneity with Sadāśiva, although there is no date or anything else of the record known. The next one is No. 66 of Ś. 1467 (25th March 1546). The donor is an official of the chief named Chinna Timmaiyaḍēva Mahārāja, who is described as the son of Poṅṅlapāṭi Timmarāja, who himself was the son of Araviṭi Bukkarāja. The person actually concerned,



however is Dēvarāya Bhaṭṭa, who held the office of door-keeper of this chief, which means perhaps that he was the officer in attendance. He is described as the son of Udayagiri Narasimha Bhaṭṭar, whose *gōtra*, etc., are given. This seems to provide for a certain number of services to Viṭṭalēśvara Perumāl, whom he seems to have installed within the premises of the Hanumān temple in the locality. It provides for a large number of services for which he provided a certain revenue to be derived from a particular village attaching to Tirucchuhanūr, which is here given the alternative name of Varadarājapuram. He dug a canal from there at his own expense and called it Viṭṭalēśvaran channel, and brought it to a village which he called Viṭṭalēśvarapuram. He also brought, in the course of the construction of this village an Agrahāra gifted by one Bhayakara Rāmappaiya in the villege Kulattūr belonging to Nedunādu. He excluded half of the village as the Agrahāra part, and made the remaining half into four shares, which he handed over to various people for cultivating and paying the revenue for the services of Viṭṭalēśvara. He also made over to the temple the yearly contributions paid by the Kōmatṭi merchants of 30 *rēkai pon*, and with this total revenue, met the expenses of the services instituted. The donor's share of the services was to be distributed among those who habitually come to visit the place for purpose of worshipping God. No. 67 also comes from the Gōvindarāja shrine and belongs to the S. year 1468 (11th March 1546). This is an agreement with two members of the temple-accountant family. These made over to the temple one irrigation channel constructed by them at their own expense, and then a part of the village which they purchased for 400 *pon*, a donation of 120 by the Tiruvēngadattu Arēsu, another 20 from a Siddhaiyan, another 300 from one called Bhūlōka Siddhaiyan, making a total of 440 in cash, or 840 all told to meet the expenses of the services enumerated. There was an additional donation of 125 *paṇam* from another individual, which was also added to this constituting the whole deposit one of 965 *paṇam*. This was to be applied as usual to produce an income, the donor's share of the *prasādu* being received by the donors each donor receiving his particular share. The next one No. (68) is also from Lower Tirupati of the same S. year (20th June 1546). The donor is Tallapākkam Periya Tirumalai Aiyangar. It refers to a temple of Dakṣiṇa Nārāyaṇa Perumāl installed by him in the Tīrṭhavāri maṅṭapam at Āṭṭār Tīrtham. For a certain number of services to this deity, he

made over 2,300 *panam* to be applied as usual for an annual income. The rest of the document is gone. Then follows No. 70 from Tirumala of Ś. 1468 (20th June 1546). This is an agreement with a certain number of people, whose office was to keep watch at the large gateway of the Tirumalai temple. Then all these are named, and, among the services mentioned, there is reference to a pavilion called *Tiruvetturar*, hunter-folk who are regarded as the principal inhabitants of the hill. There was also a donation made by a certain Tirumagal, daughter of Elli. The total of these donations make 570 *panam* to be applied as usual for an annual income. The donor's share of the *prasāda* was to be received by each donor. No 71 is of Ś. 1468 (17th July 1546). The donor is a son of Tallapākkam Tirumalai Aiyangar, the elder by name Tiruvēngadanāthan. He made provision for an elaborate series of services and gifts. Among them there is provision for a service on the birthday asterism of *Tūppil Pillai*, which is the Vaishṇava orthodox name for Vedānta Dēśika. To meet the expenses of these he made over the revenue of the village of Chandalūr in the *Kondaviḍu Śīrmai* with a revenue of 500 *varāhas*, and another village *Mallāvaram* yielding 120 *varāhas*. The donor's share of the services was to be distributed among the Vaishṇavas coming for worship. This Tiruvēngadanāthan of Tallapākkam is the author of a Telugu work *Ashṭa Mahishī Kalyāṇam*. The next is No. 74 of Ś. 1468 (23rd July 1546). This is an agreement of the *stānattār* with Tiruvēngada *Maṅikkam*, daughter of *Tippāsāni* of the dancing girl community. The interesting detail is given here that the girl was given the title *Tiruvēngada Maṅikkam*, and on that occasion, the *stānattār* and *Porlapāti Timmaiyaḍēva Mahārāja* already referred to, presented her with a small palanquin. This document makes provision for one unit of food in Tirumalai and one in the *Gōvindarāja* shrine for her; also two other food-services on the occasions of the God being taken over to a garden built by her, as also another service in the temple itself. The *stānattār* agreed upon this provision for her permanently. The next one is No. 75 coming from Tirumala also of the same Ś. date but 13th August 1546. This is an agreement with one *Śripāti Ōbalarāja*, son of a *mahāmāṇḍalēśvara Māru Rāzu Rāmarāzu*, that is *Maru Rāzu's* son *Rāmarāzu*. The *gōtra*, etc., given show that they probably belonged to the family of the *Āraviṭi* chiefs. The revenue of 300 solid *varāhas* coming from the village *Pērūr* in the *Gōmakkarai Śīrmai* of *Mēladainādu* was assigned. The income from this was to be applied for the

purpose of the services instituted. The donor's share of the service was to be received by the donor himself. We pass on to No. (78) from Lower Tirupati of Ś. 1468 (21st September 1546). The service was apparently instituted for the merit of Rāmaṛāzu by Timmarāzu, son of Āraṇṇi Timmarāzu, one of the cousins of Rāma. This chief built a pavilion to the south-west of Achyutarāyā Kōṇeri, and a pavilion by Villis (a class of hunter-folk) is also under reference. The document is imperfect and does not even contain the details as to the actual amount of the donation. Then follows No. (79) of the same Ś. year (13th October 1546). This is an agreement with Potlapāṇi Rangarāzu, son of Āraṇṇi Nārapparāzu. There is a specific reference to a Vānamāmalai Jiyar's Maṭha at Tirupati. The assignment made was 370 rēkai pon from the village of Rāchēra in Vitadōni Śīrmai. The donor's share was to be given to the donor himself. The next one is No. (81) of the same Ś. year (13th October 1546), the donor being Timmaṇa Uḍaiyār, son of Ella pa Uḍaiyār of Venkāpuram. The deposit was 12,000 paṇam to be applied as usual, the income from which was to be used for the services. A part of the donor's share of the service was to be handed over to a Venkāpuram Nārayaṇa Śeṭṭi, who was to make use of it for a water-service in a pavilion constructed by the father of the donor at the foot of the hill. The next one is No. 86 from Lower Tirupati of the same Ś. year (13th January 1547). This is an agreement with Sevva Nāyaka, son of Śinga Nallappan of the Gaṇḍapāla gōtra of the Vellāla caste belonging to the Pangu Naḍu. This provides for a certain number of services by a number of people in addition to this particular donor. The principal shrine involved is the Rāma temple in the locality. The total of the number of these donations comes up to 2,480 paṇam, the donor's share of the service to go to the various donors. It is interesting to note that No. 88 of the same Ś. year is an agreement with the temple servants who carry on the food-services in the temple. It is a record of a number of donations that they made for certain services. We pass on to No. 92 from Lower Tirupati of the following Ś. year 1469 (3rd June 1547). The donor in this case is the Āchāryapurusha, Śrīnivāsa Aiyangar son of Ettur Tirumalai Nambi Kumāra Tāta Aiyangar of the Śaṭamarshaṇa gōtra etc., which means that they belonged to the Tōlappar family. It is an elaborate document involving a large number of services and a certain number of gifts both by way of money and of revenue from villages made by a certain number of

people, among whom the descendants of Tirumalai Nambi and Tōlappar figure largely. The donor's share of the service was to be received by the donor himself. The next is No. 93 of the same Ś. year 1489 (8th June 1547). It is an agreement with a Peṇḍli koḍuku Timmarāja, son of Manumabōli Kamparāja, who is described as belonging to the Ārya vambū, whatever that means (probably Kōmatṭis). He assigned the revenue of three villages amounting to 200 rēkai pon, and provided for a large number of services, among which incidentally there is reference to a pavilion built by him. The donor's share of the prasāda was to be received by him alone. No. 95 refers to the grant of a part of a food-service to a Brahman Kōṇa Mādaiyan said to be an officer in the employ of Baiyappa Nāyaka Krishṇappa Nāyaka, who seems to have been again connected with a Rāmarājayan, son of Bukkarāja-Tirumalaidēva Mahārāja. We cannot determine the exact relationship of this Rāmarājayan, as the document is imperfect. No. 96 is of Ś. 1469 (28th June 1547) and refers to two small donations, of 7 rēkai pon each, by a certain Pērarulāla Aiyan, keeper of the Tiruvēṅgadanāthan garden, and a similar donation by a certain Timmarāja. The donor's share of the prasāda, after certain other disposals was to be received by him. No. 97 is of Ś. 1469 (8th July 1547). This is a donation by a lady Tirumala Amma, daughter of a Kāmarāju, whose gōtra, etc. are given. The donation consisted of 300 paṇam to be applied as usual, the donor's share of the prasāda being received by her alone. We next pass on to No. 100 of the year Plavanga (14th November 1547), and refers to the Vittalēśvara temple recently extended and completed probably. This refers to a donation of 120 rēkhai pon made up of the rent of 30 collected from buildings built by Poṭlapāṭi Timmarājaiya, a grant of 10 pon made over by pearl merchants, another 12 collected from the rent from the shops on the land of Vittalēśvara temporarily put up in the month of Purattāsi, making 52 rēkhai pon in all. Taking along with it the sum of 70 standing over from older donations, this made up 122 rēkhai pon. The donor's share of the prasāda was to be received by Dēvarāya Bhaṭṭar presumably. No. 101 is of Ś. 1469 (24th November 1547). This is an agreement with Pāpu Timmaiya Mahārāja, son of Āraviti Rāma Rāju Timmayya Deva Mahārāja. Pāpu Timmaiya was the brother of Rāmarāja Viṭṭala already referred to and a cousin of Rāmarāja, and the donation consisted of 100 rēkai pon from the village Kōṭṭūr in Pālaiyam Śīrmai made over by this donor. This

together with 1,565 *paṇam*, which the *Kōmattis* had deposited for the spiritual merit of Poṭṭlapāṭi Rāmarāzu Chinna Timmaiya-dēva Mahārāja, another cousin, was to be applied as usual and the expenses of the services should be met from the income. The donor's share of the *prasāda* was to go to the *Kōmattis* themselves who made the larger part of deposit. Then we come to No. 102 of S. 1469 (1st January 1548). This refers to a deposit made in addition to the one made by Śevvu Nāyakar before by Poṭṭlapāṭi Rāmarāzu Chinna Timmaiya-dēva Mahārāja. The deposit amounted to 50 *rēkai pon*, from the income whereof, as usual, the expenses of the services were to be met. The donor's share was to be received by Sevvu Nāyakar. We then pass on to No. (117) This is a record on the *Yamunaitturaivir maṇṭapam* in Tirupati for certain services in the temple of Viṭṭalēśvara by Udayagiri Dēvarāya Bhaṭṭar already referred to. The document is otherwise imperfect. The next one is No. 118 of Ś. 1469 (8th July 1547) This is an agreement of the *stānattār* with one Chinna-marasa, son of Ellamarasa. This is provision for certain services, for which the income of 300 *rēkai pon* from the village Śrī Rāmachandrāpuram, otherwise Venkāyilappaṭṭu in the Koṇḍaviḍu Śīrmai was provided. Among the services referred to happen to be one for Viṭṭala Perumāl. The donor's share was to be received by Chinnama himself. Then follows No. 120 of Ś. 1470 (6th May 1548). The name of the particular donor is gone in this, and the amount of donation is 300 *rēkai pon* constituting the revenues from two villages in the Nellore District, which were formerly given by Achyutarāya as a gift to a Tirumala Sōmarāji. The donor's share of the service was to be received by Venkāpuram Rāyasam Haiyappa's son Lakkarasa. No. (121) is of Ś. 1470 (15th August 1548). This is an agreement with Eṭṭūr Śrinivāsan belonging obviously to the well-known Tātāchārya family. He made a deposit of 400 *paṇam*, which, together with another small donation from another of 50, was to be applied as usual for an income. The donor's share of the *prasāda* was to go to the two. No 122 is of the same S. date but of 18th March 1549. This is an agreement with Nārapparāja, son of Nandiyāla Narasingarāja. This family was connected with the family of Rāmarāja as cousins of the same degree as the other family. This refers to the getting up of the *Dvārāpālas* in the Govindarāja shrine by this Nārapparāja. He also instituted certain services for which he made over the revenues of two villages, Pallippattu in Nagari Śīrmai and Gundipūndi in Anjūr division yielding

a revenue of 100 *rēkai pon*, from the incom whereof food-services to the *Dvārapālas* were to be provided, the donor's share going to the donor himself. Then we pass on to No. 125 of S. 1472 (2nd October 1550). This is a donation by a certain Kondurāja son of Kōnētirāja, son of Araviti Rāmarāja, again cousin of the well-known Rāmarāja. He made over for the purpose of certain services in the Nammālvār shrine for the feeding of certain Vaishṇavas the revenue of eleven villages named, amounting in all to 5,713 *rēkai pon*. This large sum was to be spent in feeding a number of Vaishṇavas in the Alvār shrine in the *Rāmānujakūṭa*. and for the payment of a large number of servants and others engaged in the various services. The donor's share of the service was to be made use of for feeding Vaishṇavas in the *Rāmānujakūṭa*, he himself built in the Sri Bhāshyakār *Agrahāra* the inner Aiyangar Street, in Lower Tirupati. The next one is No. 127 of S 1473 (10th May 1551). This an agreement with one Sūrappa Nāyaka, son of Poṭlappa Nāyaka providing for a pretty large number of services through the year, for which he made a deposit of 400 *rēkai pon*, by making over the revenue of the village Villianallūr in Viḷuppuram *Śīrmai* of Tiruvaḍirāja. The donor's share of the service was to be made over to the temple authorities. The next one No. 129 of S. 1473 (8th July 1551), is an agreement with a certain Rāyasam Venkatādri, son of Vīramarāja Timmaiya. A number of festivals get to be mentioned in the course of this service, which is really interesting. The first is a *Purattāsi* festival instituted by Kādavan Perundēvi, the queen of Sundra Pāṇḍya. Then there is an *Aippāsi* festival started by Dēvarāya Mahārāya, then a *Kārttika* festival by Bukkarāya Mahārāya; then a *Tai* festival started by Krishṇarāya; then a festival in the month of *Māsi* started by one Āriyan; the festival in the month of *Panguni* instituted by Vira Nārasingarāya; a *Chittirai* festival instituted by the accountants of the temple; and a festival in the month of *Ani* instituted by Tallapākkam Periya Tirumalai Aiyangar. In the same month another festival was instituted by Rāmarāja Chinna Timmarāja. These and a number of other days in the year are mentioned during which certain services had to be rendered for all of which he provided 1,030 *rēkai pon*, the revenue of three villages, 700 from the village Tēsūr in Sahaduvāccheri Śīrmai, in Kalavaipparru, Meyyūrnaḍu. Palkunrakōṭṭam, Paḍaividu-rāja; another 200 from the village Vilanjanerū, Sahaduvāccheri Śīrmai, Taṇikai-nādu, Kuṇṇavardhanak-

kōṭṭam of Chandragiri-rājya, Nārāyaṇapuram, and another 130 from a village Timmasamudram in Gaṇḍikoṭṭa Sīrmai. The donor's share of the service was to be made over to him. Then we pass on to No. 133 of Ś. 1473 (10th March 1552). The donor is again Koṇḍurāja, son of Kōṇēti Aiyān, son of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Rāmarāja. This refers to a number of revenue sources for which he paid the equivalent and made further other changes for the total amount of revenue from the Agrahāra in Tirupati. The donor's share of these services was to be made over to the Nammālvār Rāmānujakūṭa in Tirupati. The next document is No. 138 of Ś. 474 (1st August 1552). This is an agreement with one Tirumalai Nāyaka, son of Bālu Nāyakar of Āṇṇi. For a certain number of services that he instituted, he made over the revenue of 90 rēkai pon from a village Tatchūr, Attimalaippaṭṭu on the northern side of the Seyyār in Tatchūr-nādu, Gaṇḍagōpalaṇ Paṇṇu, Rājaghambhīva-rājyam in Pālkuṇṇakkōṭṭam of Padaividu-rājya in Jayamkoṇḍachōḷamaṇḍalam. The donor's share was to be made over to himself. The next one is No. 141 of S. 1475 (25th May 1553). This is a benefaction by Koṇḍurāja, son of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Rāmarāja Kōṇēti Aiyān. This refers to a donation of 400 rēkai pon to be derived from the village Nagari, the donor's share of the services going to himself alone. No. 143 is a record in a stone in Tirupati regarding the devotion of Sri Rāngarāja to the God. No. 150 coming from Tirumalai of Ś. 1475 (3rd February 1554) is a document which purports to record a grant made, with pouring of water, by Sadaśivaraya. The document is gone into parts, but seems to refer to the disposal of parts of the food-services relating to a service instituted by Rāmarāja and Achyutadēvamahārāja in favour of a certain Brahman. More could not well be made out of the document. No. 151 is of the same Ś. year, but of date 15th February 1554. This is a donation by Peṇḍli-koḍuku Timmarāja we have already referred to, son of Manumabōli Kamparāja. He made over the revenue of three villages named amounting to 200 rēkai pon. But, as there was some obstruction in the way of this revenue coming in regularly, he made over the revenues of another grāma (village) Vaṭṭalūr in the Pādirikkuppam Sīrmai yielding 200 rēkai pon. No. 153 is of Ś. 1475 again (19th February 1554.) This is a donation by Tiruveṇṇāḍaiyan and Tiruvēṅgaḍaiyan, both sons of Tallapākkam Periya Tirumalai Aiyangar. As usual it is an elaborate document laying down the whole details. They refer to two separate donations by the brothers bringing in an

income of 730 *rēkai pon*. The donor's share of the produce was to be received by one of the brothers. No. (154) is of Ś. 1473 (2nd July 1554). The donor here is Koṇḍurāja, son of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Rāmarāja Kōṇēṭi Aiyan*, of the same *Āraṇi* family. This is a grant made by him to the *Rāmānujakūṭa* in Tirupati. This refers to a grant made by *Sadāśivarāya*, for his own merit, to the *Rāmānujakūṭa* of *Nammālvār*. This refers to the revenue from a certain number of taxes which have been made over for the purpose of this *Rāmānujakūṭa*, and this gift was intimated by a letter to the various governors of the divisions concerned. This document just confirms this gift. A number of these minor taxes are mentioned, as also the number of divisions round about Tirupati. Sixteen such divisions happen to be mentioned which might all be included in the central region, the *Tondamaṇḍalam* proper and round about. The document contains the following interesting details, that this order was communicated to Tirupati and to the *Dorais*, officials in charge of the districts (*Śīrmai*). There is the further statement that 200 bulls bearing the stamp of the swan (*Hamsa*) were also made over for the purpose of doing the carrying work. The next inscription No. 155 is of the Ś. year 1476 (11th November 1554) and is an agreement with *Āraṇi Rāmarāja*, son of Śrī *Rangarāja*, son of *Bukkarāja Rāmārāja*. This is a gift of four villages, namely *Singalabayi* in *Raichūr Śīrmai* *Valagolil* village in the *Mudgal Śīrmai*, and two villages, *Yaralacchēri* and *Makalippaṭṭu* in the *Pēripakkam Śīrmai* yielding a revenue of 4,000 *rēkai pon*. This makes provision for large quantities of the articles to be supplied from the treasury for the food-services instituted. The donor's share of the *prasāda* was to be made over to the occupants of the *Nammālvār Rāmānujakūṭa* built by *Koṇḍurāja*, son of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Timmarāja Kōṇēṭi Aiyan*, a cousin of *Rāmarāja*. No. (156) is of date Ś. 1477 (14th April 1555). This is a grant by another member of the *Āraṇi* family, *Pāpu Timmarāja*, son of an uncle of *Rāmarāja*. There is reference to a *maṇṭapa* constructed in the east street of *Tirunalai* by him, and makes provision for a certain number of services to the God on certain occasions when taken round to the *maṇṭapa*. He made over the revenue of a village called *Vēnāḍu*, the name of the *Śīrmai* is gone, yielding a revenue of 250 *rēkai pon*. The donor's share of the *prasāda* was to be distributed as of old. The next one of importance is No. 158 of Ś. 1479 (14th September 1557). This is a benefaction by the king of *Travancore* (*Tiruvāḍi-rājya*) for the spiritual merit of *Maha-*



maṅḍalēśvara Viṭṭalarāja, another cousin of Rāmarāja. He made over the revenue of a village Kuḷayapāttam in a division, the name of which is gone, on the banks of the Tāmravarṇi yielding a revenue of 350 *rēkai pon* for a service both on the hill and in Lower Tirupati. The donor's share of the services was to be given to one Śriniṣāsan, son of Nambiyār (temple priest) Timmaiya of the Śrīvatsa gōtra and Vaikhānasa sūtra. This document of A.D. 1557 is of importance as confirming the extension of Vijayanagar authority down to Cape Comorin and even into the kingdom of Travancore at the time. It was about this extension and assertion of Vijayanagar authority that Father Xavier, and the Portuguese priests generally, complain in their correspondence as interfering with their free conversion of the fisher-folk of the coast. The next one is No. 159 of Ś. 1479 (13th January 1558). This comes from the Gōvindarāja shrine, and is an agreement with Tiruvēnāthan, son of the well-known Tallapākkam 'Tirumalai' Aiyangar. As usual with these Tallapākkam grants, it provides for a number of services through the year in complete detail. The total expenses were <sup>880</sup> *pon* for which he assigned the revenue of the village of Kōṭṭūr belonging to Serumāhaṅgai in Perambākka-rājyam. The donor's share of the service was to be received by himself alone. The next one is No. 161 of Ś. 1480 (19th May 1558). This is a donation by Abbalaiya, son of Karaṅikkam Kāmarasa. This refers to a garden which he constructed on the road to Chandragiri to the east of the new tank called Rāmānuja, and to the south of the garden of a Chandigai Basavarasa. It makes provision for a certain number of services to God in the garden on certain festival days. The provision was 155 *rēkai pon* and  $8\frac{1}{2}$  *paṇam* for which he made over the revenues of a certain number of villages and parts of villages, of which one village was whole, and the rest shares of people in the village amounting to 23 $\frac{1}{2}$ . The interesting detail is given that these yielded 50 *rēkai pon* for each plot of 100 *kuḷi* of land. The donor's share was to be received by him alone. Then we pass on to No. 164, which is an interesting document without date, but referring to the year Kālayukti in Sadāśiva's reign. It is recorded in stone in some part of the hill, which makes over a garden for the purpose of Śenai Mudaliyār, that is, the divine controller of the household of the God. The next one is No. 167 of Ś. 1483 (5th December 1561). The donor is Rāyasam Venkaṭādri Aiyar and Kōṇappaiyan, both of them sons of a Timmarasu, son of Musalimaḍugu Viraṅarasa. This makes provision of 526 *rēkai*

pon by Venkaṭātri Ayyan, and 120 by Kōṅappaiyan making a total provision of 646 for which they made over the revenues of a village Appūr in the Chingleput District, and a number of other villages, the names of some of which are gone; but there is a whole list given. Some of the villages granted have had to be rejected for some reason or other, and others substituted when they became unyielding, thus making over land yielding 646 *rēkai pon* between them. The donor's share of the *prasāda* was to be received by the donors themselves. The next one No. 168 is of Ś. 1483 (15th December 1561). The donor of this document is Tirumalai Aiyān, son of a Śrī Rangarāja of the Āraṇṇi family. The details given indicate unmistakably Tirumalai, the brother of Rāma. He is said to have constructed a *maṅṭapa* in the *Champaka Prākāra* of the Tirumalai temple. The *maṅṭapa* goes by his name even now. He made a large number of provisions for services through the year for the expenses of which he made over to the treasury 16,500 *paṇam*, the donor's share of the *prasāda* going to him. Next follows No. 171 of Ś. 1484 (28th July 1562). The donor is a Srinivāsa Aiyāgar, son of Kumāra Tāta Aiyāgar of the Eṭṭūr Soṭṭai family. His donation amounted to 482 *rēkai pon* for services on the hill, and 710 for the Gōvindarāja shrine. The document is imperfect. It would appear that he made over a certain number of villages or their revenues, in the interior circuit of the district round the hill. Incidentally it refers to two festivals instituted, one by Saluva Narasimha and another by a Sāluva Mahāmaṅṭalēśvara Mallaiya Dēva Mahārāja in the 15th century. Then follows No. 172. This is a record coming from the *Kapila Tīrtham* in Lower Tirupati of Ś. 1485 (30th January 1563). This is an agreement between the *stānattār* of the Kapilēśvaram temple and Sevvusāni, daughter of Angāḍi, a dancing-girl of Tirupati. She set up an image of Vighnēśvara in the dancing-hall of the Kapilēśvara temple, and made provision for the daily services of this Gaṇeśa. The provision made was 200 *paṇam* from the income of which the temple was to supply all that was required for the services. The next is No. 173 of Ś. 1485 (26th January 1564). This is an agreement again with the Abbalaiya, son of Kāmarasappa, the Karaṇika already referred to, and makes provision for large number of services in full detail. He paid 149 *rēkai pon* to the temple. For the merit of another Chauṇḍappaiya, son of Śinga Timmarasa Ayya of Nochil-paṇḍāram, a donation of 150 *rēkai pon* was made. He seems to have made over also the revenues of a

village Tiruvēngadapuram in Gaṇḍikōṭṭai *Śirmai* and a cash deposit of 150 *rēkai pon*. The donor's share of the *prasāda* was to be received by the respective donors. The next one is from Lower Tirupati of Ś. 1465 (29th January 1574). The document is rather difficult to understand. It refers to an agreement between the *stānattār* of Tirupati with one of the Āravīti princes and a number of Brahmans, and refers to a service instituted by Achyutadēvarāya Mahārāya from which these Brahmans were receiving a share. Otherwise the document is imperfect. This brings us to the end of the records of the reign of Sadāśivarāya.

## CHAPTER XI.

### CONDITION OF TIRUPATI IN SADASIVA'S REIGN.

**The Number and Character of the of the Inscriptions of Sadasiva's Reign.** It would be clear from the summary of these records made above that the number of records relating to, and actually dated in, the reign of Sadāśivarāya amount to a comparatively large number, and even a considerable variety. Of these, however, the actual documents, that is, documents of donations, by Sadāśiva himself are comparatively a small number and do not exhibit either the magnificence or the devotion of his two predecessors, Achyuta and Krihṇa; and the really more important documents are records of gifts by the princes of the Āraṇṇi family, and make large and costly provision for numbers of services. Taken individually, they do not amount to very many for any one member of this family, who actively carried on the administration of the empire in the name of Sadāśivarāya Mahārāya, who was actually ruling. But even so, these are of great importance, and show the generally prevalent feeling of devotion and attachment to the temple, even among the members of the ruling family. Of course the large number of private benefactions is an indication of the devotion of the people. The character of the benefactions remains the same throughout and every donation made, however small, is made as in the previous periods in such a manner as to contribute directly to the increase of the permanent resources of the temple. In the course therefore of these years when liberal donations were made to the temple, judging only from those of which records are made in the shrine itself, we find that these amount to a large number and add very considerably to the annual income of the shrine. Judging by the documents as a whole we get the impression that the temple suffered no molestation of any kind, and no interference from any hostile party. This would mean that the frontiers of the empire were thoroughly wellguarded and enemies of the empire were kept out of it altogether. Of course, we cannot take it that the inscriptions from the temple at Tirupati give us anything like a full record of the events of the reign of Sadāśivarāya. Of course the temple records could give us only such

information as concerns the temple, and of which records happen to be made in the temple itself. But if there had been any attacks, or any incursions with a view to plundering the temple, such as might well have taken place if enemies such as the Muhammadans on the northern frontier found entry into the region round the temple, some mention of it can be expected. We may therefore take it that no such misfortune befell the temple of Tirupati during Sadāsīwa's reign. We have record in history, however, of an effort made by the Portuguese deliberately to conduct an invasion and plunder the temple, because rumours of its great riches had reached them across to the West coast. We have an account of this invasion in the histories of the Portuguese in the country. Krishnadēvarāya had got into an alliance with the Portuguese, and that seems to have held good and continued in force even through the reign of Achyutarāya.

**Attempt at an Invasion of Tirupati by the Portuguese.** Comparatively early in the reign of Sadāsīwa, whatever the actual reason, this does not appear to have been considered as of force. According to Fariya ye Sousa, Governor Martim Affonso de Sousa, actually arranged to send an expedition, naturally by way of the sea, consisting of 45 ships under 27 captains with the express objective of plundering the temple of Tremele, and this place is said to have been in "the kingdom of Bisnaga". According to the historian heaps of gold and riches were believed to have been stored there. The expedition however is said to have proved abortive, and ended in the plunder of some of the temples in the kingdom of Travancore, though it is said on the other side that the invasion proved a failure because Rāmarāya marched down at the head of his army towards Mylapore and kept the enemy at arm's length. Here is what F. C. Danvers the historian of the Portuguese in India has to say about it:—

"Meanwhile, the Governor fitted out a fleet of forty-five sail, with a force of 3,000 seamen and soldiers. The object of this expedition, which was kept as secret as possible, was to rob the pagoda of Tremele, twelve miles inland from St Thome de Meliapore, in the kingdom of Bisnaga. In this the Governor was disappointed, as owing to stress of weather, he was unable to carry out the projected undertaking".

1. F. C. Danvers : *The Portuguese in India*, Vol. I pp 463-64.

About the same incident R. S. Whiteway<sup>1</sup> in his work, "*the Rise of Portuguese Power in India*" has the following :—

"The Governor's next exploit ranks high even among those of Martim Afonso de Sousa. The bewildered historians have supposed royal orders to account for it, but those orders have never been produced or quoted. The Conjeevaram temples stand some 40 miles inland from Madras, and were at the time of which we are writing, in the territory of the Raja of Vijayanagara. They were visited regularly by the Rajas themselves, and there was a fair, partly religious partly mercantile, of the character common all over India, held at the full moon of the month of August. Kanchi, as it is called in the sacred writings, is one of the 7 holy places of India, ranking with Benares, Mathura, Hardwar, Ajudhya, Dwaraka and Ujain. The Portuguese calculated the attendance at the fair as 3 or 4 millions. This number was perhaps exaggerated; but at that time the Muhammadans had not penetrated to the south of India, and the attendance was probably large; at the present day it averages half a million. Enriched by this annual stream of pilgrims, and indowed by the munificence of the Hindu Rajas of Vijayanagara, the wealth of the temples, two of the largest of which had been built only 35 years before, in 1509, was very great.

It is possible that rumours of the wealth of these temples had reached Portugal; it is certain that they must have reached Martim Afonso de Sousa when he held the command on the Coromandel Coast in the time of Nuno da Cunha, and although they were in the territory of, and venerated by, an ally, De Sousa in the rains of 1543, organised an expedition to rob them. As such an attack would rouse the whole coast, preparations were made to carry off the relics of St. Thomas, and the Portuguese, mostly outlaws, that trafficked, to the east of Cape Comorin. The fleet which sailed early in September was scattered and delayed by a storm, and although its destination was supposed to be a profound secret, enough had leaked out to make the Raja of Vijayanagara uneasy. When therefore, the Portuguese rounded Cape Comorin they found so large a force collected that any attack was out of the question. As a bandit who had not been glorified by success, De Sousa, returned with his force to Kayankulam".

It will be seen from the above quotation that Whiteway makes the objective of the expedition Conjeevaram, while some of

1. R. S. Whiteway; *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, pp. 282-84.

the details that he actually does give would hardly agree with the place. He quotes however the authority of Correa which really sheds more light. That extract quoted is "He says he attended the fair, that every pilgrim had to have his head shaved. The barbers sat under some large trees, and the heaps of hair hid them. These heaps, sold for £ 200 a year, to make false hair. The heap of money the pilgrims left soon grew as high as 10 measures of wheat" -- Correa, IV. 301 Mr Whiteway himself testifies that Correa is nothing, if not descriptive. The details given would far better agree with Tirupati than with Conjivaram, and the details of shaving and the income therefrom, etc., would apply to Tirupati now or at any other time far sooner than to Conjivaram. It is quite clear therefore that the objective of this plundering project of the Portuguese was Tirupati, the fabulous riches of which must have reached the Portuguese governor when he was in command on the Coromandel coast, although he could not have been altogether beyond reach of the information even at Goa. The date of this expedition is, according to Portuguese authorities A.D. 1543, and is very close to the best period of the activity of the proselytisation work of Francis Xavier in Tinnevely. The expedition which sailed round Cape Comorin discovered that the forces marshalled by the enemy on the Coromandel coast were so great that the Portuguese ships were frightened into not proceeding any further than the Gulf of Mannar which they had just entered.

**The great Southern invasion of Ramaraja Vittala of Vijayanagar.** It is this expedition, and the complaints that must have reached about the wholesale conversions of Xavier that should have reached Vijayanagar, and brought about that great Southern invasion under the Vijayanagar generals Rāmarāja Viṭṭala and his brother Chinna Timma, who were actively occupied for more than ten years till at last they had succeeded ultimately in bringing the whole of the peninsula under the authority of the empire of Vijayanagar. The district of Tinnevely was the bone of contention between the Madura Viceroyalty of Vijayanagar and Travancore, and the Portuguese activity made it too much for the Travancore rulers to assert their authority as against them; and the Travancore government had already offended the empire by giving shelter to Śāluva Nāyaka, the rebel, against whom an expedition went under Achyuta soon after his accession. This was followed later by the rebellion of Tumbicchi Nāyaka, and

operations had to be undertaken against him. It was this latter incident that brought about this invasion which operated successfully in the south when the Rāja of Tiruvaḍi made grants to the temple at Suchīndram in honour of Rāmarāja Viṭṭala in 1447. He also granted a village on the banks of the Tāmravarṇi, and arranged for certain services in the temple of Tirupati in the year 1457, already referred to above. The vastness of the expedition, its continued activity for about a decade, and the complaint that the letters of Xavier make that the invasions of the Baḍagas so called, alike indicate their serious character, and it must be said to the credit of Rāmarāja Viṭṭala, and after him, his brother that they succeeded thoroughly in bringing the whole of the peninsula under the authority of Vijayanagar as also the state of Travancore. This state, placed, somewhat disadvantageously in point of locality, and with resources not equal to those of the Portuguese, suffered a great deal and was always in an unsafe position notwithstanding the successful opposition that they occasionally set up as against these. What is more, their inability to counteract the proselytising policy of the Portuguese and the plundering expeditions that the Portuguese often undertook against the temples of the land, showed the precariousness of their position, and Vijayanagar extension of authority over the state therefore was a blessing to be thankful for. The name of the ruler who submitted himself to Vijayanagar and thus exhibited his gratitude to Rāmarāja Viṭṭala is not stated beyond possibility of doubt in any of our authorities. Probably this ruler was the person who calls himself Śrī Vīra Rāma Marthāṇḍavarman in the Padmanabhasvāmi inscription, though he is called Bhūtala Vīra Rāma Varma in the Suchīndram inscription.<sup>1</sup> Even the temple inscriptions of Tirupati do give us an echo of this great activity of Vijayanagar in the distant south, and account satisfactorily for a pious donation by the distant Rāja of Travancore to Tirupati, for the spiritual merit of Rāmarāja Viṭṭala. The occasion that called for imperial intervention in the south was grave and emergent. The expedition that was sent out was equal to the demands of the occasion, and the command was entrusted to the most capable among the Vijayanagar generals of the time. The objective of the expedition must have been to put an end to the ever recurring trouble arising from the petty Pāṇḍya chiefs (*Pāḷaiyagars* of a later period) in the southern part of the Madura viceroyalty, which had not yet been success-

1. Nagamaiyar : *History of Travancore*, Vol. I, p. 299.



fully or thoroughly incorporated into the Nāyakship, notwithstanding the fact that the Nāyakship was created and was under the government of capable viceroys for much more than a decade. The action called for therefore was not merely the repelling of a buccaneering expedition which may have been the immediately provoking cause; it had for its principal object the bringing of the whole of the southern part of the viceroyalty of Madura under the imperial administration thereby putting down incidentally the mischief, the political mischief, that was being systematically wrought by the wholesale conversions of the fisherfolk of the coast. These conversions were held for the time to involve a change of political loyalty from the local rulers of the country to the king of Portugal. This certainly must have added to the gravity of the operations of the Catholic missionaries. Travancore (the Tiruvaḍi Rājya) country hemmed in between the Portuguese attacking by way of the sea, and the rebel chieftains along the slopes of the Ghats in the Pāṇḍya country was certainly in a bad condition, and needed assistance. The friendly reception that was given to the missionaries by this country was taken advantage of with a view to detaching the portion of the kingdom on this side of the Ghats altogether from their authority. Hence the great gravity of the position and the vastness of the expedition to counteract it. The expedition was thoroughgoing in character and brought the whole of the southern half of the Pāṇḍya country under the authority of the Nāyak of Madura, Viśvanātha and even his son, Krishṇappa whose name we find in the operations connected with this expedition. It was so thoroughgoing in character that the Portuguese buccaneers were frightened into not advancing beyond the Gulf of Mannar; the proselytising operations received a check and in consequence the political danger of Tinnevely being taken away from the empire and ultimately annexed to Portugal, if Portugal was in a condition to do so, in the generation following. Rāmarāja Viṭṭala's operations were thoroughly successful and they achieved all that was intended to be. There is an echo of this in the inscription of the time where it is stated clearly that it involved fighting from the banks of the Tāmravarṇi a considerable way up along the region of the Ghats and the expedition could come to the end of its mission only in the region of the Raichūr Doab, Muḍgal and places near about on the borders of the Adil Shāhi kingdom on the one side and the Portuguese frontier on the other. The importance of the achievement being what it is, it need not be surprising to us that the Mahārāja of

Tiruvaḍi Dēśam should have shown his gratitude to the imperial general by arranging for the service in the temple at Tirupati that he actually did. The village involved was on the banks of the Tāmravarṇi, the donor of the service was in Trivandrum, and the person honoured was the imperial general, whose authority extended all over the empire from Cape Comorin to the Bāhmani borders. The empire was in great danger and the thoroughgoing reassertion of its authority over the whole vast extent of it, is an achievement very creditable to the empire over which Sadāśiva ruled.

**Tirupati prosperous under Sadasiya's rule.** While therefore we may well say that royal patronage directly was not as high in the reign of Sadāśiva as in those of his two predecessors, the private benefactions and benefactions by the officers of the state were perhaps far more, and contributed to increase the wealth of the temple by the wise scheme adopted in respect of these benefactions pretty early in the history of the temple. Among these private donors we find the Āchāryas and Āchāryapurushas of Tirupati, the private citizens, the mercantile communities, the temple accountants, temple servants like the Bhaṭṭars (those engaged in offering worship) and even dancing girls attached to the temples. The Tallapākkam family in the next generation to that of Periya Tirumalai Aiyangar also distinguished itself by munificent gifts. It would therefore be nothing strange if the wealth of the temple had shown an increase and proved a little too tempting for the greediness of the distant Portuguese even. Sadāśiva's reign continued beyond the battle of Talikota so-called, of which we find no echo whatever in the inscriptions at Tirupati. One of the benefactions of Sadāśiva is associated indirectly with Tirupati, as he is said to have ordered the repairing of some of the temples etc., needing them in Kamalāpuram near Cuddapah, and in the course of his return journey from Tirupati, he granted a village called Bhāshyapuram to the Jiyar of Ahōbalam who is called Saṭakōpa, the second of the name in the list of the Jiyars of the *Maṭha* and the fifth in succession from the founder, Ādi Vaṅ Saṭakōpa. We cannot well expect any reference to it in the Tirupati inscriptions; but we do find references to this pontiff of the *Maṭha*, who is referred to as the recipient of the donor's share of the food-service in a record or two, thus establishing beyond a doubt that the Jiyar, contemporary of Ahōbalam of this ruler, was the fifth in the Vaishṇava apostolic succession. We shall now pass on to the records of his successors in the temple.

**Sadasiva's successors were His own Araviti officers.** Sadasiva's region seems to have extended to as late as A.D. 1575. But we have already noticed that his rule was more or less nominal, and the actual administration was being actively carried on by the family of Āravīṭi chiefs, of whom Rāmarāja the son-in-law of Kriṣṇarāya, was the chief, loyally assisted by his two younger brothers, Tirumala and Venkaṭadri. But the Āravīṭi family was one with a tradition of loyal service to the empire in the generations following the reign of the great Dēvaraya II of the first dynasty. Āravīṭi Bukka is the name we hear of along with the Saḷuva chiefs and even the Tuḷu chiefs, the ancestors of the ruling family. It was a family of veterans who rendered distinguished service to the empire. At the time to which we have now arrived, the family consisted of three or four branches with a number of distinguished representatives; each one of them contributed in his own way to the maintenance of the empire, and prevented it from giving way to the pressure to which it was subjected by its enemies both internal and external. The Bāhmani kingdoms were there in the north, though broken up into five. Bijapur and Ahmadnagar were two of the five divisions which were actively in contact with the empire, often hostile, though the one or the other showed an inclination to be friendly when pressed by the other. The existence of the Portuguese in power in the north-west of the empire was a disturbing factor. Ever since they entered into a treaty with Kriṣṇa in the earlier years of his reign, the Portuguese had been at peace, as they were vitally interested in standing well with Vijayanagar for the purposes of their trade generally, and the horse trade in particular, in both of which they were almost naturally hostile to the Muhammadans. Their diplomacy had the object of playing Bijapur against Vijayanagar with both of which they had to be in touch. They showed an inclination to observe the terms of the treaty till Martim Alfonso de Sousa organised the expedition we referred to above, and the treaty was renewed in 1546. The internal disturbances of which the most dangerous happened to be in the distant south had been quelled, and the territories involved had been brought under control, as was stated already about 1557-58, which date synchronises with the foundation of the Nāyakship of Madura as a full-blown viceroyalty. We see therefore that, notwithstanding the unauthorised assumption of authority which may even be assumed to amount to a usurpation, these chieftains who made themselves responsible for the government of the empire, exerted

themselves to maintain the integrity of the empire and keep the traditions of that imperial rule on the same basis as before. When we therefore speak of the successors of Sadāśiva, we merely pass on without a transition to the records of some of those who continued in authority without a break while the imperial family passes out of existence with Sadāśiva. This subversive change in the character of the rule of the empire was brought about by the calamity that befell the empire in the battle against the united resources of the Muhammadan Sultans of the north in the battle miscalled Talikota, which took place in 1565, and made Vijayanagar almost impossible for the capital. The relation between Rāmarāya and the Sultans of the Bāhmani kingdom varied from time to time. Rāma played upon the jealousies of these Sultans and took sides by playing the one against the other to the detriment of all of them, particularly as between his two immediate but jealous neighbours, the Sultans of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar. He took the side of the one or the other as occasion called for, and the weight of his power in favour of the side which he joined, contributed ultimately to make him the arbiter of the destinies of these kingdoms, till at last they saw plainly the dangerous trend of their policy and ultimately united to overthrow once for all their powerful neighbour. The battle ultimately went against the Hindus, and Tirumala sought safety for the capital of the empire by removing the treasures and the remnant of his army to a more distant and better protected place, Penugonda. By adopting a cautious policy and carefully husbanding his resources, he was able to regain, in the course of the ten years following, much of the influence that his brother enjoyed, and the empire of Vijayanagar still continued intact though badly hurt by the calamitous battle which is to be called Rākshasatangaḍi from the two villages or village sites on which the actual battle really took place about fifty miles to the South of Talikota. He was able quietly to hand over the empire to his successor, his own son, although the activities of his Muhammadan neighbours across the frontier were gaining strength. Tirumala had four sons actually, the eldest of whom seems to have died early. He thought the best way of arranging for the successful government of the empire was to let the elder surviving son Śrī Ranga succeed him as emperor with his headquarters at Penugonda, and give to the second of his sons, Rāma, the important viceroyalty of Srirangapatām, and let his third son Venkaṭapati, be the governor of the remaining part of the empire extending southwards from



EMPEROR TIRUMALA AND HIS QUEEN *To face page 160)*



IMPFOR VENKATA I

*(To face page 161)*

Chandragiri which he made his head-quarters. Sri Ranga succeeded some time about 1575. Sri Ranga's reign was so badly molested by the repeated invasions of the Muhammadans, the Bijapur and Gōlkoṇḍa forces from the north, that, at one time, they advanced as far as the walls of Penugonḍa itself; and the Gōlkoṇḍa forces under Ibrahim Qutub Shah occupied the territory extending eastwards from Adoni including the Vaishnava centre Ahōbālam, which was in Muhammadan occupation from 1578 to 1584. When his reign came to an end his younger brother at Śrīrangapatām, Rāma had already died, and the last brother Venkaṭapati succeeded as emperor. Rāma's elder son Tirumala succeeded to his father's viceroyalty at Śrīrangapatām.

**Venkaṭapatiraya, the last great Emperor of Vijayanagar.** Venkaṭapati was the last great emperor, and his reign which extended from 1586 to 1614, was in many respects a brilliant epoch in the history of Vijayanagar notwithstanding the injury inflicted upon it by the great battle. Three rulers followed him in succession and carried the imperial name down to about 1672-73. But the empire suffered a vital injury by his death, far more damaging to the permanence of the empire than the battle of Rākshasatangaḍi itself. He had no children, at least so he thought, and had brought up the younger of the two sons of Rāma at Śrīrangapatām by name Ranga, who lived with him at Chandragiri. He had apparently designed him for the succession, and had even nominated him his successor in a way by calling him Chikkarāya. This naturally provoked intrigues at court, and occasion was found in the claim put forward by one of the queens who brought up a baby and called it her own child, Venkaṭapati suffering it without any timely action on his part. Notwithstanding the fact that he should have been a comparatively young boy when Venkaṭa died, there were interested people enough among the nobles to take his side and bring about a civil war. This is the famous war of succession that practically dismembered the empire and made the great viceroys, instead of being the pillars of the empire as hitherto, the great disintegrating forces against which the last ruler had to struggle might and main incessantly for a period of about thirty years. Venkaṭa's successor, one of the sons of the Chikkarāya we referred to, by name Rāma, saved from the complete massacre of the family brought about by Gobbūri Jaggarāja the brother of queen whose son set up the claim to the succession, by a loyal officer known by the name Yāchamanāyaka. He found support in the great Nāyak Raghunātha of Tanjore among

the viceroys. It was through the exertions of the Nāyak Raghunātha, and the active assistance of this officer Yāchama Nāyaka that Rāma succeeded to the throne, and was anointed to the empire at Kumbhakōnam as a fugitive prince, in memory whereof the temple called Rāmasvāmi temple in Kumbhakōnam was built, and there is even an actual representation of an abhisheka of this prince on one of the pillars of the temple. Rāma's reign which seems to have lasted from 1616 to almost 1630 was one of continual struggle between the Gobbūri chiefs who were the principal rebels, and Yāchama Nāyaka the loyal lieutenant of the empire under Rāma. Rāma was too young to begin with, and seems to have had no children; but had taken occasion to nominate two collaterals as his successors in 1622. One of them by name Venkata succeeded him immediately, and had a reign of ten or twelve years terminating in the year 1642, when the other nominee Śrī Ranga IV, succeeded in October of the year 1642. The reign of Venkṭādiri continued feeble and uneventful, the viceroys having their own way and often fighting among themselves, the empire exercising comparatively little influence. One event of great importance in his reign was the permission accorded to the East India Company to build a factory of theirs in a coastal town which ultimately developed into the Madras of later times. The Charter that was granted through the good offices of his minister Dāmarla Venkaṭa, his brother-in-law, and the governor of Poonamalle, Dāmarla Ayya, a brother of this Venkaṭa, was confirmed by Śrī Ranga in 1645. This grant thus laid the foundations of the British empire in India.

**Sri Ranga's Effort to Revive the Empire.** Śrī Ranga was not inclined to play the passive part of his predecessor, and wished to gain back the old prestige for the empire which was now being torn to pieces by the activities of the great viceroys on the one side, and the devastating invasions of the Muhammadan forces on the other. Gōlkoṇḍa and Bijapur had come to an agreement between themselves, recognised by the emperor Shāh Jahān that they might extend their territory into the Hindu empire of the south, Bijapur pursuing its activities above the Ghāts and Gōlkoṇḍa below. Between these two the nether millstone and the other, the empire was very badly placed even for mere peaceful existence. The first step at disintegration was taken while yet the great Venkaṭa was alive by a petty chief under the viceroyalty of Śrirangapatām, overthrowing the viceroy and annexing Śrirangapatām to his patrimony. More than that, he carefully fortified



himself by obtaining the sanction of Venkaṭa in 1612 to his ruling from Śrīrangapatām, thus in a way legitimising his position. Thereafter Mysore stood almost outside the empire, though not in any fully recognised fashion. Other viceroys, among them particularly the viceroy of Madura, showed a similar inclination, though the opportunity for carrying it out to success did not present itself either to Madura, or in fact to any other of these viceroys, though all of them were anxious to avail themselves of any opportunity that may present itself. It was against these forces that Śrī Ranga struggled and struggled with all his might. The struggle proved in vain and his affairs proved so distressing that, at one time in the course of the struggle, he offered to become a Muslim, if the condition was insisted upon, if only the emperor Shah Jahān, who had begun to exercise a considerable amount of influence in the affairs of the Deccan, would support his legitimate claims to the position of emperor of Vijayanagar. This was in 1656, a date when he is said to have recovered Tirupati from some enemies who took possession of it, surely Gōlkonḍa. He struggled on for yet another fifteen years and more and passed out of view. A record has come down to us on a silver plate, though not as yet quite well attested, according to which, on application by Śrī Ranga's widow and her two children, Shivāji made a grant for the maintenance of the royal family. We also come across with a few other inscriptions of Vijayanagar emperors relating to the very last years of the seventeenth century. Thereafter we cease to have any record of the imperial family, and it is the viceroys of the empire in their own name, and on their own authority, that figure in the transactions of the years following. That brings us to the end of the Vijayanagar empire, and with that empire, we lose light also in regard to Tirupati from the records of this dynasty.

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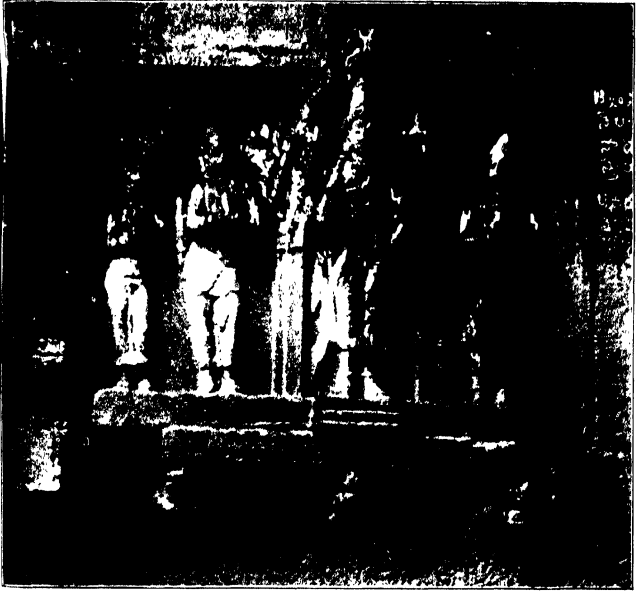
## CHAPTER XII.

### INSCRIPTIONS OF SADASIWA'S SUCCESSORS.

Coming down to the inscriptions of the period following Sadāśiva and covering the reigns of his successors, we find in Volume VI of the *Dēvastānam* inscriptions only one inscription of S. 1483 (15th December 1561) of Tirumalarāja, the second of three brothers who were practically ruling the empire under Sadāśiva. The record comes from Tirupati and has reference to the building of a maṅṭapa just to the south of the flagstaff in the inner enclosure of the Tirumalai temple. The pavilion still exists and goes by the name *Tirumala*. He seems to have constructed that, particularly with a view to certain festivals instituted by Śāluva Narasimha so long ago as 1473. He provided for the carrying round the deities on the Vasanta Utsava instituted by Śāluva Narasimha, and a number of other festivals through the year. There is not much else that is of importance that is recorded here except that the extract in Telugu following mentions the recording of these services in stone and recounts the conquests made by Tirumala, particularly his repelling and keeping in check of the expanding power of the Muhammadans. The year 1561 may be regarded as the high-watermark of Vijayanagar power, and the somewhat arrogant assertion of that power in an action that had to be undertaken against the Nizām Shāhis of Ahmadnagar in which the Nizām Shāhi capital itself suffered a siege. The next document takes us almost by a jump to S. 1501 (27th November 1575) quite ten years after the battle generally called Talikota in 1565, which resulted in the removal of the capital from Vijayanagar. This is a private grant by a certain Komāndūr Appaiyer, son of a certain Appā Aiyangar in a place in Chōla maṅḍalam. He provided for a food-service to follow close upon the daily service provided for by Rāmarāja. He made provision for an annual income of 219 *rēkai pon* by digging up a percolation channel from which water was to be lifted for purposes of irrigation. The next one No. 315 of s. 1504 (16th January 1583) and comes from the Gōvindarāja shrine. This belongs to the reign of Śri Rangarāja, the son of Tirumala, who succeeded him on the throne. This is an agreement of the temple manager

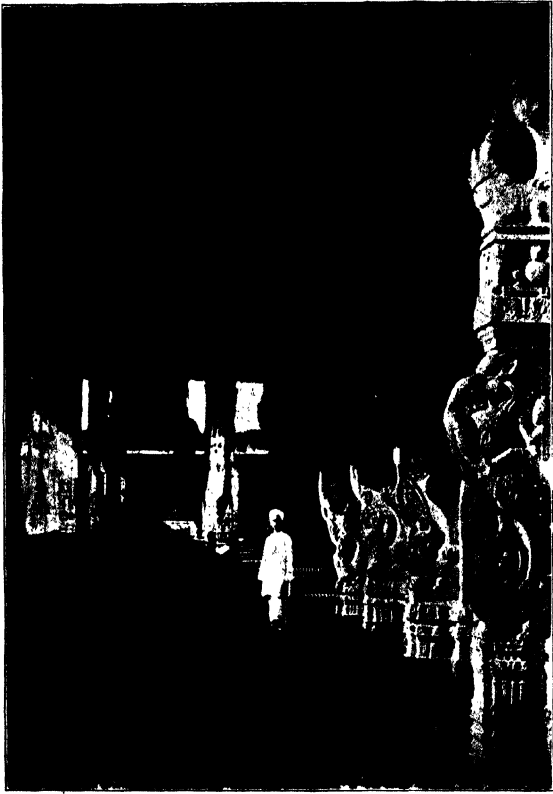
with a certain Tillappa Nāyaka, son of Tammu Nāyaka of Vijayanagara. He had a pavilion of his own in Tirupati to which Gōvindarāja was to be taken on occasions of certain festivals as also the image of Bhāshyakāra (Ramānuja). He provided for a certain number of services through the year on an expenditure of 31 *rēkai pon* a year, for which he made over to the temple land yielding a certain quantity of grain, the equivalent of the 34 *rēkai pon*. The donor's share was to be received by him alone. No. 4 comes similarly from lower Tirupati of the same date, but it was a donation by one Appāla Chinnappan son of Takkapaṭṭi Sevvaṭṭi, a resident of Kīlāchākkai in Kuṅṅavardhana *kōṭṭam*. He made provision for a certain number of services costing 20 *rēkai pon* a year. He constructed an irrigation canal in the village of Pāṇakam from the income out of which the expenses were to be met. The donor's share of the services was to be received by himself alone. The next one No. 5 comes from Tirumalai. This belongs to the reign of Śrī Ranga of Ś. 1505 (25th September 1583). This is a donation by Eṭṭūr Tirumalai Kumāra Tātāchārya, a grandson of Tōlappāchārya, and a son of Ayyā Ayyan. This is an elaborate record providing for a large number of services throughout the year amounting in all to 720 *rēkai pon* in cost. This amount was to be got from the revenues of a certain number of villages, namely Ayyanpākkam in Pālāvēdu Śīrmai yielding 330, village Pishattūr 210, and Pulivōy 30 *pon* and Mallavōyil *gīāmam* 150. From this income all the provisions prescribed should be supplied from the temple treasury. Among the interesting details mentioned is the reading of the *Kauśikapurāṇam* on the *Uttāna dvādaśī* day, for which a special provision is made. The document, however, is imperfect and does not contain the last part. The next one No. 6 comes from Lower Tirupati as well, of Ś. 1506 (18th October 1584). This is of the time of Śrī Ranga also. The donor is one Vengamarasa Seṭṭi, son of a Sellappa Reddi, one of the Vellālas residing in Avilāli. This is a provision for a number of services, the annual cost of which was 32 *pon*, for which he made provision from irrigation canals constructed by him in Avilāli. He himself was to receive the donor's share. No. 7 of Ś. 1508 (22nd April 1586) is again of Śrī Ranga. The donor is an Avasaram Chennappa, son of Nasilukkūr Narasaiya. What the total provision is, is gone in the inscription and he was to receive the donor's share. No. 8 is of date S. 1510 referring to Śrī Rangadēva. Excepting the first two or three lines, the document is clean gone. This is the last inscrip.

tion that is available for Śrī Ranga, which would take us down to the year 1588. The next record No. 9 refers to Venkaṭapati-dēva Mahārāya, the younger brother of Śrī Ranga, who succeeded him. As a matter of fact Tirumala had four sons of whom the eldest died apparently young. The next one Śrī Ranga succeeded him. When Śrī Ranga in his turn died, the last brother Venkaṭapati succeeded, as the middle one Rāma, viceroy of Śrīrangapatām had apparently predeceased him. Hence Venkaṭapati follows Śrī Ranga immediately. This is an agreement with a certain Tirmappanāyaka of the *Kavarai* caste belonging to Vijayanagara who made provision for a pretty large number of services in the temple at Tirupati, the total provision amounting to 320 *rēkai pon*, for which he made over the *Agaram* village Pūdamalli (modern Poonamallee) in the *Paḷaiyam Śīrmai* in the southern division. A part of the donor's share of the *prasāda* was to be received by *Peṇṇi Tirumalai Jiyar*, and another part *Bhūlōka Siddaiyar*, who made his own provision. No. 10 is of Ś. 1515 (16th January 1594) and of Venkaṭapati's reign. This is an agreement with the superintendent of the temple, *Anṇan Rāmānuja Jiyar*. This provides for a pretty large number of services. The total provision is gone in the document as also the other details regarding the disposal of the donor's share of the services. No. 11 is of the same reign and of date Ś. 1515 (13th March 1594). This is an agreement with a certain *Nārāyaṇan*, son of *Dāraṇi Kōṇēri Reddi*. This is as usual provision of services for a number of festivals in the year. The document is incomplete. The next document is No. 12 of Venkaṭapati of Ś. 1518 (19th April 1596). This is an agreement with a *Seṭṭi* of Lower Tirupati by name *Silambadiyār Seṭṭi*, son of a *Tambi Seṭṭi*. It refers to a *maṇṭapa* constructed by him in the *Periya Rāja Vīdhi* on the west side of Tirupati. The total provision called for amounted to 140 *rēkai pon*. He repaired a silted up channel of the *Rāyan Ēri*, the income from out of this improvement amounting to the sum required. The donor's share of the *prasāda* was to be received by the superintendent of the temple, *Vaṇ Saṭakōpa Aḷagiya Maṇavāla Rāmānuja Jiyar*. We pass on to No. 13 of the same ruler of S. 1528 (31st March 1606). This is an agreement of the *stānattār* with a certain *Narasaiya*, son of treasurer *Krishna Ayya* who was associated with a *Tirumala Rāyar*, and resident in Vijayanagara. The total provision amounted to 27 *rēkai pon*. The rest of the document is gone. No. 14 is of the same date, but 28th November 1606. This is an agreement with Hanumaiyyar Anṇaiyengar, son of



MATLA ANANTA AND HIS PARENT

(See page 171)



PAVILION OF EMPEROR VENKATA I (To face page 167)

Lakkappa Nāyaka a resident of Vijayanagara near about the hill Mālyavanta, etc. This donation was made for the special merit of Venkaṭapati and one of his queens Kriṣṇāji Amman. Venkaṭapati had five queens in all, and this was one of them. The yearly services cost 365 rēkai pon. This was to be derived from the revenues of the villages irrigated by a tank Venkaṭarāya Samudram constructed by him at his own expense for various channels carrying water to lands for cultivation, from which the amount was recovered every year as revenue. Out of the donor's share of the service, a certain part was to be given to two Śrī Vaishnavas, and the remainder made over to the donor himself. The next one No. 17 from Tirumalai is of Ś. 1535 (8th November 1613). This record is gone in parts, but seems to contain the interesting information that owing to constant rain, some of the minor irrigation canals had been filled up and lost, and reclamation work had to be undertaken. The donor, a certain Śingānāyaka, managed to recover some of these at his own expense at the village Pūṇḍi. which he made over to the temple treasury for purpose of certain services which he instituted. There is the further interesting detail that the *stānattur* of the temple put this record upon stone in the presence of Venkaṭapatidēvarāya Mahārāya. which would mean that he was present at Tirupati. Probably he was pretty often at the place, as we find several of his more important copper-plate grants are recorded to have been signed in the presence of Śrī Venkaṭāsa, which could be expected to mean that he issued these grants from the holy place, which would be possible for him, as his capital was just at the foot of the hill, from which he could go up the hill any time he chose, and might even make it a regular arrangement to spend a part of the day on the hill when he might as well transact business, as on this occasion. Whatever the actual arrangement was, we find him intimately associated with Tirupati in more ways than one, in addition to the mere proximity of the capital. It would perhaps be most appropriate to mention here a number of Vijayanagar coins with the legend Śrī Venkaṭēvarāya Namah, adoration to Lord Venkaṭēvara. This appears in a number of varieties, of course, on some of which there is a standing Vishṇu under a canopy, sometimes alone, sometimes with his two Goddesses. The God alone may be held to represent Lord Venkaṭēvara on the hill; but Venkaṭēvara on the hill is not represented usually with two Goddesses, although it would be quite usual for Vishṇu as such. The legend Śrī Venkaṭēvarāya Namah may have to be

regarded on these coins as merely the term of adoration, and not exactly as the royal sign-manual, although Venkaṭapatirāya, the first who died in 1614, signs some of the copper-plate charters as Śrī Venkaṭēśvara. These pagodas bearing Vishṇu marks became popular in the later days of the empire of Vijayanagar because of the difficulties of exchange with the European silver coinage of which the Venetian rials of eight were the most popular even after the fall of Vijayanagar. Both the rulers of Gōlkoṇḍa and their successors, and the English East India Company, adopted the same coinage as a matter of convenience, and the Vijayanagar pagodas were in circulation long after Vijayanagar authority itself had become extinct. The next important document is No. 18 of date S. 1536 (4th November 1614). This is an agreement of the *stānattar* for the ratification of an arrangement that Venkaṭapatirāya himself made with *Notṭakāra* (estimator) Vengalaian son of Kōnappaian, a Brahman. This makes provision for a large number of services in the temple throughout the year, for which this Vengalaian provided 187 *rēkai pon* and 5 *paṇam*. Another provision was made by his wife, Venkaṭamman, who is described here as the daughter of a certain Venkaṭaiyan of the Gautama *gōtra*, Kātyāyana *sūtra* and Śukla Yajur Vēda, belonging to Chinna Koṭṭur near Vijayanagara, the husband belonging to the Rig Vēda. She made provision of 200 *rēkai pon*, for which she gave up the revenues of certain temple villages which she brought under cultivation by improving the irrigation channels at her own expense. The donor's share of the service was to be received by the donor's themselves. There is one interesting detail in the lady's list of services, that is, the reading of the *Vāyupurāṇa* on the day of the Rāmāyaṇa Paṭṭābhisheka. The record makes provision for remuneration to the Brahman engaged in this reading. The next document, No. 19 is of S. 1538 (4th November 1616). This is an agreement of the *stānattār* with a certain Tiruvēngada Aiyān, son of Achyuta Aiyāngar, and a grandson of a Ghaṭṭu Abhaiya Narasaiyar of Tirunārāyaṇapuram of the Kaśyapa *gōtra* and Kātyāyana *sūtra* Śukla Yajur Vēda. This agreement was made with the Aiyāngar, as it seems for a Chinna Timmarāja, son of Chiragirirāja, and grandson of *Muhāmaṇḍalēśvara* Ōbalarāja. This makes a pretty large number of provisions for services in the year. But the first one begins with the purchase of services already existing in the temple for the purpose of feeding Brahmans in the Rāmānūjakūta at Tirumalai. The provision made was 253 *rēkai pon* and 6 *paṇam*.



A certain number of other services also were included both in the hill shrine and in the Gōvindarāja shrine. and, including that, the total provision was 280 *pon*, for which he made over the revenues of certain villages the irrigation resources of which he had provided, among them the village Ṇamaṇḍiyam, which yielded a revenue of 281 *rēkai pon* and 6 *paṇam*. The donor's share of the service was to be received by the Brahman alone apparently.

The next one is No. 20 of Ś. 1549 (25th May 1627), and takes us on to the reign of Rāmadevarāya Mahārāya. The document itself is an agreement of the *stānattār* with a certain *Nōttakāra* Nāraṇaiyan, son of Venkaṭaiyan, and grandson of Kōṇappaiyan residents of the village Daṇāyakan Mangalam, and associated with Venkaṭapatirāya. This makes provision for a large number of services during the year which cost 440 *rēkai pon* and  $\frac{1}{2}$  *paṇam*. To meet this he made over the revenues of a certain number of villages belonging to the temple, the irrigation resources of which he improved by spending his own money. The donor himself was to receive the quarter share of the service. There is provision in the course of these for *Nōttakāra* Venkaṭaiyan, who was worshipping Tiruvēṅgaḍamuḍaiyān daily on the hill. Apparently this was the father of the donor, who, in his age, made it a point to reside in Tirupati, and the provision is for his maintenance. The next is No. 21 of S. 1553 (29th September 1631). This is of the reign of Kumāra Venkaṭapatirāyadēva Mahārāya. This Kumāra Venkaṭapatirāya Mahārāya was nominated to the succession by Rāma, the previous ruler, along with another prince Ranga, who succeeded him, in Ś. 1544 (A.D. 1622). These were collaterals, and the nominations must have taken place at a time when Rāmarāya himself was very young and possibly as against contingencies. As a matter of fact he had married two wives at least, but does not appear to have left children, at least by them as far as we know at present. The record is an agreement with one Rāmachandrayyan, who made provision for a certain amount which is lost in the record by restoring the irrigation channels that had got silted up in course of time. The donor's share of the service was to be received by him. No. 22 is of Ś. 1557, four years after (2nd January 1636), the same Venkaṭapatirāya continuing. This is an agreement of the *stānattār* with one Anṇangarāchāryar, son of Aḷagar Ayyangar, a grandson of Prativādi Bhayankaram Venganāchārya. This comes from Lower Tirupati and sets out a large number of services for which detailed provision is made. In

the course of it there is a reference to a temple of Nādamuni Ālvār. While we know that there were temples or shrines constructed for the other Ālvārs and Rāmanuja, a shrine to Nādamuni, we think we meet with but rarely. The provision made was 348 *rēkai pon* and 8 *paṇam*. This was provided for from the income derived by the restoration and improvement of the Lakshminārayaṇa Perumāḷ Channel in the village Avilāli, and a certain number of other channels as well. The donor's share of the *prasāda* was to go to himself. Then follows No. 23 which is dated Ś. 1560 (15th June 1638). The ruler is strangely enough mentioned as Śrīrangadēvarāyar Mahārāya. This could only mean the last Śrīranga, called sometimes Śrīranga IV, sometimes Śrīranga VI, one of the two princes nominated for the succession in 1622 as was stated above by emperor Rāmarāya, who was placed on the throne as a result of the great war of succession. The actual date of accession to power of Śrīranga from the records of the East India Company at Fort St George is the month of October 1642. But we get from the document from Tirupati the information that he is actually the reigning ruler in 1638 at least of the region with which we are concerned, and even this has its own tale to tell. We find the same Company's records complain that the region round Armagaon, the English settlement, before Fort St. George became the chief settlement had been conquered by another ruler, while the nominal one in possession was yet Venkaṭapati ruling the locality through his governor Dāmarla Venkaṭa, who was his own brother-in-law and had a vast government with headquarter's at Wandiwash, with a brother holding a smaller government at Poonamallee. We shall come to that perhaps later. But for the present it would suffice to note the claim that this document implies that Śrīranga put himself forward actually as the ruling sovereign of this part of the empire of Vijayanagar—the part round Tirupati. The document is as usual an agreement of the temple management with a Brahman of Guṇḍanālu in the Uruvakoṇḍa *Śīrmai*. The name of the person is gone. It provides for a certain number of services, the actual requirement of which 95 *rēkai pon*, was to be drawn from the increased revenue by the repairs carried out at the expense of the donor to two canals, the names of which are gone, to temple villages. The donor's share of the *prasāda* was to be received by the donor himself. One interesting point worth noting in this document is it refers to a Jiyar who was superintending Iḷam-Kōvil the name for Tirupati which we met with in literature.

The next document is No. 24, a record in Telugu of Ś. 1606, Raktākshi, corresponding to 19th March 1684. We shall take up that document later as it refers to an agreement between the *stānattār* and Timmaṇaiyengar of Tirupati and Śivaraja Rāma-chandra Yēta Mata Rao, Dabir sā, obviously a document pertaining to the period of the Mahrattas. No. 25 refers itself to Ś. 1550 corresponding to A.D. 1628. Along with it may be taken No. 26 which is a duplicate in Tamil-grantha characters of the Telugu version of No. 25. They are both of them found at the foot of the hill at Tirupati. These two are documents which record the services of a chieftain who distinguished himself at this date, and is obviously descended of the family of another chieftain who played first a distinguished part and then an inglorious one in the reign of Śriranga, successor of Tirumala. This Matla Kumāra Ananta, as he calls himself, describes himself, as descended of the family of the Matla chiefs of the Dēva Chōḷa family. We have already referred to these in the course of these inscriptions, as different from the Uraiyūr Chōḷas of Cuddapah and the Pottappi Chōḷas. These were chieftains who exercised authority over the region extending between Tirupati and Ahōbālam hills, that is, over parts of Cuddapah and Karnul Districts, and a portion perhaps of the Anantapur District as well. He claims to have fought several battles in this region, Palagiri, Animēla, Pilēru, Chappallee and Vērupalli. Some of these could be located in the Chittoor, and the neighbouring parts of the Anantapur, Districts. He claims to have destroyed other enemies in another series of places called Kottagāla, Palakada, Guṇḍlūru, Kushṭūru and at Kumalla Kaluvā. His charities extended to a number of temples, such as those at Udayagiri, Tiruvallūr, Kalāhasti, Nandalur, Vontimittā, Siddavaṭṭa, Rāyachōṭi and other places in addition to those at Tirupati and even Chandragiri. He claims to have built choultries (charity feeding houses) in twelve cities, which are named, although two refer themselves to Tirupati, one at Ālvār Tīrtham in Lower Tirupati and the other Śēshāchalakuruvu on the pathway up the Tirupati hills, particularly for the convenience of pilgrims proceeding all the way down to Rāmēśvaram in the south, and Badrināth on the Himālayas. He also claims to have made great gifts which great rulers often lay claim to. His charities at Tirupati which demand our attention consisted of the following presentations to the hill temple: a golden horse, an elephant and a chariot as vehicles for God; a lotus seat, a gem-set crown and a plate for offering food-services. He constructed a

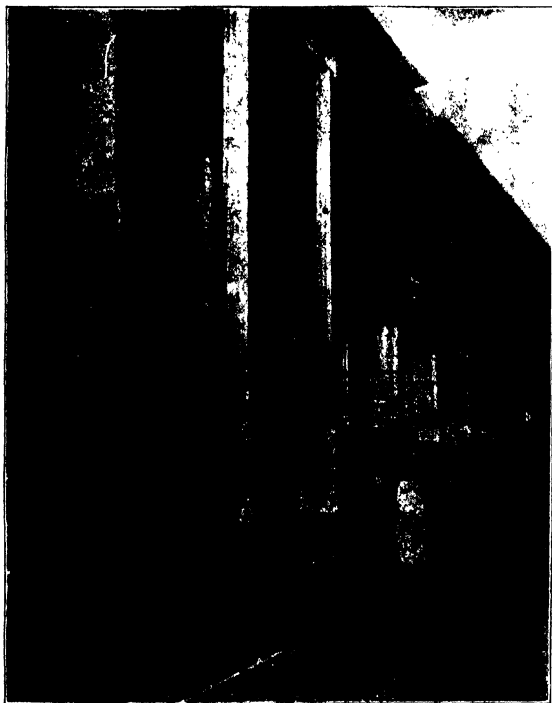
high roofed pavilion, a pathway with flights of steps up the hill—it is not specified where—and an *agragōpura* in the main part of the hill identified with the *Gāligōpuram*. For the Gōvindarāja at Lower Tirupati, he presented the elephant and horse vehicles. He is said to have installed in a pavilion an image of God Venkaṭēśa on the pathway, we cannot say where. He claims to have built a *gōpura* for the Śiva temple at Chandragiri also. He constructed a big tank on the hill on one side at Chennūru in the Cuddapah District. He also built the pavilion over the foot-marks on the way up the hill—a pavilion in which Brahma, Īśvara, Śankara and other Devas and saints are said to have worshipped Viṣṇu. These are supposed to have been the footmarks of Venkaṭēśa under the tamarind tree, which are believed to have been shown to Rāmānuja and his uncle Periya Tirumalai Nambi. The next six inscriptions belong to the same chief. The first two refer to the *Gāligōpuram* as a structure built by Maṭṭa Kumāra Ananta. The next two are found in the base of the *gōpuram* and refer to services by Maṭṭa Tiruvēngalanātha, and his wife Channama, apparently father and mother of Kumāra Ananta. Nos. 31 and 32 are in the high *gōpura* in the middle of the Sannidhi Street in Lower Tirupati and state that the *gōpura* was built by Maṭṭa Kumāra Ananta, son of Tiruvēngalanātha and his queen Channama. No. 33 is at the foot of the hill, and refers itself to the year S. 1545 (A.D. 1613), and is a record of a Koṇḍaiyar in token of his services to Venkaṭēśa.

The next following inscriptions, 20 of them, are fragmentary and refer to various services to the God. The next record worth our consideration is No. 67 coming from Lower Tirupati. It refers to the reign of Śrīrangarāya Mahārāyar, and mentions a Ś. date which is gone. It refers to a land gift. The next one is No. 85 which is again gone badly. It refers to the ruler, but the name is gone, and refers to a food-service by a certain Rāmānujan in front of the Vaṅ Śaṭakōpan Maṭṭa. No. 88 refers to the *Dātu* probably the year corresponding to A. D. 1636. Nothing else could be made out of the document as it is imperfect. Then we pass on to Nos. 118 and 119. They refer to donations by individuals, the sum involved, 1,190 *pon* is pretty large. The first one relates to the charity of a Periya Perumāl Jiyar, who is recorded to have made other large gifts also. No. 24 we already referred to before of A. D. 1606 refers to an agreement of the *stamattār* with the *Dabīr*, which in Mahratti would mean a corresponding Secretary, and a certain Timmaṅaiyāgar. They made a number



**THE GATEWAY OF MATLA ANANTA, TIRUPATI**

*To face page 172)*



PAVILION OF EMPEROR TIRUMALARAYA (See page 220)

of donations in the temple at Tirupati. They are first, four food-services in the name of the Shuda Rāṇūjipantulu, one food-service for the God Varāhasvāmi, and then it provides for distribution of food-services to several temples by officials and others, among whom happens to be the *Adhyāpakas*, the reciters of the *Prabhanda* of the Ājvārs. This involved an annual expenditure of 25 *gadyāṇas* of gold for which they presented a neck ornament valued at 525, *Śrīrangarāyar gadyāṇas* as they are called, at the temple treasury. The document as we said before is of Ś. 1684, and belongs to the end of the 17th century when the power of the Vijayanagar empire as such had become more or less extinct, although nominally rulers continued. The mention of "*Śrīranga rāyar gadyāṇa*" meant nothing more than the coin current at the time, having been the coin of the last well-known ruler Śrīranga, who struggled hard for the revival of the empire till about A.D. 1672. The last documents that we have to refer to in this Volume are Nos. 130 and 131, both of them on the slabs on the west side of the *Svāmi Pushkaraṇi*. They are two versions of the same document in Telugu and Nāgari characters issued by the first *Vichāraṇakartā* of the *Dēvastānam*, and refer themselves to the S. date 1771 corresponding to 31st August 1849. The titles given to him, *Sēvādāsa Satpurusha* of the Hathirānji Muṭṭ at Tirupati are interesting. His full title is *Śrīmatu Akhilāṇḍa Kōṭi Brahmāṇḍanāyaka Śrī Vishvaksēnu Mudrādhikāri*, which means, the keeper of the seal of office of Vishvaksēna, the divine controller of the God's household. The document has reference to his carrying out the repairs of the *Svāmi Pushkaraṇi* which is described to be situate between *Varāha Pushkaraṇi* and *Śrīnivāsa Mahātīrtha*, and contains in itself eight holy *Tīrthas*, called *Mārkaṇḍēya* in the east, *Agni* in the south-east, *Yamya* in the south, *Vāsishṭa* in the south-west, *Varuṇa* in the west, *Vāyu* in the north-west, *Kubhēra* in the north, and *Galava* and *Sarasvati* in the north-east; except Nos. 1, 4 and 8, the rest of the names are merely directions and nothing more. He is also said to have renovated the *maṇṭapa* in the middle of the tank. The document No. 135 is interesting as referring to a benefaction by a brother disciple of the *Mahant* of the time, of course without giving the date.

## CHAPTER XIII.

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### THE VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE AND GOLKONDA INVASIONS.

**General course of History of the period.** In the records of inscriptions that we have considered since the close of the reign of Sadāśiva, we had to deal with the reigns of the successors of Sadāśiva, extending from 1571-72, it may even be 1575, for the formal assumption of the title by Tirumala. Sadāśiva's successor must be considered as Tirumala, the second of the three brothers. Tirumala was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, Śrīranga, who was followed by his youngest son, Venkaṭapati. Tirumala ruled up to 1575-76; Śrīranga from 1575 to 1585-86; and Venkaṭapati from 1586 to 1614. His successor Rāma ruled from 1616 to 1632, and then another Venkaṭa 1632-1642, and Śrīranga the last of the name, from 1642 to at least 1672. A few names of rulers occur in inscriptions of the last decades of the century; but then the empire existed perhaps only in name. Some salient facts of general history have now to be taken note of during this long period, from the beginning of the reign of Tirumala right down to the end of that of Śrīranga. The great battle which ended in the defeat of Vijayanagar troops near Talikota made it impossible for the empire to continue with its capital at Vijayanagar. So Tirumala removed himself for safety to Penugonḍa; but, during the following ten years during which he continued to rule, he had so far recovered, that he was able to intervene effectively to prevent the aggressions of the Muhammadans into the territory of the empire of Vijayanagar. He beat back the Gōlkonḍa troops which had advanced into the territory of Vijayanagar along the eastern parts of the empire down to Adōni or thereabouts. He was still looked up to by his Muhammadan neighbours as one capable of rendering them substantial assistance in their rivalries. Except that Vijayanagar became impossible for the capital and the glory of the empire was somewhat darkened by defeat, the empire did not suffer very substantial harm. Tirumala's passing away and the empire passing into the hands of his successor, Śrīranga, seemed to have heartened the Gōlkonḍa Sultans to try their fortune again. Ibrahim Qutub



Shah who had been for years in Vijayanagar and had a more intimate knowledge of its resources, made successful advances and carried his arms down to the walls of Penugonḍa, and, in the course of the campaign, even succeeded in taking Śrīranga prisoner. At the end of the campaign Śrīranga was released, but he had to remain content with Gōlkoṇḍa occupying all the eastern part of the territory right down to Ahōbālam, and the Viṣṇu śārine itself happened to remain in the hands of the Gōlkoṇḍa rulers for five or six years after 1573 when this misfortune befell Śrīranga. An inscription of date 1584-95 in Ahōbālam of Śrīranga states it clearly that this misfortune to Ahōbālam was due to the defection of the Maṭṭa chief who held authority in that region. The Ahōbālam Jiyar contemporary with Śrīranga, by name Sashtāparāṅkuśa intervened, and persuaded Śrīranga to make an effort at the recovery of the holy place. Śrīranga was almost ready to undertake an expedition; but a local chief Koṇḍarāju Venkaṭarāju, who had volunteered service through the Jiyar was allowed to conduct the expedition instead with his own resources. He beat back the enemy and recovered Ahōbālam, and the inscription is a record of this recovery of Ahōbālam. This, together with perhaps the incident under Tirumala mentioned above, make it clear that it had become more or less the ambition of Gōlkoṇḍa to extend its power south-wards into Vijayanagar territory to the extent that it was possible to do. This policy of south-ward expansion of Gōlkoṇḍa became thenceforward a feature of its policy all through. We have a record of Śrīranga's successor, Venkaṭa having had to fight against these very Gōlkoṇḍa troops and that he beat them back beyond the Krishṇā in its lower course. This is stated in all the inscriptions of Venkaṭapati as also in the Aminabād inscription of date S. 1514 (1592-93). The fortresses with which we are familiar between Udayagīri and Koṇḍavidu figure again in these campaigns. Under the first three rulers after Sadāśiva, Vijayanagar was still in sufficient strength to beat back these invasions effectively. But the great war of succession which followed the death of Venkaṭa so weakened the imperial power that the capacity of the empire to resist aggressions from this side underwent a visible decline. We have already noted that in the civil war, the viceroys of the empire took sides, and, except the great viceroy of Tanjore who remained loyal, the other viceroys were hostile, either passively like Mysore, or actively like Madura. Among the chiefs nearer the headquarters of the empire, there

were two factions which disputed possession of various parts of this territory which was liable to attacks from Gōlkoṇḍa. Rāma who succeeded Venkaṭa was a boy of ten when he succeeded Venkaṭa in 1614. He depended upon the friendly good offices of the Velugōti Chief Yāchamanāyaka and his friends. Naturally he was opposed to those on whom the mantle of Jaggarāya, Gobbūri Jagga, fell. The territories of the Gobbūri family happened to be on the northern portion, on this side, rather close to the Nizam's borders, wherefrom they wanted to extend and take as much of the imperial territory as they could, and those interested in the emperor, Yāchamanāyaka and his friends, had naturally to oppose. These wars became pretty common, and we hear echoes of them in the English correspondence from Pulicat. In the period of Rāma's rule there was rivalry between the Portuguese and the Dutch, and we set below short extracts from the English Factories in India, which would show the actual position. The first is from a letter written by Sir Thomas Roe to Capt. Pring, February 14, 1618, which warns him not to go too near the Malabar coast on his way to Bantam :—

“For the Vizeroy<sup>1</sup> (as wee heare) prepares a fleete to goe about the Cape for the Coast of Cormandell and wilbe ready this month; yf you bee alone, it is not good to tempt them”. The next one is again to the same captain dated 10th March 1618, which is even more explicit and says, “I heare that a fleet is preparing for the Dutch plantation (Pulicat) below yt, and I feare a small ship cannot stay in safety.....Breiefely, that factory is worth nothing.”

This was so far as the safety of the sea was concerned, which would on occasions affect even the safety of the land empire. But the precariousness of the coast country is described in graphic language. Apart from the Portuguese hostilities at sea which cannot altogether be a matter for indifference to the empire, the more serious trouble was trouble in the interior about which we find references in the letters of the English and other factors, writing from the Coromandal coast during the period. The famous battle of Toppūr, as it is called, near Trichinopoly resulted in the victory of the loyalists, and the fugitive prince Rāma was placed upon the throne, a lad of about ten or twelve years of age. The chief antoganist of his claims was Gobbūri Jaggarāya, the

1. *The English Factories in India*, 1618-21, pp. 19 and 27 respectively.

2. *The Portuguese Viceroy*.

brother of the queen, who claimed to have a son of her own, and a number that followed him in addition to the Nāyakas of Gingee and Madura, who helped him as allies. This Gobbūri Jagga seems to have been a man who administered a government even under Venkaṭa in addition to his own ancestral territory on the frontiers of the Nizam's Dominions. When the battle went against Jagga and he fell in battle, his followers continued the struggle and tried to maintain their hold on the great bulk of the imperial territory along the east coast right down to Pulicat. The chief actor in this was Jaggarāya's brother Yatirāja. Yāchamanāyaka, having played the main part in bringing about the succession of Rāma, naturally acted the part of guardian of the Emperor, and fought hard to reclaim the territories of the empire from those whose disaffection brought about the war of succession. It is this struggle that we find under reference both in the relations of Gōlkonḍa by Methwold, and in the correspondence of the English factors on the Coromandal coast. What Methwold has to say in relation to the years 1616 to 1618 is as follows:—"The first kingdome upon the mayne is that ancient one of Bisnagar, rent at this time into severall provinces or governments held by the Naickes of that countrey in their owne right; for since the late King (who deceased about fifteen yeeres since) there have arisen severall competitors for the crowne, unto whom the Naickes have adhered according to their factions, or affections; from whence hath followed a continuall civill warre in some parts of the countrey, and such extreame want and famine in most of it, that parents have brought thousands of their young children to the seaside, selling there a child for five *fanums* worth of rice, transported from thence into other parts of India, and sold againe to good advantage, if the gaines be good that ariseth from the sale of soules." This extract speaks for itself; but we should make the following remarks not to leave it liable to be misunderstood. Probably the actual writing of this account took place some time about 1630 as the last King is said to have died 15 years since. Venkaṭapatirāja died in 1614, the succession of Chikkarāja Ranga, his assassination with his family, the civil wars and the final victory at Toppūr occupied more than two years, and Rāma could have succeeded nominally in 1616, and could have come into authority in his capital Chandragiri, the capital of Venkaṭa, only thereafter. The campaigns therefore have reference to the period

1. *Relations of Golkonda*, pp. 2-8, Vol. LXVI. Hakluyt Society Publications II Series.

161<sup>a</sup> to 1620. The whole territory was disturbed. Much the same tale is told by the English factors on the coast, and the English had no position on the coast except at Masulipatam which they found for various reasons unsatisfactory, becoming almost untenable. They wished to effect a change, and, as a temporary measure, about 1620 settled in Pulicat under the hospitality of the Dutch who had secured the place by a charter from Venkatapati-rāya himself, as it was in territory belonging to one of his queens. The English factors are writing from there and what they say applies to the locality round about Pulicat.

"Little news, except of the approach of our last yeres enmye, who the 20th of October entered a small village neare Borderinge, and within sight of Pallecatt sett the same one fire, and burnynge all to the ground their rayssed a forte of mud and other combustable (sic) mixed togeather, which they finished in two dayes and two nights bringing with them coules (coolies) for the purpose. But Iteraja, who is lord of these partes, having notice thereof, presently assembled his forces, beinge to the number of four or five thousand persons, and the 28th ditto besieged the said forte, the enmye beinge within noe more then 300 persons, which notwithstandinge held out a day or two, till the Dutch were faine to send hym, the said Iteraja, two peeces of ordnance out of the forte, with two or three gunners to his assistance; which the enmye perceivinge, fearinge the worst, demanded caule and they would deliver up the forte and retire themselves; which was performed, and the ordnance brought againe into the forte the 30th ditto; whereupon there was a great man interposed himselfe beeweene them both in the ways, as supposed by a friendly disposition, to make a league of friendship and accord; and standing both to his sensure, assigned each (each) his quarter or portion of land which formerly they held, which was devided by a river which parted the same. And conditions beinge drawne and writtings past beeweene them, the said Iteraja, as void of any further suspition, began to remove his forces, and came even att the towne of Pallicatte, mindinge to retorne to his whome, left the fort without any person therin, only one parte of these tender welles have rayssed to the ground in the meane tyme. And the day followinge the aforesaid enmye, as false as politicke, whose hed hath name Cemenique, in the nyght returned with 2,000 persons and rayssed againe the said

forte and made itt something larger, and hath put therein 500 persons, and soe remaines himselfe neare in company with 10,000, this beinge within three myles of Pallicate. This Iteraja on the contrary understandinge of this false afore pretended dishonest dealinge, avowed by all their fidelities and pagodas to be truly kept one both sides, which now beinge so treacherouslye broken, the said Iteraja, with much rage and discontente, requiringe assistance of his brothers and other his frinds, hath againe taken the feild and lies now within a mile  $\frac{1}{2}$  of his enmye with four thousand, and dayly attends a further supply. He is a man by all reported of a stouthe corrage; his onlye want is money to supply his occasions att present, whereof the other is wellstored and therefore is of more forse. They both strive for that they have noe right unto, but patronize as their owne untill the Kinge be established, which is yett younge; besides he is held in small esteeme, as yett. What will follow by these chains of troubles, the conclusion will make appearance; but in the meane time we greatly feare, yea verily beleeve, our negotiations wilbe greatly hindered, if not in our expectation wholly frustrated; for this Cemenique, whose drifte and ayme is for Pallecat, to bring itt to subjection under his government, that he might have the sacken of the inhabitants, who is possesst they enjoye an infinitt of meanes, and therefore would faine be plucking of their feathers; which havinge soe subjected would lett them rest till they were growne out againe and fully ripe. This forte which he the enmye enjoyes is just in the high waye from Pallicate into the country, whereby you may perceive the danger that depends thereon. Pallicate of itt selfe affordeth noe manner of commoditie for our employment, only most parte of the persons imployed therein; and for our best paintinge, they are most parte salure and mayer, by reason of the water att other places abrod in the country, a Jentesh (see p. 104) league from hence; whereby you may partly imagin what incorradgment these people can have to sett themselves aworke in these troublesome tymes, when on all side their is burnynge and spoylling where they come. The Dutch Governor on his arrival findinge the English in a small cottage, gave them a better one to their content, beinge the house of the gunner, who had been sent to Batavia for some offence."

The long extract quoted above explains the position quite clearly. The "Iteraja" stands for Gobbūri Yatirāja, the younger brother of Gobbūri Jagga; he ultimately became the father-in-law of Rāma, the father of his second wife. The "Chemenique" and

other variants in the correspondence stand for Ēchama Nāyaka or Yāchama Nāyaka, the loyalist chief who supported the cause of the prince. The extract above quoted gives an idea of what took place in the country and what condition the people were in for the large part of it. To add to the miseries of the country, a severe famine occurred in that part of the country, and that children were being sold for a small quantity of rice, as in Methwold's narrative quoted above, is found repeated in the letters of the English factors. The country must have been in a miserable condition really, and Rāma, who would have been about the time hardly seventeen or eighteen, must have felt his position very uncertain; and perhaps it is this that is reflected in what is stated of Rāma that, in A. D. 1622, he nominated two collaterals, grandson and great-grandson of the great Rāmarāja of Talikota for succession, in case anything should happen to him. Such indeed was the uncertainty of the position. This state of things seems to have continued more or less during the next six or seven years, as we find the factors reporting again in the year 1629 in a letter dated 20th August 1629:—

“The great king of the Jentus is now in his wars grown so powerful that he has conquered and regained all his former dominions save only our Nayak of this place (Armagon), who (it) is supposed cannot long subsist; wherefore perforce must leave his country. What alterations these proceedings will bring unto our masters affairs in this place we must refer unto time, and with that small force we have vigilently to stand upon our own guards until God send us more force; yet we have no cause to doubt but that he will be conformable to reason, as this our Naik hath formerly been. But in what manner the Dutch will proceed with the King upon these alterations we know not, but have reason to doubt of them by reason of their former underhand dealing!” There is a postscript added to the letter that information had been received from Pulicat that thirteen ships arrived from Lisbon to assist the Portuguese to spoil English and Dutch trade in Persia and India, and other details which do not concern us.

The state of things discernible from the above refers to the year 1629 when from what is stated we could take it that Rāmarāja II had just attained to the mastery over the feudatories, and therefore to the general command of the empire. He seems to have maintained that satisfactory position for not more than

1. *The English Factories in India, 1524-29*, pp. 346-47.

three years at the outside. The great famine which visited the Dakhan in 1630 and caused such general havoc in the reign of Shah Jahan seems to have extended to the parts with which we are directly concerned, and the havoc of the famine does not appear to have been any less in these parts. In the face of this famine, the satisfactory political condition of Rāma's Empire must have been greatly neutralised by the unhappy condition to which the people must have been reduced. It is stated elsewhere that the famine actually resulted from three successive failures of the monsoons, and therefore was so severe and spread over such a large area. If it was so bad as that, its after effects must have been somewhat prolonged as well. The reports that the factors at Armagon made either to their headquarters at Bantam, or Surat, or even the Company at home do give us an idea of the actual state of affairs then obtaining round about Armagon. What is really material to us in this state of things is that we find an alteration in the political circumstances of the time, and we are told plainly that the Nāyaks were again up in arms against the emperor, whose condition was far from satisfactory.

**Change of Rulers: Venkata succeeded Rama.** This probably was brought on by a change of rulers. Rāma must have died and the two successors that he nominated to succeed him, making provision for contingencies, perhaps disputed the title to succession, and naturally, if there was not an actual civil war, conditions must have approximated more or less to that. We find an echo of that state of things in the extracts following from a letter of date 31st January 1632, which was written from Bantam to the Company at home. This must have been based upon information received from the Coromandal coast previous to the date of writing, and therefore have reference to the year previous, 1631. As a matter of fact, the actual extracts, the longer extract, is dated Masulipatam August 29, of this year, that is 1631, and therefore the disputed succession must have been in the year A. D. 1631.

"The tenth dicto we arrived at Armagon, where we found our business there very backward, by reason of the great quantity of rains, as also the wars between the Kinge of Jentu (i.e., the Chandragiri Raja) and His Naiques. The monsoon growinge to an ende, we were enforced to take what cloth was imballd, and the 26 dicto we departed the roode of Armagon for Bantam, where we arrived the 26th January in health and safety. An answer was received from Surat, in which the President confirmed

the authority of the Agent, 'geivinge him power to dispose of all shippes and marchandize which shall arive theare'. Edward Prescott died at Masulipatam on August 29<sup>1</sup>. 'The great mortality of poore people in Meslapatam and other townes adjacent, occasioned by the greate dearth of rice and other graine, was the cause of our longer stay by 60 dayes uppon the Coast, for the major part of boeth weavers and washers are dead, the contry beinge almost ruinated; but greate hoopes of a plentifull harvest this yeare. In the kingdom of Jentu, those parts adjoyninge to Armagon are at presante soe afflicted with wares betwene the Kinge and his Naiques that, unlesse it ceace very speedily, it will indanger the ruinatinge of the wholle country, with greate damage to Your Worshippes affaires theare. As for the forte of Armagon, it is of soe meane strengt that those resident in it doeth feaar dayly to be oppreste by the Kinge and other souldiers which raingeth over those parts. The Agent hath provided a present for he that shall remaine conquerer, either Kinge or Naiques. In the intrum they stand as newters to boeth, intendinge at delivery of those presents to procure lysance for the bildinge a bricke wall about the howse, which may be efected with small charge; which once beinge accomplished, they neede nott feare the power of the whole kingdom; which at presente they indanger the loose of Your Worshippes estatts theare, with their owne lyves. It is greate hoopes that Armagon will in a shorte tyme be able to furnish the southerne factorys with paintings and whitte cloth of all sorts which is required, haveing made proffe of bettelles (30 covetts) and long cloth, which we find well made; the merchants of Armagon having provided 20 balles, but by reason wheare they weare made, fearinge it should be taken from them by the souldiers aforesaid."

**The Empire divided against itself under the rule of Venkata :** The decade following is again one of troubled history and a considerable amount of rivalry between the two nominees of Rāma who were related to each other as uncle and nephew, and were standing more or less on a footing of equality almost, in respect of their claims to succeed. The rivalry would have been less if it happened to be purely a question of succeeding to the throne. It is not the mere succession that was the cause of the troubles; but much rather it was a question of who it was that was to exercise the real authority in the state. The succession

1. *The English Factories in India, 1630-33.* pp. 202-204.



of the second Venkaṭapati meant the dominance in authority of the Dāmarla chiefs who were brothers-in-law of the sovereign, and were therefore likely to exercise authority over the empire. We see this is reflected in the correspondence of the English factors, which clearly states it, in the course of correspondence relating to the grant of the site on which Madras was built, and the correspondence in regard to which began some time earlier. The statement occurs in the course of this that the Dārmala chief Venkaṭa's authority extended over the regions from San Thome to Pulicat. We get a little more information about these chiefs from the Dutch records, the *Dagh-Register*, relating to these. Dāmarla (Tam. Dāmal) is a village in the Chingleput District from which these people came, and hence the family goes by that name generally. The members of this family held high positions under the great Venkaṭapati early in the 17th century, and the most distinguished among them was Channappa Nāyaka one of the bigger governors of the empire under the great Venkaṭa. He was appointed governor of the region round Vellore after Venkata had subdued the rebel chieftain Lingama Nāyaka son of Chinna Bomma of Vellore. As governor he left his mark upon the province which he governed in useful works, one of the irrigation tanks constructed going by the name *Chunmasāgaram*. It is in honour of his name that the native part of the town in Madras was built by one of his sons to be a sort of buffer between the Portuguese at San Thome and the Dutch at Pulicat who lived within thirty miles of each other, and who used to be constantly fighting against each other in the territory of Vijayanagar, apart from their constant quarrels on the sea. Hence the native part of the town is known as Channapaṭṇam, which is the name by which the place is known among the Indians even to-day. The site granted was to the south of it, and, from the records, we could see that there was a smaller settlement which went by the name Madraspatam lying to the south of Channapaṭṇam, and the piece of land ultimately given to Day was south of this Madraspatam, as we shall perhaps see later. This Dāmarla Venkaṭa was governor of a large division with Wandiwash for its headquarters, and with a revenue differently estimated and put down as something like 6,00,000 pagodas a year. He had a younger brother by name Ayya or Dāmarla Ayya or Ayyappa Nāyaka. He had a subordinate government under that brother with headquarters at Poonamallee. Venkaṭa's governorship was being managed by this brother while Venkaṭa himself remained at headquarters,

assisting the emperor in the administration of the empire. Of course, this would mean the exercise of all authority more or less by him, and in consequence the jealousy of the other chieftains who might otherwise have remained quiet. What is to our purpose here is that while Dāmarla Venkaṭa's territory extended along the coast up to Pulicat, the territory beyond and stretching into the interior including the region of Tirupati with which we are primarily concerned, was under the government of another, and that chief seems to have been under Sriranga, the other nominee of emperor Rāma, for the succession. So the reign of this emperor Venkaṭādri began with quarrels between these, and, at one time, the authority of Venkaṭādri as the chief minister seems to have been confined to the region of his own government. It is this that seems to be reflected in the one record that has come down to us from Tirupati of Sriranga, dated in the year 1638, which says in so many words that Sriranga was the emperor in that year, which would ordinarily be impassible as Venkaṭa continued to hold the position till October 1642 when he died and was actually succeeded by Sriranga. There is absolutely no justification for Sriranga to give himself these imperial titles, and that he should have done so in an inscription and given publicity to it is evidence of his not acknowledging the right of Venkaṭādri to succeed Rāma, or Dāmarla Venkaṭa the minister to carry on the administration in his name. Whatever be the inner motive, it is clear that the empire was divided against itself as it were, and the administration could not have been one of an undisturbed character even internally. The following extracts from the Company's correspondence throw light on the point. The English factors on the Coromandal coast have had, since 1626, Armagon which they attempted to fortify and make their headquarters. That proved to be unsatisfactory for many reasons, and this dissatisfaction is expressed in several letters. In a letter to Surat from Masulipatam the factors communicated the following regarding Armagon :—

"Concerning Fort Armagon, it is the place at present upon all occasions we must make use of for our securitie, for which respect wee have valued it so much."—(May 17, 1638.)

"Then secondly, the Company must give order for the makeinge good a place for the securitie of there estate in India; which how much prejudiz the want hath ben is very visible, for

1. *The English Factories in India 1637-1641*, p. 78.

2. *The English Factories in India 1637-41*, p. 90.

wee are not continually subject, and have not your estates made good all demaunds from tyme to tyme, be it right or wrong? And, lastly, are wee sertayne of continuall peace with the Portugalls and Dutch? Noe; for the piece wee enjoy by them is but for their owne ends. All which being duely considered, twer very requisitt that the makeinge good a place were first put in practiz; from which will arrise these bennifitts; you shalbe ever secur'd of the most part of your estate, and of affront offer'd be enabled to doe (y) ourselves right"—(December 24, 1638.)

1 "Att your being here I acquainted you with many kind invitations and larg priviledges by the Nague of (sic) Vincatadra, whose territories lyes betweene Pullacatt and Santome, the only place for paintings soe much desired at southwards, and likewise greate store of long cloath and morrees which is there procurable. Muster of the later now accompanyes these. I had your consent to make a voyage to the Nague, and threfore sett sayle for those parts the 23th July, and arrived the 27th; where I was entertayned with much honnour by the Nague himself etc., merchants, painters, and weavers. After some parlay with the Nague, I had free leve to vizt (i) their townes and soe discourse with the merchants, painters, and weavers, whoe brought mee musters of all their sorts of cloath. I was not furnisht to buy, but only to inquire of their prizes; which with orrow I heard. Haveing compared boath sorts and prizes with ours as Armagon beleve mee, I lament our masters great losses and cannot blame our freinds at southwards for their often complaints. The Dutch may well undersell us, when wee overby them 20, 30 and in some sorts 40 per cent. It is a misserie to know a grevance, if possabilityes for remedies bee wanting. You must pardon mee if I say it hath been unusuall in such kinds to make doubts when faire oportunities for our masters benefitt offered itselfe. I neede not tell you that Armagon is only chargable. The place affords nothing of itselfe; not soe much as a peece of whit cloath but comes from other places. As far merchants, how misserable poore they are, by the Nagues continuall forceinge, there complying with us and the cloath sent to the southwards speaks loude in cofirmation of the misserery of the place, with their backward performances. The common arbitrator, Time, hath now made a beneficiall discovery. If you shall please to embrace such large and secure offers, which the inclosed coppie of the firman granted by the Nague will demonstrate, it may give encouragement sufficient; and Francis

1. *The English Factories in India, 1637-1641*. pp. 154-56.

Day, whoe accompanyes these, wilbe readie to give you a verball relation of the hopes benefit that will attend if a residence were there once setted. Oppertunity of tyme is to bee followed when such occasions for our masters benifite offers itselfe. Changes of tyme are fickle, and, if you suffer this oppertunitye to pass over you shall perhaps in vaine, afterwards persue the same when it is fledd and gone. Our envighous neighbours, the Dutch, I dout not but will beestirr themselves to their power in hiudering of us what layes in them; yett lett not that discourage you, for all their Machivillian pollicyes will not prevaile. If it should, the Company can be noe loaser, for they run noe hazard. If you will not follow this course, you quite forgoe the way which promiseth assurance, leaveing firme securitye nearely to chance and hazard. And that you may more evidently perceive noe private, respects of my owne hath drawne mee to advise you as abovesaid, but only a reall wellwishing to my masters will joyne with a dutious earnest desire to procecut what may bee conceived best for their advantage, (I) doe promise, iff the goods there provided shall not appeare at the southwards 15 per cent. cheaper then those formerly bought at Armagon, not to lay clayme to any one peney of what shall bee due to mee for all my service from my honorable imployers; which, did I not tender their proffitt farr before my owne, I would never see willingly hazard. But why doe I say hazard, being confident I run none, haveing soe good assurance off performance? I forbear to ad any more, being I am to deliver these with my owne hands. Some few days since, there happened a disaster to a Portugall shipp, richly laden, lyeing in this road, by the insolvency of the daring Dutch, whoe with two shippes from Pullacatt came to take the said shipp".—(August 27, 1639.)

**Weakness of Venkata's Rule.** A place like Armagon, or any other more satisfactory one was necessary for the trade of the Company, as Gōlkoṇḍa was extending its authority to the south, and English trade had to be protected against encroachment by these, as in the case of Masulipatam itself, where the Gōlkoṇḍa connection had not shown itself to great advantage. Hence the anxiety of the Company's officials to secure a place more satisfactorily placed from the point of view of defence against attacks, and the securing of the kind of goods in which they traded more advantageously than at Armagon. This factory was fortified in 1626 with a view to this, but it proved unsatisfactory from the point of view of the two objects, namely, defence and the advantageous purchase of the goods. Francis Day who was in charge of the factory therefore was much exercised since he came in charge

of the factory in 1634. As early as January 1637 he went down to inspect a site in Pondicherry where he had an offer. Later on, the Dutch at any rate, wrote that the English were making an effort to effect a settlement at Kōvaḷam (Covelong), although the English factors disowned any such intention. In the meanwhile, the political circumstances round the locality were changing rapidly. The ascendancy of the Dāmarla brothers did not appear to have been to the liking of the other governors, among them the really more influential ones, the chief factor in this case being Śrīranga, the nephew of the ruling emperor Venkaṭa, who seems to have had a government in the region set over against Armagon with his headquarters at Chandragiri possibly, as perhaps his inscription in Tirupati would indicate. We are not sure whether the emperor Venkaṭa was actually in residence there. He might have been in Vellore where the great Venkatapaṭi had been in residence for four or five years after putting down the rebellion of Lingama Nāyaka. These two at least, Śrīranga as a subordinate governor, and Dāmarla Venkaṭa as governor and minister seem to have assumed a pronounced attitude of hostility to each other, so that at one time the Company's servants write to say that the minister's authority was closely confined to the territory extending from Pulicat to San Thome. Another disturbing factor which had to be taken into account at the time urgently was the possible advance of Gōlkoṇḍa more actively now than ever before. The Mughal emperor Shah Jahan had actively intervened in the affairs of the Dakhan, and had subdued the kingdom of Ahmadnagar and annexed it to his territory, forming a Dakhan viceroyalty with its headquarters at Burhanpur. But what concerns us is that he was able to impose upon both Bijapur and Gōlkoṇḍa a treaty in 1636 which made them recognise his position as emperor, and, at the same time, granted them freedom to extend their authority southwards of their territory, while they were shut off from doing so on the northern side. It was then that the understanding between Gōlkoṇḍa and Bijapur was come to that the one should extend its authority and make its conquests in the territory of the Hindu empire above the Ghāts and the other below, so that they might not clash against each other and come to war. The region with which we are concerned, it will be seen readily, fell to the share of Gōlkoṇḍa, and Gōlkoṇḍa was gradually extending its power. Being the nearer and therefore liable to be attacked first, it was Śrīranga's business to be watchful. He apparently took the necessary steps to extend his authority

effectively down to the coast and fortify himself against Gōlkoṇḍa advance to the best of his ability. From the Company's letters we see that he placed himself in strength at Armagon and Venkaṭagiri, and formed a line of defence against the Dutch and the Portuguese. This would naturally mean that the direct authority of the Nāyak in Armagon became the greater and in addition to the other defects of the place, the presence of the Vijayanagar governor and perhaps his forces near about would make Armagon much more unpleasant. After a considerable amount of search for a suitable locality, Day decided to effect a settlement at Madras in that territory under the government of Dāmarla Venkaṭa with a charter from the emperor obtained through his good offices. A recommendation was made by him which was supported by Cogan at Musulipatam when he came into authority there, and accepted by Surat and ultimately by the Directors. There were difficulties in the way of paying all the dues from the Company, and collecting sums advanced at Armagon. All that was done by August 22, 1639 and a document was obtained which conferred the trade privileges to the Company at Madras, and allowed them to fortify a bit of land which lay to the south of the small village Madraspatam which again was situated to the south of Channapaṭṭanam, the present-day Madras Town. It must have been in the course of these transactions that the strain in the relations between Śrīranga and Dāmarla Venkaṭa should have been great enough to justify Śrīranga regarding himself as ruling the empire as in fact he was fighting the battles of the empire as against Gōlkoṇḍa as Emperor Venkaṭa's predecessors had done. It took a great deal of correspondence and negotiations before the English could settle finally about the abandonment of Armagon, and the commencement of the fortifications of Madras, against the machinations of the Dutch on one side and the dissatisfaction to some extent of the Portuguese at San Thome, who themselves offered at one time to accommodate them in San Thome itself. While these negotiations were in progress Venkaṭa, the emperor, died and Śrīranga succeeded, as it appears with the support only of a party notwithstanding emperor Rāma's previous nomination; the opposition, of course, had been led by Dāmarla Venkaṭa and those in sympathy with him. Śrīranga was however, allowed to succeed to the empire in October 1642.

**Fort St. George, Madras.** Some years before this, probably in 1640 or 1641, the English factors settled down in Madras. Fort

St. George already begins to figure in the correspondence of 1642, and an English factory was there, the English themselves exercising authority, as a letter written apparently in September of that year refers to a Portuguese having been executed for the murder of an English soldier within the limits of the English settlement. At about the same time, we hear of the Nāyak of Armagon having been crushed between the Hindu and the Muhammadan power now fighting against each other in the region just on the eve of the death of emperor Venkaṭa. It proved lucky for the English that they had shifted their headquarters to Madras, as else they should have been caught in the wars between the Gōlkoṇḍa troops and those of Śrīranga in the region round Armagon. The fort at Madras was being rapidly constructed and the Company's servants were pushing on with it as, on account of the wars between the Nāyaks which were likely to endanger their position, it turns out from the Company's letters that Dāmarla Venkaṭa was actually negotiating with Gōlkoṇḍa against Śrīranga, and having been discovered he was thrown into prison, another governor having been appointed in his place. The new emperor Śrīranga had to fight strenuously both against Gōlkoṇḍa and against the disaffected governors within the empire. In the meanwhile, the Company's servants seem to have felt it necessary to obtain a confirmation of the agreement regarding Madras. While they were making the necessary preparations to send one of their members, Mr. Greenhill, on his mission to Śrīranga, Śrīranga had succeeded in bringing the rebel governors under control and putting himself in a position of safety. He now made Vellore his headquarters to which Greenhill's mission went in 1645. In this year the charter was confirmed by Śrīrangarāyalu, who had to make provision against the advance of the Gōlkoṇḍa troops. In a letter that the Company's servants wrote on August, 28, 1643, they say that the wars among the Nāyaks were raging at the time, and that Śrīranga managed to bring in the help of the king of Bijapur and put an end to this trouble. He succeeded ultimately in bringing the various governors to a sense of loyalty, and even managed successfully to dismiss the Bijapur troops at the end of the war. The governor who was appointed instead of Dāmarla Venkaṭa happened to be one Mallaiya. He was found intriguing with Gōlkoṇḍa, and Śrīranga had to get rid of him. The work of fortifying Madras was progressing rapidly, though in haphazard fashion for lack of funds. The Company's people mention incidentally the prevalence of wars in the immediate

neighbourhood owing to the advance of Gōlkoṇḍa troops, and even state it specifically that these troops were demanding the submission of the Portuguese at San Thome, and the English were expecting a similar demand in their turn. But very soon they found the Hindu forces appearing near Fort St. George, and thus gave them relief. In the September of 1645, the factors reported that the Dutch goods in the hands of weavers were seized by the soldiers of Mallaiya and they themselves were afraid of a similar treatment; but a letter inviting them to send down some one of them to the emperor Śrīranga at Vellore was received, which intimated at the same time that the Dutch goods were seized under the orders of the emperor. It was then that the mission of Greenhill went to Vellore and obtained a charter confirming the grant of Madraspatam. One additional condition was suggested that Fort St. George, being to the south of the village Madraspatam separately, might be called Śrīrangarāyalupaṭṭanam in the name of the emperor. The name however does not appear to have taken root. With 1645 therefore we reach one stage in the progress of Śrīranga in the establishment of his authority as emperor of Vijayanagar.

**Tirupati in Sri-ranga's wars with Golkonda &c.** The year 1645 found emperor Śrīranga comfortably installed in Vellore as the imperial capital and, for a brief space of time, he was in the enjoyment of his well earned rest but it was not to be for long. The Bijapur armies having been baulked once before under the walls of Vellore marched in force again. Having been beaten back in the Guḍiyāttam pass, they made a detour, and arrived before the walls of Vellore again through the Salem District and the Attūr pass debouching into the plains by way of Changama on the Tiruvaṅṅāmalai Road. They were in far greater force than before and had the better of it in the following battle. The Bijapur forces under Mustafakhan and Shahji ultimately prevailed, and Śrīranga had to enter into a treaty with them and remain content with the territory round Chandragiri. This treaty placed him between the advancing forces of Gōlkoṇḍa on the one side and the Bijapur forces marching down from the Mysore plateau towards Gingee on the other. His position which was already difficult had become really precarious now.

**Vijayanagar authority still Acknowledged to the borders of Golkonda.** Amidst the dark shadows that are falling fast over the Empire of Vijayanagar in this region, comes an unlooked for



gleam of light somewhat doubtful, but withal very interesting. A pair of copper plate grants which seem to be more or less duplicates, coming from Nandiyāl in the Kurnool District, refer themselves to the reign of Vīrapratāpa Śrīrangarāya Dēva Mahārāya ruling from Penugonda and dated in the Ś. year 1569 (A.D. 1647). The plates register a grant for conducting the festival of the *chappram* (a small decorated car on which the god is taken in procession) of the God Venkaṭēśa. This seems more or less a voluntary grant made up by subscription from a certain number of professional castes and other inhabitants of the Pedda Nandiyāl *Sīma*. The grant is said to have been made to an individual by name Timmaiya son of *Chappram Dāsari* Saruvaiya, and is recorded to have been for the merit of *Hazarati Khāna Khāna Sāhēbulavāru*. The grant comes from the priest of the local Venkaṭēśa temple, which, as the Government epigraphist points out, is by no means an old temple, and is more or less a small local shrine. The mention of the *Chappram Dāsari* Saruvaiya seems to confirm his surmise that it must have been a service intended for God Venkaṭēśa at Tirupati. A *Chappram Dāsari* would mean a *Dāsari*, a peripatetic non-Brahman going about collecting funds for the purpose of celebrating a festival of some kind or other, and, in this case, the *Chappram* Car festival. Notwithstanding the uncertainty of its character, the grant indicates two things clearly, *viz.*, that, that part of the Kurnool District bordering on Cuddapah recognised the authority of the Vijayanagar emperor in 1647, although it happened to be actually under the government, it may be, of *Khāna Khāna Sāhēbulavāru*, which could mean no other than the Khān-i-Khānān of Golkonda exercising authority there. This would mean the commander-in-chief of the Quṭub Shah for the time being, Abdulla Quṭub Shah. If the record proves to be genuine, it would certainly be a very interesting record in the history of Śrīranga, in the actual circumstances of the times.

**Golkonda Gradually Supersedes Sriranga in this Region.** The main objective of the Bijapur invasion was Gingee which ultimately fell to them in 1649, and the Vijayanagar viceroyalty of Gingee came to an end along with it. The fall of Gingee opened the eyes of the southern viceroys of the empire to make them see the folly of the divisions among themselves, and their hostility to Śrīranga. But from what we know of the subsequent events we could not well assert that it did bring about any very definite improvements in their relations sufficiently powerful to

turn the scale. However it enabled Śrīranga to exert himself more strenuously than before, and recover so far as to take possession of Tirupati and places near about in that region. In fact the Dutch records have it that "the Chandragiri Rāja with an army of 8,000 men captured the pagoda of Tirupati, and then designed the conquest of the districts of Conjivaram, Chengleput, Carnigælypatam and Pulicat." We might almost feel that, that was perhaps the last flicker of the dying candle. The period immediately following enabled him to get together considerable assistance from the officers of the south and make another effort, this time, principally against the insubordinate ruler of Mysore, which to the Company's servants, seemed as though he were recovering power. They mention about his gaining in power in the region of the Tanjore country and of the Gōlkoṇḍa forces being near about Madras in an effort to oppose his advance. A record of 1667 states it that "the Gentues are now geathering to a head against the Moores; and if they should bee victorious, they would endeavour to doe us a discourtesy, and regard by the help of our guns and gunners (which formerly hath byn let them (*i.e.*, the Moors) by your Agents here they (*i.e.*, the Gentues) lost their country." Since the flight of Mirjumla from Hyderabad and his obtaining the grant of the Carnatic territory as a fief from the emperor Shah Jahan, there has been an effort on his side to gain a better hold upon his territory. It ultimately succeeded to the extent of making the immediate surroundings of Madras a part of his territory some time about 1668. Tirupati again figures in this period in the British correspondence; and we are told that a Brahman emiasary was sent by the English Company at Fort St. George to Neknam Khan who was in charge of this region at the time in behalf of Gōlkoṇḍa, Mirjumla having died. He had to go to Tirupati to see the Neknam Khan's lieutenant in this region and this person is called Chinnappaḷli Mirza,<sup>1</sup> a queer name which

1. Notwithstanding a suggestion offered by Mr. Rangachari that Chinnappaḷli was a place in the Guntur district, Sir W. Foster Editor of the Series, *English Factories in India*, leave the name unexplained as he was not aware of the Muhammadans taking a name in combination with places, such as this would involve. Chinnappaḷli Mirza need not be regarded as strictly a Muhammadan name. While Mirza could be a name among the Muhammadans, it perhaps means here nothing more than a title of dignity almost corresponding to prince, and if Chinnappaḷli was his *Jhāghir*, he could very well have the name Chinnappaḷli Mirza in popular parlance, such as we now-a-days hear of a Maṇḍapam Marakkāyar or Iḷayānguḍi Rāvuttar, and titles like that; *Marakkāyar* and *Rāvuttar* being simply the titles of these Muhammadan gentlemen, and the place names being nothing more than the place of their residence or of their business. So this Chinnappaḷli Mirza may well be a name like that.

seems on the face of it rather difficult an explanation. Chinnappalli Mirza sent forward the emissary to see Neknam Khan at Gōlkoṇḍa. Tirupati was probably regarded as centrally placed for commanding the whole district round about; and the Company's letter further goes on to describe the conquest farther south and even of the good offices of Ayyappa Nāyaka that they obtained. That is almost the last occasion in which we meet with matters concerning the last emperor of Vijayanagar, Śrīranga, in the Company's correspondence. Thereafter he seems to pass into Mysore, and, after perhaps another vain effort with the aid of the Nāyak of Ikkēri to recover the empire we cease to hear of him.

**Condition of Tirupati During the Period.** So during the whole of this period, although we do hear occasionally of Tirupati, we hear very little indeed of its condition of life. In fact we could hardly expect these sources to throw any light upon a matter like that. The Gōlkoṇḍa advance began about the year 1638 and lasted practically the length of a generation, thirty years roughly. The correspondence at least in one place mentions that the wealth of Mir Jumla was enormous because of the vast plunder that he got from the South Indian temples that he conquered, while among the temples which come within the purview of his conquests, the temple at Tirupati would be one of the most prominent ones, and surely it must have been one of the richest. Temples like Kalahasti, Conjivaram, and a number of others that could be mentioned certainly do come within the sphere of his activity. That is about all that we could hear of regarding Tirupati in these campaigns in addition to the fact the Śrīranga made three efforts on separate occasions to recover Tirupati. He succeeded in recovering it in 1656, and perhaps lost it again so that it remained a Gōlkoṇḍa possession afterwards. We may perhaps take it that though Tirupati suffered by the Muhammadan conquest, it continued otherwise in considerable strength to be fit for being the headquarters of a sub-governor like Chinnappalli Mirza to place himself there in a position of advantage. From 1670 onwards we lose sight of Tirupati from this correspondence. As a temple much sought after and visited by a stream of pilgrims all the year round who made large donations and added to the resources of the temple, we hear really nothing, and we may have to take it that, having regard to the disturbed state of the country, the pilgrim activity must have ceased, if not altogether, at least to a very great extent. While we may take it that Tirupati continued to be in existence, it had ceased to be what it has hitherto been a prosperous and much frequented pilgrim centre.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### MYSORE AND TIRUPATI.

**Mysore rising out of the Vijayanagar Empire.** The period covered above, since the reign of the great Venkaṭapatirāya who died in 1614 from which date we might almost say that the inscriptional records of the ruling dynasty ceased in Tirupati, corresponds more or less to the period of rule of the dynasty of His Highness the Mahārāja of Mysore; and some of the members of this dynasty, the ancestors of His Highness the Mahārāja, almost from the beginning, were interested in Tirupati, and made donations from time to time which still continue and are maintained undiminished, notwithstanding all the vicissitudes of history. We stated already that Rāja Oḍayār, the founder of this ruling family was ruler in his own right of a certain number of villages in the Mysore district and was regarded as a ruler of importance and influence among his colleagues under the empire of Vijayanagar; and therefore subordinate to the authority of the Vijayanagar viceroy of Śrīrangapatām. In the later years of the reign of Venkaṭapatirāya, as emperor, he had installed his nephew, son of his elder brother Rāma who was himself viceroy of Śrīrangapatām in the position of his father. This young viceroy does not appear to have conducted himself in a way to earn the approbation of his uncle, the emperor, and gave cause perhaps for much dissatisfaction which was taken advantage of by the enterprising Rāja Oḍayār to make his position in Śrīrangapatām impossible. He ultimately succeeded in ejecting him from his viceroyalty, and put himself in his place instead. What was really more, as a master stroke of diplomacy, he managed to get the approval and sanction of the ruling emperor, Venkaṭapatirāya, for what he did and obtained from him a charter for ruling over territory that he took possession of from the viceroy of Śrīrangapatām. That is the charter of foundation of the Mysore ruling family. Rāja Oḍayār's conquest of Śrīrangapatām is dated 1610, and Venkaṭapatirāya's charter 1612. Thereafter this dynasty has been continuously ruling Mysore except for the period when the power was taken by Hydar Ali and his son Tippu who ruled over Mysore during the last forty years almost of the eighteenth century. At the end of the war between the East India Company and Tippu

the territory was restored to the ruling family, whose authority was held in suspense during the period of Muhammadan rule. Since then, 1801, there has been a succession of three rulers including his present Highness, with the fifty years' break in the reign of his present Highness' grandfather, the British having taken over the administration. During the whole of his period, the rulers of this dynasty, several of whom were religiously minded orthodox princes, regarded Tirupati as among the holy places worth their attention; and each, according to his own inclinations in regard to the matter, made donations to Tirupati, several of which happen to fall within the period of Muhammadan domination of the region round Tirupati we referred to above. It is perhaps due to this fact that these donations are not recorded in inscriptions in the temple at Tirupati, and this would account for the absence of inscriptions recording donations in the shrine during the period. Luckily we have records elsewhere of the donations of the Mysore ruling family to the temple beginning with Rāja Odayār himself and coming down to the present ruler. Before taking up the story of these comparatively modern donations, perhaps it would be well to go back upon a slight retrospect tracing the connection of Mysore with Tirupati to which attention has already been drawn in one of the previous chapters.

**Pre-Vijayanagar Association of Mysore with Tirupati.** The first great dynasty that held rule over the whole of what constitutes the state of Mysore now, was the Hoyśāla dynasty. This dynasty in the course of its history felt bound to extend its authority into South India, in support of the Chōlas as against Pāṇḍya aggression from the south and internal rebellion. This interest in the affairs of the Chōlas, and the consequent interference to which it led, became so frequent and necessary since the rule of the Hoyśāla Narasimha II who has had to interfere there several times in favour of the ruling Chōla. His son Vīra Sōmēśvara thought it more convenient to make an alternative capital for his residence near one of the Chōla capitals Uraiyūr. He fortified a place across the Coleroon on the northern side of Srirangam, Uraiyūr being just on the southern side near Trichinopoly town. This became the southern Hoyśāla capital. Tiruvikramapura, in which Sōmēśvara himself resided till he was defeated by the great Pāṇḍya Jaṭavar aman Sundara Pāṇḍya I. His successors, two sons really, felt, having regard to the political condition of the times, that the Hoyśālas had to stand Janusfaced against the Yādavas advancing

from the north and the Pāndyas from the south under Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya himself and his successors, dividing the territory between themselves, as it were each with his own distinct sphere of duty and a capital of his own. Narasimha ruled from the ancestral Halēbīd, the northern part of the Hoyśāla kingdom, in fact the ancestral territory of the Hoyśāla, and took charge of the war against the Yādavas, which was becoming pretty frequent. His half brother Rāmanātha made Kannaṇūr (Vikramapura) near Śrīrangam his capital and ruled over all the territory under the Hoyśāla authority in the Tamil-country keeping Pāṇḍya aggressions within limits. When these rulers passed away, the empire again united in the person of the emperor Vira Ballāla III son of Narasimha III, who took over all the southern territory also from his cousin Viśvanātha, son of Rāmanātha, who had but a short reign. This was in the last years of the thirteenth century, and, when the new century dawned, what was the Chōla empire got dismembered. The Pāṇḍyas, their successors, found it difficult to maintain their authority in full in the distant north of the Chōla empire owing to the activity of the more powerful feudatories of the Chōlas as well as the rising activity of the Kākatiyas whom later Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya's conquest had provoked into activity. Vira Ballāla and his officers felt it necessary to interest themselves in this region; and this need was only increased when the Muhammadan advance in the south began, and the efforts that Vira Ballāla made to stem the tide of these invasions against which he struggled hard not unsuccessfully. In the course of the twenty years following the first incursions of the Muhammadan in the distant south things had so shaped themselves that the Hoyśāla was able gradually to advance his authority in the region round Tirupati, and ultimately place himself in Tiruvaṅṅāmalai as a really more strategic centre for almost the same reasons that his predecessor Sōmeśvara felt for fortyfying a capital at Kannaṇūr. Among records in the Tirupati temple, we find some to which we have already made reference in a previous Chapter, relating to the great Perumāla Daṇḍanāyaka, who was the principal minister of Narasimha III and even of Vira Ballāla III in the first years of his reign. The Daṇṇāyakankōṭṭai chiefs were successors of this Perumāla Daṇḍanāyaka. This minister was succeeded by two of his sons, who held similar positions successively, one following the other. Kētayya Daṇḍanāyaka was the elder of the two, and Śingayya Daṇḍanāyaka was the

younger. We have records of these having instituted food-services in the temple at Tirupati, one of these services being named with the characteristic Mysorean title of *Sitagara Gaṇḍa*, a title assumed by Perumāla Daṇḍanāyaka as a result of a successful war against the Yadava enemies that he had to fight against on the northern side of Mysore territory. This family seems to have been allied with the Yadavarāya rulers who held authority in the region of Tirupati, and that made their association with Tirupati really more natural than that of the officers or viceroys of a distant ruler. Their inscriptions carry us to the early thirties of the fourteenth century, and thereby give us clear indication that Hoyśāla Vira Ballāla with his capital in Tiruvaṇṇāmalai had secured the country, behind him in support of his position. Mysore services to the temple at Tirupati began with the agents of this Hoyśāla, and the "*Sitagara Gaṇḍan Saṇḍi*" is indubitable evidence of the association of Mysore with this holy shrine.

**The present dynasty of Mysore and the Tirupati temple.** With the disappearance of the authority of Vira Ballāla III in this region as well as elsewhere the actual authority changes to the rulers of Vijayanagar, whose centre of authority, or capital, was just outside the northern frontiers of Mysore of the present time, but took into it the whole of not merely what is Mysore to-day but what was the extended Hoyśāla territory in the period immediately preceding. We have already noticed that under the first dynasty of Vijayanagar the shrine at Tirupati comes in for attention now and again in association with the names even of the ruling sovereigns for the time being. There is however no particular record of any direct donations or services to the temple set down to the credit of individual monarchs; but indirectly the names of Bukka I and the great Dēvarāya, Dēvarāya II of Vijayanagar, appear in these records and account for certain services. Among these are some donations by Sāluva Guṇḍa, an officer who played an important part in the campaigns of Kumāra Kampana in the South. The accession of Mallikārjuna to the throne, and the appearance of the Sāluvas as prominent officials of the empire bring the relation between the ruling family at Vijayanagar and the temple at Tirupati in closer relationship, particularly through the Sāluvas, whose territory comprised the region round Tirupati and whose hereditary capital was at Chandragiri, not far from Tirupati. During the period of Sāluva ascendancy, Tirupati may almost be regarded as a temple for the prosperity of which the Sāluvas made themselves responsible. When the authority passed

from the Śāluvas to their successors, members of the Tuḷuva dynasty, the religious attachment to the temple continued and reached its zenith under Krishṇadēvarāya and Achyuta, as we have described above, and continued under the rulers of the next succeeding dynasty, generally known as the Āraviḍu dynasty of Vijayanagar till we come to the reign of Venkaṭapatirāya, and the foundation of the independent kingdom of Mysore under Rāja Oḍayār. Although the family from which these rulers sprang may be counted as perhaps Śaiva and certainly had very considerable Śaiva associations, Rāja Oḍayār seems to have been personally Vaiṣṇava. He is said to have been responsible for the construction of the Lakshminārāyaṇa temple within the palace precincts at Mysore, and though no inscriptional records of his has come down to us in connection with his donations to Tirupati, a work, *The Annals of the Present Royal Family of Mysore* records his having presented to the God at Tirupati an umbrella with pendants of real pearls and other articles required for worship and offerings, as well as dress. He also provided for the burning of a perpetual lamp in the sanotum, and for a daily *Sahasranāmā* worship with provision for food-services. The same work credits Kanṭhīrava Narasa Rāja Oḍayār (1639-1659) with services to the temple at Tirupati along with others, such as those of the Śiva temple at Nanjangūḍu and the Viṣṇu temple at Mōlkōṭṭai, as well as other temples, each according to its own standing. The next ruler of the dynasty to have shown particular devotion to this Temple is Dodḍa Dēvarāja Oḍayār who succeeded Kanṭhīrava Narasa. He is said to have provided for a garden of basil (*tulasi*) at Tirupati and presented to the God a pavilion set with gems for seating the God, and provided for a daily service of food for offering which he provided two large vessels of gold. His successor, in many ways the greatest ruler of the dynasty, Chikka Dēvarāja Oḍayār (1672-1704), made his donations to Tirupati along with a number of holy places. He was responsible for the building of the Varāha temple within the building of the Mysore fort, wherein he installed the Varāha image which he brought from Śrīmushnam which had suffered from the depredations of the recent Muhammadan invasions. He provided in the temple at Tirupati for the burning of a perpetual lamp fed with ghee, and for the performance of worship with *Sahasranāma* as also a service of food to be offered in gold vessels as in the case of his predecessors. The next ruler of importance is Dodḍa Krishṇa Rāja Oḍayār, who followed after Chikka Devarāja Oḍayār's son and successor. He



instituted daily services, and special services on occasions of great festivals in the temple at Tirupati and for the perpetual maintenance of these, he provided, from the revenues of certain number of villages specified, 600 *Kanṭhīrāi Varāhas*. He issued a copper-plate grant for this purpose in 1730, and marked off the villages themselves with boundary stones with the characteristic Vishṇu marks of the conch and the disc. The inscriptions of this ruler, such as No. 37 at Kuṇḡal in the Tumkur district of 1662, and No. 54 of Yedattore dated 1666 make general statements and refer to the large number of charities instituted by him in holy places, such as Kāśi, Jagannātha, Tirupati etc. He was known to have been a particularly religious minded and charitable ruler even among the members of this generally pious minded ruling dynasty. The next ruler is one known as Chikkakrishṇa Rāja Oḡayār, at the end of whose reign Haidar Ali assumed the administrative power in the state. He heard that the gold vessels and the umbrella with pearl pendants, the gift of his ancestor Rāja Oḡayār, had both become so damaged by use at Tirupati that they were no more fit for service. He satisfied himself by examination that it was so, and, at great expenditure, provided new articles similar to those that had been presented, thus renewing the great services of his predecessor; and, not satisfied with that, he provided for certain services of his own and other presentations of value. Among the articles that he renewed happen to be mentioned two small gold umbrellas presented by Chikka Dēva Rāja Oḡayār which do not find mention in the latter's donations. In addition to presentation on his own account of gold and silver ornaments and vessels necessary for various services in the temple, he also presented costly dresses and two large gold vessels for offering food to the deity which was to be distributed among the worshippers daily after service to God. This is information traceable in the inscriptions and the chronicle history of the ruling family preserved in the *Rājavamāvaḡi* of Mysore supplied by Dr. M. H. Krishna, Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore and his assistant Mr. R. Rama Rao.

**Tirupati in Mysore Official Records.** The Muzarai department in Mysore which has charge of the Mysore charities of the temple at Tirupati, as of other temples and religious institutions within the state and elsewhere, have in their records material of value. I am indebted to my friend Mr K. V. Anantaraman, the Revenue and Muzarai Commissioner of Mysore, for a valuable note and a number of documents in authority which he very kindly supplied

me on request for this purpose. The documents in this office do not reach beyond 1730 and Dodḍa Krishṇa Rāja Oḍayār referring to the grant of 600 "*Kanṭhīrāi Varāhas*". According to the records in this office, the Mahārāja Srī Krishṇa Rāja Oḍayār III, the grandfather of the present His Highness made valuable presents of his own in addition to seeing that the charities made by Mysore ruler before him were maintained unimpaired, the *Akhaṇḍa Dīpa* (unbroken light) to be perpetually maintained, is maintained even now at a cost of Rs. 4,300 per annum. The food-services continue both in the temple on the hill and in the temple at Tiruchānūr. On occasions of great festivals, articles of service presented by the Mysore rulers still occupy the most prominent place. There is a choultry on the hill where free food is supplied to pilgrims, and that is maintained by the Mysore state even now. This institution is maintained with so much care that as late as 1901, the Government passed a special order that nobody should be refused food for want of funds, and made additional allotments to meet the larger demand. They recently added to this charitable service by the construction of a *chutram* at Lower Tirupati in memory of His Highness' father the late Mahārāja Srī Chāmarājendra Oḍayār Bahadur. Later still they purchased a couple of houses on the south street of the tank *Padmasaras* at Tiruchānūr, and they are available for pilgrims for the various purposes for which they go there, for halting on pilgrimage, celebrations of marriages, and such other occasions when accommodation is required. In addition to these they are making arrangements for the construction of buildings for pilgrims other than Brahmans. As in the case of religious institutions in the State, the charities of Mysore in Tirupati are under the control of the Muzarai Commissioner who looks after these as a Government department, though the funds, etc., are kept separate, and kept apart. The principle was long ago laid down, by the great Krishṇadēvarāya of Vijayanagar that these charitable foundations, may be managed by the state for purposes of efficient working but must be kept apart strictly, and not mixed up with the affairs of the state, to avoid the state being made to suffer for any since of bad management in respect of these religious institutions. The scale of expenditure with the Mysore Government provides for the charity at Tirupati is set down below as revised by a Government order in 1928 :—

	RS.	A.	P.
I. (a) Services in the Hill temple	...	6,143	0 0
(b) Do. Tiruchānūr temple	...	610	0 0

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	RS.	A	P.
II. Daily and hetchukaṭṭe feeding ...	6,040	0	0
III. Payment to Maṭhas ...	544	0	0
IV. Temple establishment ...	447	0	0
V. Chattram establishment ...	906	0	0
VI. Office ...	2,272	0	0
VII. Miscellaneous (including annual maintenance) ...	527	9	6
VIII. Muzarai Establishment Fund ...	1 000	0	0
IX. Construction of Chattram for non-Brahmans.	1,500	0	0
Total ...	19,989	9	6

Among the *nirūpas* and *sannads* of which copies have been supplied to me by the Revenue Commissioner's kindness, I find one of date 1738, which provides an annual revenue of 156 *Kanṭhīrāi varāhas* for the festival of the deity being carried on the back of an elephant (*Ānai Vāhanam*), in addition to the 600 *varāhas* granted for general purposes in 1732. The next *nirūpa* is dated 1804, which must have been during the reign of Mahārāja Krishṇa Rāja Odaiyār III. This provides for an additional revenue of 117 *varāhas* granted in Tirupati. The caution is given in the order itself that the lands ought to be managed with care, so that the amount of revenue may not diminish. In 1815, an order was issued appointing a Sheristadar for the management of the *chatram* at Tirupati. A document of 1818 calls upon the Manager of these charities at Tirupati to report whether the *pūjas* are being performed regularly, ordering the submission of regular periodical reports on the matter. Another interesting document of 1819 approved of the action of the Manager of the state charities in Tirupati, transferring articles, &c., sent by the Śrī Parakālasvāmi of the time for service during a certain *Brahmōtsava*. The Manager transferred these to the *chatram* Sheristadar and his action was approved. It also enjoined upon the Manager that he should have the custody of the seal. An order dated 1820 intimates a remittance of Rs. 4,000 from the Fouj Katchēri, Bangalore, towards the expenses of the feeding house. The Fouj Katchēri is the office of the Foujdar who was in charge of the Bangalore Division. There was circular the year before to the officers of the state ordering that facilities be provided for comfortable and safe travelling to the Sheristadar of the Tirupati *chatram*.

who came to render accounts and was returning with all the records etc., back to Tirupati. An order of July 1823 enjoins the carrying out of repairs to several buildings at Tirupati, and calls upon the Manager to send forward a nominee of his for appointment as Superintendent of the *chatram*. So from the commencement of the eighteenth century right on to the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth there has been a good control maintained in respect of these charities of Mysore in Tirupati.

Mysore occasionally figures in the complicated transactions between the Nawab of Arcot, the Nizam, the Maharattas, and the East India Company, in the course of the wars which terminated in the establishment of the Madras Presidency. We shall note them in the proper place. But it must be noted in passing here that the benefactions of Mysore to the temple, and the continued interest that Mysore evinced in the affairs of Tirupati, are in evidence in the popular mind, as several monumental works of other patrons even are generally referred to as owing to Mysore. As one prominent instance, it may be mentioned that the second *Gōpura* at the foot of the main steps, which was built by Maṭṭa Kumāra Ananta as the other, the Sāluva Narasimha tower, had got to be placed aside perhaps by a realignment of the approach, is now a-days called Mysore *gōpuram*, notwithstanding the inscriptions on the structure itself. It is just possible that Mysore was responsible, partly or fully, for the realignment of the path, or it may be repairs to the *gōpuram* itself. In any case, it indicates an ordinary prevailing notion in the people that Mysore was ready for benefactions of all kinds in regard to Tirupati.

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## CHAPTER XV.

### TIRUPATI UNDER HINDU RULE.

**Organisation of Worship in Tirupati at the Beginning.** We have taken up the benefactions of the Hindu state of Mysore to the temple at Tirupati here with a view to completing the history of Tirupati under Hindu rule as it were. The change that brought the territory round Tirupati under Muhammadan rule introduced almost a revolution and will be taken up later separately. But before proceeding to that, it would perhaps be useful here to summarise the details given in the previous pages and gain an idea of the general character of the administration of the affairs of the temple at Tirupati under Hindu rule. We have noticed that, on the basis of the accounts of the *Purāṇas* and the stray references that we get to Tirupati in classical Tamil literature, we would be on safe ground to regard its history as having commenced with the Christian era almost, and, since we find the Śāṅgam classics of Tamil referring to the place as already remarkable for its festivals, we can be fairly clear that the temple had some kind of an organisation that could see to the conduct of regular festivals even in those early times. This necessarily involves some kind of an income and expenditure, although we do not know for certain what the income was, and how that income came, and how that income was actually expended. From thence onward to the end of the first millennium, down to the early Chōla times really, the temple seems to have been more or less under the management of this floating organisation of a handful of devotees, perhaps mainly Brahmans though not exclusively, who were in residence there or who were only habitual visitors to the holy shrine. We also hear of the Tonḍamān ruler of the locality having organised the main annual festival, the *Brhmōt-sava* in the month of *Purattāsi* (September-October), of each year. We have some stray references to the building of the interior portion of the temple round the sanctum, the planting of a small garden, and such small details. We are not however furnished with any definite details during this period as to any property, or other sources of income, that the temple might have had. We may safely take it that the temple actually depended upon such gifts as the pious pilgrims, and perhaps the inhabitants near about the

region, felt compelled to make to the temple and its annual requirements.

**Organisation of Worship from the Later Pallava Times to Coming of Vijayanagar.** We come to inscriptional grants to the temple with pallava ruler, the successor of the great Nandivarman Pallavamalla, who ruled in the 8th century; and therefore the first inscriptional grants would go back to the end of the 8th century. From thence onwards we have records of occasional grants making over money sometimes, sometimes other sources of income. This continued under the early Chōlas, some of the earlier monarchs of this dynasty making grants also to the temple. We have grants of the great Rājarāja's mother and of Rājarāja himself, and thereafter we come upon a series of occasional grants to the temple by various persons and parties from time to time. These constitute a comparatively small number; but even so this gives us clear indication that there was some kind of an organisation administering the affairs of the temple which could be trusted with gifts of a lasting character like these. But, as we advance further on in the period, there emerges more clearly the community of worshippers of the temple described as the Vaishṇavas of the locality, who probably had the management and who were actually entrusted with such grants and benefactions as were made to the temple. The general kind of organisation of temple management was more or less that which prevailed all over the country, and we may therefore presume that a similar organisation existed in respect of this temple as well. That state of things continued till some of the local dynasties came to play a more important part, and evince a more active interest in the affairs of the temple. It is just in the beginning of this new interest that the intervention of Rāmānuja was called for. Rāmānuja's advent, whatever the actual historical circumstances which called for his presence there, was nothing unusual, as Rāmānuja had, as head of the Vaishṇavas in Śrīrangam to look after the management of the affairs of the temple at Śrīrangam. Probably the other Vaishṇava shrines, such as Conjivaram etc., must also have had organisations of a similar kind. But Rāmānuja's efforts to organise worship in the temple of Tirupati is but a continuation of the interest exhibited in the welfare of the shrine by even his ancestors, Nādamuni and Ālavandār, who preceded him in the Vaishṇava pontificate. So Rāmānuja's intervention in matter would have been but natural. But, if his intervention had been sought, as seems probable,

through the local ruler, the Yādavarāja for the time being, his position would be more responsible and even more advantageous for the regular organisation of worship in the temple. So it appears from a work, *Śrī Venkaṭāchala Ithihāsamāla* composed by a Vaishṇava Āchārya of the locality, Anandālvār by name, who may have come a few generations after Rāmānuja and lived in Tirupati. The organisation as laid down by Rāmānuja seems the organisation which, with comparatively minor changes, obtains down to date. He made arrangements for the conduct of the details of the worship and the appointment of various Vaishṇava Brahmans and others for the several details connected therewith, such as even the fetching of water for the ablution of the image of the God and the provision of flowers and other articles of worship required for the temple. These extended further to all details of temple worship, including the building and the care of the structures then existing and to come into existence afterwards. He seems to have started the practice of entrusting the management in various of its branches to single men, Brahman, sometimes also Non-Brahman, called *Ēkāṅgis*, some of them ascetic, others not necessarily so. The object of such an institution, so far as Rāmānuja was concerned, was to secure disinterested management and to prevent peculation of temple properties and funds. The period immediately following Rāmānuja for a century, and perhaps constituting five or six generations was one in which his organisation obtained and worked successfully, under the supervision of the local rulers, principally the Yādavarājas who were in charge of the region. The Yādavarājas and even their successors took a real interest in the matter and took care that Rāmānuja's arrangements were allowed to continue. With the Muhammadan invasion of the South, and the consequent dislocation of the local organisation which that caused, a renewed organisation seemed called for, and the organisation of the temple-worship and temple management takes a new start when the Hoyśāla authority gets slowly to prevail over the locality, and following it that of the Śāluva rulers of Chandragiri as a part of Vijayanagar rule. We may therefore say generally that, with the foundation of Vijayanagar, the administrative organisation of the temple at Tirupati also took a new or rather renewed start, and continued throughout the period of the imperial history of Vijayanagar. We shall consider that in some detail as it is then that we get to its organisation at its best and what is really more, we have material available to gain a detailed idea of what it was like.

**Organisation by Ramanuja and the Yadavarayas.** The organisation of worship, etc., in the temple at Tirupati ascribed to Rāmānuja was brought about in the reign of a Yādava ruler of the locality whose name is not given to us in the records available, although the whole of that organisation is detailed in the work *Śrī Venkaṭāchala Itihāsamāla* already referred to. But we know this in regard to this Yādavarāya that he was a predecessor of the great Vīra Narasimha Yādavarāya, who played an important part in the history of this locality during the period of the later Chōlas, Kulōttunga III and Rājarāja III. Some of his successors figure in the records of the period along with the two Hoyśāla officers, to whom we have made reference so that we may say that the Yādava rulers of the locality took interest in the administration directly, and it is their mantle of administrative interest in the affairs of the temple which passed down to their successors the Śāluva rulers of Chandragiri-rājya almost in a continuous succession. We have described in sufficient detail already under what circumstances and how the Hoyśāla authority spread over this locality and how it continued during the reign of Vīra Ballāla III. When the Hoyśāla monarch fell in battle at Trichinopoly against the Muhammadan Sultans of Madura, the government of the region round Tirupati perhaps continued in the hands of the successors of the Yādavas, and remained in their hands till Kumāra Kampana's invasion of the south. In the organisation of this invasion all the resources of what was the Hoyśāla state before, had been brought into requisition, and as Kampana's conquest of the south falls into two distinct stages the overthrow of the rebel Śambuvarāyans of the Pālār valley, and then of the overthrow of the Sultans of Madura, the region round Tirupati under the feudatory Yādavarāyas probably passed under the Śāluvās for some reason which is not made quite clear to us. So when South India emerges from these invasions, Vijayanagar stands out as the visible embodiment of the organised Hindu resistance to the advance of the Muhammadans in the south, and in these early campaigns of Kampana, we find the name of the Śāluva chief Guṇḍa mentioned as playing an important part. Of course, later literature bearing on the subject gives the Śāluvās possession of territory near Gulburga, the centre of what had become the Bāhmani kingdom, and, if that should be true, they must have been chieftains dispossessed of their ancestral estates in the present day Nizam's Dominions marching farther south in search of adventure. It is possible, they were rewarded for that



valuable service rendered to the common cause by the estate round Chandragiri. What ever it be, we find Śāḷuva Guṇḍa already associated with Chandragiri, and even making benefactions to the temple at Tirupati. But what is really important to our purpose here is that the advent of this power in the locality brings about a distinct improvement in the relationship of the local rulers and the temple at Tirupati. The Yādava rulers already had shown an attachment to the temple which might be regarded as almost that of the family deity. This feeling of attachment and consequent devotion increased with the advent of the Śāḷuvas, so that the benefactions to the temple became not merely the benefactions of the rulers of the locality merely in their official capacity, but as benefactions from families of power and influence particularly devoted to the deity enshrined in Tirupati. So we find a special stimulus given, as it were, to the benefactions, public and private by the rulers, their officials and even private individuals of the locality. The rulers of Vijayanagar, as such, do not figure prominently and directly in these benefactions, their association being more or less as that of the ruling power exercising authority over the region and no more and even where an important service like the institution of the *Vēdapāra-yaṇa* under the great Dēvarāya gets to be mentioned, it is as nothing more than perhaps what is due to the sovereign ruler of the locality. But when the imperial dynasty, the dynasty of Vijayanagar, comes to the end of its career, the Śāḷuva chieftains stand out more prominently and, with their growing importance, the benefactions to the temple also come out into prominence. So throughout the periods following, even under the changing dynasties, this special attachment to the temple continued and the benefactions to the temple grew in proportion,

**The general character of the benefactions.** The pattern for benefaction to the temple had actually been set by certain arrangements that Rāmānuja made, such as the provision of festivals, the provision for services of food or other eatables, the presentation of jewels for decorating the deity, umbrellas, and other appurtenances requisite for the temple, vessels for service and so on. In regard to these, the actual presentations were made then and there. But where provision had to be made for festivals, or food or other services, it is a question of recurring expenditure and could not be made then and there. The usual way of making provisions for such needs of the temple all over the country is to make gifts of pieces of land or other assignments of income, so

that they may come in annually, and might be utilised for the particular purpose for which they were made. This we find of more or less frequent occurrence in South India. But in the region round Tirupati they carried it out systematically and with certain peculiar features which are really noteworthy. While villages were granted sometimes, and assignments of revenue of particular localities as well, where royalty or very high placed officers were concerned. But the benefactions by these are comparatively a small number. The far larger number of the benefactions actually are from middle class people and even the poorer folk. It is there that the special feature show itself remarkably. Whoever was the happy inventor of the arrangement, it had become more or less habitual to make grants of money actually paid into the temple treasury, but with specific directions as to how the money should be applied, not merely for the services, but for producing the wherewithal for the services. A certain sum of money was paid over to the temple treasury to be applied either to provide agricultural facilities of various kinds so as to bring as yet uncultivated lands into cultivation, and thus make them revenue yielding. In many cases, it was done by bringing uncultivated lands into cultivation. We find numbers of instances, in which it was not a question of bringing fresh lands into cultivation, but of effecting improvements to the irrigation and other resources of the locality, improvement of the tanks, clearing silt out of the channels, or the constructing of fresh channels to reach high level localities and so on. We find therefore small sums as well as large sums deposited into the temple treasury to be applied for these improvements in temple villages, or on lands which could be made over to the temple, always specifying the particular locality, or the particular item of improvement to which these specific sums were to be supplied, implying thereby that the temple organisation, whatever that was, had the means to apply the money and carry out the wishes of the various donors. As we progress in this period, it is not merely the Srī Vaishnavas as a whole, but certain Srī Vaishnavas coming into prominence, as playing the principal part in this organisation and management. In the days of Sāluva Narasimha and his immediate successors, one Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyangar and his successors figure as managers; Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyangar himself gained that position in succession to his *Guru*. Numbers of single men and *Sanyāsīs* (ascetics) in charge of particular institutions of the temple also are mentioned in this connection. Notwithstanding all this, a scheme like this could

have been carried out only with the co-operation of the civil authorities, and that co-operation seems to have been always readily available for the purpose. Numbers of villages get to be mentioned even before this period, which were free gifts to the temple. Numbers of villages in the locality round about the temple, and even at distances outside the district dependant upon Chandragiri, were made over to the temple during the period by royalty as well as by the great governors and officials, although comparatively speaking they were small in number. But the number of villages which are mentioned as *Tiruvīḍaiyāttam* villages, the revenues of which were paid to the temple, to which these new benefactions were applied for various items of improvement is far larger. A large number of irrigation tanks in the locality are mentioned as irrigating temple villages as also a pretty large number of channels. A number of these, both tanks and channels, were made by the investment of funds made over to the temple treasury by the devotees to the temple, and that must mean the lands thus brought into cultivation must have become the property of the temple, of course, as usual cultivated by the agriculturists of the locality, the temple exercising the right of the land owner to whom is due what is called the *mālvāram* right, the right of the land-lord. The right of the temple to such lands had been defined specifically, and a distinction is drawn between the revenue derivable by a Brahman to whom a gift might be made, as distinct from the revenue incidence which went to government from South Indian villages generally. That understanding seems to have prevailed even here, and the temple lands, such as they were, which had been brought into cultivation by these improvements amounted to a comparatively large extent of the area commanded by the hill on which the shrine is. In fact if it were possible geographically to plot out the tanks and channels which find mention in the 1,000 or 1,500 inscriptions relating to the period, it would practically mean the far larger part of the land if not all, extending from the foot of the cluster of the hills constituting Tirumalai, down to where the river Svarnamukhi runs across the valley at the other end of it, much closer to another series of hills across the river. Going up the hill in the uncomfortable conveyance—a sort of an improvised palanquin where one has necessarily to be half abed—one could see the number of tanks and innumerable channels in the summer season of the year either waterless or containing just the mere evidence of water. These should have been reservoirs of the

fertilising waters carried by the innumerable channels for purposes of cultivation of lands belonging to the temple and producing an annual revenue for temple expenditure. Putting a question to the bearers as a matter of curiosity whether all these were not temple lands, the answer came without hesitation "No". Discounting their knowledge very badly, I put the question to the Peishkar on the hill and got the much more emphatic "No", followed by the specific answer that God Venkaṭēśa does not own a square inch of land, and is dependent entirely upon the daily gifts of the pilgrims to the place, which averages about a thousand rupees a day, the account for the particular day when I was able to see the shrine, showing a little over Rs. 400, one of the lowest averages. It would certainly be an interesting enquiry of great historical interest as to how and when exactly this change in the state of things came about.

**Charitable and other institutions fallen out of use.** Another question connected with this is the number of buildings, gardens, and estates of various kinds to which the God was taken on festival occasions, and particular services rendered, of which there are a pretty large number under reference, and the number of charity feeding houses, called *Rāmānujakūṭas*, both in Tirupati on the hill and the town below. Several of these so mentioned do not appear ordinarily to figure in connection with the festivals now-a-days, and, all round the hill town, one could see various of these small stone pavilions, in a comparatively neglected condition, but even otherwise appropriated by the poor people for meeting their residential needs. Even what used to be the Vyāsarāya *Maṭh* which has historical associations of importance in the street actually occupied by the temple priests, and almost reserved for them, seems fast going into this condition unlike the other *Maṭhs*. Then there are a very large number of gardens which are mentioned with pavilions placed in the middle and referred to as being in charge of particular *Ēkāngis*, or agents of institutions like *Maṭhs*, etc. One cannot be certain now whether they exist in their usual condition and are made use for the purpose for which they were originally intended. Passing down to the actual services, such as food-service, set apart for various purposes, a very large number happen to be mentioned, and it is not likely that they are all listed and kept up in their integrity in each case. It is just likely that they all have been lumped up together and have become more or less indistinguishable from the general services in the temple. If this had happened, it might

perhaps provide one reason why the land gifts, and other gifts connected with these services should have been forgotten, so far as the temple authorities go, to set up a claim when these got to be appropriated otherwise. It is doubtful whether all these feeding houses or *Rāmānujakūṭas* as they were called, are in existence as such. As far as it is possible for a visitor to see, several of them must have gone out of existence, and it may be most of them out of use altogether. These are points that arise from the state of things with reference to the provisions made by Mysore, and from the one or two instances of superintendence maintained by Mysore in respect of their condition, etc., and latterly by the maintenance of an agency to look after these.

~~SECRET~~

## CHAPTER XVI.

### THE CHARACTER AND ORGANISATION OF THE SHRINE.

**The Actual Character of the Shrine; Saiva or Vaishnava.** A question of peculiar importance with respect to the history of the shrine of Tirupati is the actual character of the shrine. In the account that we have so far given, we have followed the evidence so far accessible to us, to let them tell their own tale without considering this particular question as one calling for any special treatment. The account so far given of the temple from the sources, which are indicated in the course of the narration, reveals the fact that the temple has uniformly been regarded as a Vaishṇava shrine during historical times as far as we know for the present. There is, however, a persistent popular belief that it was a Saiva shrine transmuted into a Vaishṇava temple by Rāmānuja by a miraculous *leger-de-main*. That matter has to be considered now that we have come to the close of the history of this shrine. The contention raised has assumed various forms in popular accounts, and amounts to no more than regarding the image in the shrine as that either of Subrahmaṇya or of Śiva Himself. This position is taken on what may seem at first sight justifiable grounds. The holy tank in the place is called by several alternative names, of which two names are of importance to this question. It is generally known by the name *Svāmi Pushkaraṇi*. It is also called *Kumāra Pushkaraṇi* or *Tīrtha*, the two names Svāmi and Kumāra being now-a-days more or less generally applied to Kumāra or Subrahmaṇya or Skanda generally. This seems to find support in the sources included in that *Nālāyira Prabhandā* of the early Āḷvārs where sometimes the image of the God in the temple is referred to by the name Kumāra, such as for instance in expressions like *Iḷam Kumaran tan Viṇṇagar*. Behind it, of course, there is the general belief that hill tops are generally regarded as peculiarly places of residence of Subrahmaṇya in Tamil literature and popular belief, one of whose peculiar acts is embraced in the expression *Kuṇṇu-tōr-āḍal*, dancing or playing on every hill top, as if hill tops are peculiarly appropriate places for the sporting activities of young Subrahmaṇya. The alternative suggestion is, it is an image of Śiva that is actually standing in the shrine as these very early Āḷvārs describe the image with features and

weapons, at least part of which are characteristic of Śiva, such as the matted locks, and the weapon called *Maṭu* which are characteristic of Śiva. It is therefore generally taken that the image in the temple may well be Śiva or Subrahmaṇya, and the place therefore may be sacred to the one or to the other; it may even be for both, as if it is a Śaiva shrine, Subrahmaṇya has to figure among the attendant deities. This is the general position taken by people who hold that it was actually a Śaiva shrine converted by a miraculous feat by Rāmānūja into the Vaishṇava temple that it now is.

**The Evidence of the Alvars is Distinctly for the Vaishnava Character.** The first point to note in this contention is that Rāmānūja lived in the latter half of the 11th and the first half of the 12th century, and the miracle actually ascribed to him should have taken place probably in the 12th century—early in the 12th century. The contention that it is a Śiva shrine would be sound if some authority previous to Rāmānūja could be found which describes the shrine as a Śaiva shrine. Of course, the authority of the early Ālvārs is quoted as referred to above. What is wanted, however, is whether there is anything to confirm this interpretation of the statement of the Ālvārs taken out of the context and explained in this wise, because the self-same Ālvārs do ascribe to the divinity there the weapons characteristic of Viṣṇu as well. We have explained why it is that they do so, and pointed out that it is not these Ālvārs alone, but even the *Mahābhārata* does describe the divinity in *Viṣṇu Śiva* form. The contention therefore could be valid only if some other evidence could be brought in to confirm this presumption. We have marshalled the evidence for the period more or less completely, and a careful reader would have noticed that the sources of information which bear upon the question, do not support this contention in the least. Such references as we get in the Śāngam Literature, especially the poems of Māmūlar speak of Tirupati famed for its festivals; but do not specify whether they were festivals to Viṣṇu or Śiva. The poems of the early Ālvārs taken as a whole have special reference to this shrine and describe them, without the slightest doubt, as a Viṣṇu shrine; but describe the Viṣṇu represented there as containing in Himself the other two divinities of the triad, Brahma and Śiva, and even the others the lesser Gods if they may be so described in English, as forming part of His body. This notion springs from the general conception that all things existing constitute the body of God, God Himself being therein as

their life and soul. This is explained clearly in the poems of Nammālvār and even more plainly by Tirumangai Ālvār, 'so that as far as the Ālvārs are concerned, we are not left in any doubt that they took the image of God at Tirupati to be that of no other than Vishṇu.

**Evidence of the Silappadhikāram more Decisive.** Have we other evidence than that of these Vaishṇava Ālvārs? We have. The *Silappadhikāram*<sup>1</sup> describes in unmistakably graphic terms the Vishṇu standing on the Hill Vēngaḍam, and does not leave it in any doubt that it is Vishṇu pure and simple and none else. The passage is quoted both in translation and in original, to which reference may be made.

In another part of work he mentions *Neḍiyōṅ Kuṅṅam* (the hill of the tall one) and *Toḍiyōḷ Pavvam* (the sea of the bangle-wearer) as boundaries of the Tamil land. This is Vēngaḍam and the sea at Cape Comorin spoken of as Vada Vēngaḍam and Ten Kumari in the *Tolkāppiyam*, introduction by Panam-Pāranār. *Neḍiyōṅ* is a well-worn term for Vishṇu in Tamil and its use here seems almost to imply that Vēngaḍam as Vishṇu's hill was a well-known fact. For this use of the term *Neḍiyōṅ* compare *Māṇimēkhalai* Canto XIX, ll. 51-55 where the term *Neḍiyōṅ* is used indubitably for Vishṇu in his Vāmana Trivikramāvatāra. The author of this work is neither a Vaishṇava nor a Śaiva, but was a Buddhist, possibly a Jain. That cuts at the root of the whole contention. The date of the *Silappadhikāram* has been matter for some differences of opinion; but we do not know any opinion of the most extreme type dating the work after Rāmānuja. It would therefore be valid evidence for an age preceding the time of Rāmānuja. The actual passage of the *Silappadhikāram* referred to above, and the terms in which the features of the God are described seem redolent of the general Vēdic idea that Vishṇu is the patron deity of hills. While, according to the notion of the Tamils, as authoritatively embodied in the *Tolkāppiyam*, Vishṇu is the patron of forests, while Subrahmaṇya is allotted the hills. There are passages in the Rig-Vēda, which would make Vishṇu patron deity of hills. This is unmistakably set down in a passage of the Yajur Vēda, which lays itself out to set down localities and regions peculiarly associated with particular Gods.<sup>2</sup> The list given here is a pretty long list comprising all the Gods, while the

1. VIII, 1 and 2. cf. XI. and *Māṇimēkhalai*, XIX, 51-55.

2. Kāṇḍa III, Praśna IV; *Tolkāppiyam*, *Ahattikai* Sūtra 5.



passage in the *Tolkāppiyam* has reference to only the four divisions into which the land on the earth is usually divisible. This difference between the Vēdic notion and the notion of the Tamils may perhaps be explained as due to the actual Tamil character of the deity Skanda (Muruka in Tamil, *muruku* meaning youth), and need not be exactly identical with the Vēdic notion although as usual this may indicate an effort at imperfect assimilation. Whatever that be, we see here in the *Śilppadhikāram* reference the idea that the hill at Tirupati is the hill of Vishṇu which seems conveyed to us in the one passage of *Tiruppugaḷ* to which we have made reference already. So the notion, even in the Tamil country, is not that the hill tops are the sporting ground of Subrahmaṇya exclusively.

**Absence of Reference in the Tevaram.** Along with these Ālvārs flourished several of the Śaiva Nāyanmārs, some of them coming even from the locality round about Tirupati itself. But the really more important ones, such as Appar, had travelled all the way through this region of what constitutes the Chingleput District of modern times as far as Kālahasti, and had celebrated all the Śaiva shrines round the locality in their *Tēvaram* hymns. Neither he nor any other of the *Tēvāram* hymnners do say anything of the shrine at Vēngadam which is decisive that the shrine was not a Śiva, or even a Śaiva shrine. The earliest inscription in the temple at Tirupati is that of a Pallava sovereign, Dantivarman, the son and successor of the great Nandivarman Pallava-Malla. His period of reign covers the last decade of the 8th century, and the earlier decades of the 9th. That already refers to the shrine as a Vishṇu shrine. His inscriptions are found in the Triplicane Pārthasārathi temple thereby indicating that he was perhaps a Vaishṇava by persuasion as his father was. The earlier Chōḷa inscriptions are found in the locality round Tirupati, and benefactions were made of even an important character to the now much neglected shrine quite close to the Alarṁēlmangai shrine at Tirucchānūr, called Parāśareśvaram *vulgo* Tiruppalādiśvaram. High placed Chōḷa officers have made large donations to this shrine, and would not have neglected an important shrine like that at Tirupati if that was a Śaiva shrine. As a Vishṇu shrine Tirupati has received donations from even some of the more prominent Chōḷa rulers, such as Rājarāja I, Kulōttunga I and Vikrama Chōḷa. But the great Chōḷas being personally Śaivas make but occasional grants to this distant shrine somewhat distant and out of their usual circuit of visits.

**Positive Reference in the Tiruppukal to Tirupati as Vishnu's Hill.**

The decline of the Chōlā power and the rise of the local dynasties bring the shrine into prominence closely associated with the local Yādava dynasty of rulers. In the Yādava records, the temple is spoken of as a Vishṇu shrine; but that is, after the intervention of Rāmānuja. Under Vijayanagar, it was undoubtedly regarded as a Vishṇu shrine and attained to its glory as a Vaishṇava shrine. But early in that period flourished the poet Saint Aruṇagiri whose *Tiruppukaḷ* is a long poem devoted to the celebration of Skanda or Subramānya or Kumāra. If there was any suspicion that the hill temple on Tirupati was sacred to Kumāra Subrahmanya, surely here was an author who was bound to mention an important shrine to the special deity of his affection. We have already pointed out that he does actually make eight references to the temple, and, in one of them, he declares positively that the hill was a hill sacred to Vishṇu, and of course Kumāra is there, as hill tops are places where he disported himself, at least he is supposed to have disported himself, in the opinion of his devotees. Thus there appears so far to be no evidence positive or negative that the shrine was at any time regarded as a shrine of Śiva or Subramānya, and all available evidence speaks of the temple only as a Vishṇu shrine.

**Examination of the Authority for the Story.** What then is the basis of the statement that Rāmānuja transformed the Śaiva into a Vaishṇava shrine? The story, as given popularly, is that there was a dispute between the Śaivas and the Vaishṇavas, the Śaivas claiming the shrine as theirs and the Vaishṇavas setting up a counter claim. After much wrangling and dispute, and carrying the matter before the rulers of the locality, they came to an agreement between themselves that, as they were not able to settle the character of the deity satisfactorily by arguments between themselves, they would leave the matter to the deity itself. They were to make the weapons characteristic of Vishṇu and Śiva, place them within the sanctum after the late evening worship should be over, and the temple locked. Accordingly they locked the temple and sealed it and placed guards, so that nobody might enter. Rāmānuja is said to have assumed the form of a cobra, he himself being an *Avatār* of Śeṣha, the great cobra constituting the bed of Vishṇu, entered the shrine overnight and set the characteristic weapons, the conch and the disc in the hands of the image, and thus cheated the public and won in the contest. Apart from the absurdity of the story, if Rāmānuja could assume

the form of the cobra, and do all that, he could have persuaded the God himself into assuming the form of Vishṇu. The story finds no authority in any of the more reliable sources of information which we have been able to examine, and are available as sources of information of any dependability.

A well-attested form of this story is what appears in the *Śrī Vēṅkatāchūla Itihāsamāla*, where it is stated that the temple was abandoned by those few Vaishṇava Brahmans who were conducting worship in the temple and maintaining themselves on the hill in the comparatively difficult position owing to the unhealthiness of the locality and the comparatively hard conditions of life otherwise. Some Śaivas took charge of the temple and were apparently conducting worship, etc. After some time it came to be a matter of dispute as to whether the temple legitimately belonged to the Vaishṇavas or Śaivas, perhaps because some of those Vaishṇavas who abandoned it had returned, or some others near about the locality came into Tirupati and set up a claim. The dispute gained in volume and force, and the local ruler's intervention was sought. This local ruler, one of the Yādavarājas, made the enquiry and wished to come to a settlement on well-informed authority and brought about an assembly of learned Śaivas and Vaishṇavas, and each one of the parties war to put forward and substantiate its particular claim to the possession of the temple. Rāmānuja got the better of the argument, at any rate, to the extent of persuading the Yādavarāja that the shrine was a Vishṇu shrine. The Śaivas driven to desperation, as their cause was being lost, showed themselves ready to throw the blame on the ruler by charging him practically with partiality owing to the superior influence of Rāmānuja. The charge of partiality was matter that a ruler has to exercise authority would find it difficult to put up with, and naturally he appealed to Rāmānuja whether something could not be done to convince those unreasonable people and give them satisfaction. Having done all he could to substantiate the case by the best authority that could be brought in support of his position, he said the only possibility would be to leave the decision to the God himself. As a satisfactory course of action to be taken he suggested that the two parties do make the weapons characteristic, each its own set, the Śaivas getting a set of weapons characteristic of Śiva and the Vaishṇavas that of Vishṇu. These were placed in front of the image and the sanctum was locked and sealed by the Yādavarāja himself directly. On the following morning, as the story has it, the God

was found to have assumed the disc and the conch, the other weapons lying just where they were placed. Rāmānuja's part in bringing this about is said to have been nothing more than to have spent the night in prayer that the God might decide in favour of truth and demonstrate to the world the actual fact of the image being a representation of Viṣṇu. The story does not go any further to state the detail that he assumed the form of a cobra and perpetrated the atrocity of placing the weapons in the hands of the God. The historian is certainly not bound to accept a miracle as a fact of occurrence. The people believed in this possibility and accepted it. It is not the function of the historian either to call it into question, or otherwise adjust it to the requirements of his critical faculty. The really difficult point here for the historian to settle is this. Was the image designed as that of Viṣṇu or of Śiva or Subrahmaṇya? The only authority bearing on the question are the *Purāṇas*, and the traditions of a Toṇḍamān Rāja having discovered a buried image and constructed a temple for it. On the authority of this story, it was a Vaishṇava God that was discovered and installed. The characteristic weapons of the conch and the disc were lent to this very Toṇḍamān Rāja when he was badly defeated, and fled from the field for protection and safety fighting against his own nephew. The story goes that his patron God lent him the weapons for his use to achieve victory which he is said to have done. But the weapons had not returned as usual; but the God himself felt, he should remain without them for some time. Whatever that be, here is another miracle. The point of this story, however, is that in origin the image was intended to be that of Viṣṇu perhaps without the characteristic weapons of the conch and disc.

#### **A Critical Estimate of the Evidence and the Image as it is.**

Leaving aside the miraculous, an examination of the image itself seems to reveal the fact that probably the image was made with the two hands detachable at the joint with the four arms, although it does not appear to be quite usual in stone images. While the disc and the conch would readily admit of this, the characteristic Śiva weapons or even that of Subrahmaṇya would not lend themselves to being of a character to admit of this. The characteristic weapons for Śiva should be Pāsupatha, a trident with a long rod, and a deer. The latter could be provided with a handle, but the former could not even perhaps in the form of *Maṭu*, an axe-like weapon. Subrahmaṇya's characteristic weapon is the long spear. It looks therefore unlikely that, having regard to the image as it

is, it was all intended to be other than that of Vishṇu. It is just possible that in a neglected condition these weapons got lost or broken, and the image remained at the moment when the Śaivas came in charge of it without these two weapons, without charging them with having removed the weapons themselves. If they formed an integral part of the image, it would be difficult to believe that even a believing Śaiva, however fanatical he may have been, would have taken it upon himself to mutilate the image by breaking it. That possibility is ruled out. This is confirmed in a way satisfactorily by the image bearing on the chest the mark called *Śrīvatsa* with a representation of Śrī or Lakshmi in it. If we are to assume that it was originally a Śiva image, then we shall have to explain this as having been later on added to or made on the image by the Vaishṇavas, which again, seems very highly improbable as such handling would be considered profane by believing people, Śaiva or Vaishṇava. But the really dependable evidence as to the character of the image itself lies in the fact that over a series of years, and in various sources of information we have collected together from literature, inscriptions, etc., there is an unanimity of belief that the temple was one dedicated to Vishṇu, and the image therefore that of Vishṇu. None of the reliable *Guruparamparās* or the *Divyastūricharitam*, or the various well recognised *stavas* (lauds) on Rāmānuja, such as the *Yatirāju Saptati* of Vēdāntadēśika mention this kind of a transformation. We are however informed that, perhaps a comparatively modern, laudatory piece, generally recited by the Vaishṇavas of the Tēngalai persuasion, contains a statement to this effect. If that is true, the statement will have to be ascribed to the pious fanaticism of the composer rather than to its having any historical basis. One of the *stōtras* of a certain number of very important shrines by Śankarāchārya is said to contain a reference to Tirupati, and the God there represented by the image. *Dvādasalingastōtram* refers to Śēshādirṅga certainly along with Śrīśailasṅga: but he clearly names the God Mallikārjuna<sup>1</sup>. This is undoubtedly a reference to the linga in Śrīśailam which formed part of the Śēshāchalam Hills, although Śrīśailam itself is used as the name of Tirupati in Vaishṇava parlance. We may therefore conclude that, notwithstanding the

1. श्रीकृष्णे विविधप्रसङ्गे क्षेत्रादिभ्यो सदा वसन्तं ।

तं वर्तुनं मल्लिकार्जुनं एव नमामि संसारसमुद्रसेतुं ॥

Sankarāchārya's *Dvādasalingastōtram*, Stanza 2.

modern contention, the image was intended to be that of Vishṇu, but Vishṇu conceived as the supreme deity containing within Himself as such all the other deities, such as the lord of the creation Brahma, of the God of destruction Śiva, and even the great ruler of the universe like Indra and so on. Such a conception would perhaps indicate an age when the dominant feeling was not sectarian superiority or excellence, but a period of compromise when sectarianism had to be kept under control because of other enemies to overcome. If, as is inferable, the temple had been founded and the image made at a time when those interested in devotion to a personal God (*Bhakti*), as the only saving form of religion, as against the somewhat nescient forms of Jainism and Buddhism, it is conceivable that the emphasis was laid on the common nature of divinity, either Vishṇu *Para-Vāsudēza* containing within Himself the trinity, or Śiva *Māhēśvara-Sādā-khya*, the supreme form of Śiva, similarly containing the other divinities in himself. It is these that we find emphasised in the *Āgamāik* thought as coming down from the early *Bhakti* schools indicated by the *Bhāgavatas* of pre-Buddhistic times. The early *Ālvārs*, the three of them who are generally accepted to be specially devoted to this shrine and the divinity installed therein peculiarly, lay emphasis on this aspect of the form of Vishṇu, as they refer to it clearly in a number of verses in the composition of each one of them. This is confirmed by similar expressions in regard to the character of the divinity here in the poems of *Tirumaliśai* *Ālvār*, who followed them closely. This is again much more elaborately confirmed in the writings of *Nammālvār* and *Tirumangai* *Ālvār*. So really the image there, which cannot by any test be regarded as a comparatively modern substitute—say an image of the 12th century or later—and seems to be very old, made of a particular piece of very hard stone which resists all influences capable of bringing about weathering or wearing. The tradition regarding the image itself has it that it was a particular piece of stone in a part of the hill which had been brought in for the making of this image, and the like of it has since not been discovered even when one was badly wanted for the *Kalyāṇa Venkaṭēśvara* image in *Mangāpuram*. So then we may take it that the image is a very old one enshrined in a small temple to begin with, which structure yet remains, though surrounded by others of a later construction and larger dimensions in series, proceeding from the original small shrine within the sanctum gradually on to the outermost structures added by even the

modern Mahants. The *Tirumalaīya* pavilion seems the latest which forms an integral part of the temple ascribed to emperor Tirumala of Tālikōṭa fame.

**The Conclusion on a Review of Evidence.** We then see that the shrine perhaps originated as a mere forest shrine, and had the good fortune to come to the notice of a local ruler describable as a Tondamān Rāja, one of the early petty Tondamān chieftains with his headquarters at Nārāyaṇavaram, to whom somehow the image and the shrine alike appealed. He therefore built a small shrine and made the first arrangements for regular worship in it, and for a certain annual festival, the principal festival that is now celebrated in the month of September-October every year called the *Brahmōṣṣava*. It is this which gave rise to the peculiar attribute to Vēṅgaḍam, *celebrated for its festivals*, as in the poems of Māmūlar included in the Śāngam classics. It had gone on more or less in this form under the protection of the local chieftains, receiving additions and improvements from time to time. It became a sufficiently sacred shrine early enough to be celebrated in the poems of the Ālvārs, and attain to a holy standing similar to that of Śrīrangam and perhaps another old mountain shrine, Tirumālirumśōlai near Madura. The *Śilappadhikāram* speaking of a Vaishṇava pilgrim from distant Malabar devoted ordinarily to the worship of Viṣṇu at Tiruvandrum, Anantapadmanābha at Anantaśayanam, breaks through the Ghats and comes into the wider land of pilgrimage bound to visit particularly the three shrines of Viṣṇu, of Śrīrangam, Tirupati and Tirumālirumśōlai, much as the later Vaishṇavas speak familiarly of Kōil (Śrīrangam Tirumalai (Tirupati) and Perumāi Kōil (Conjivaram). This is the position the shrine maintains as, of the twelve Ālvārs, eleven have celebrated this shrine, the only exception being Tondar Adippōḍi, who has perhaps not made a specific reference to this temple, or the particular form of the God represented by the image enshrined therein, while Śrīrangam is the only Vaishṇava shrine celebrated by all the twelve Ālvārs. From thence onward almost from the last period of these Ālvārs Tirupati finds mention almost continuously both in literature and in inscriptions. These inscriptions are usually records of donations of an important character made to the temple by various parties, royalty, officials and nobles of high position, and even ordinary folk. In respect of the last, while there must have been a very large number of small donations, the more important ones really do find record, and they are in number large enough, and, in point of value, rich enough to be

recorded. Judged by these we have inscriptions from generation to generation almost from the period of the early Chōlas at the commencement of the 10th century onwards, the age of the Pallavas being not so well furnished with inscriptions of this kind. But even so, and as we have remarked, we have an inscription of the Pallava Dantivarman in the last years of the 8th century or early in the next. There has since been a more or less continuous series of records of donations, etc., to the temple in inscriptions; these are comparatively few and rather occasional in the period of the early Chōlas, Śaiva shrines in the locality figuring more prominently than the Vishṇu shrine at Tirupati. During the period of the later Chōlas, when the minor dynasties of the locality, among them the Yādavarāyas prominently, come into importance and with the rise of this dynasty, we come upon a regular series of inscriptions of donations to the temple, which not merely record donations and give us an insight into what has been done to the temple by way of additions to the temple services, etc., but give a clear insight into the actual organisation which made itself responsible for the conduct of the affairs of the temple on a reasonable basis. In the course of these records we are able to discover, although there is no actual mention in terms, several items of organisation introduced, or said to have been introduced, by Rāmānuja; and a few references to persons, and perhaps even places, give unmistakable indication that the part ascribed to Rāmānuja is quite historical, that he was there, took pains to organise the scheme of worship, and put it upon an acknowledgedly satisfactory footing. He further provided the temple with a management of a disinterested character, according to his own light, by the creation of a number of offices to be held by single men, ascetic or other, whose function was to look after various departments of the temple management. The actual references to these in the course of the period of the Yādavarāyas are a clear indication of Rāmānuja having played the part ascribed to him—an important part in the organisation of the temple management and administration. The dynasty of the Yādavarāyas took a direct interest being a local dynasty and did much for the temple, not merely to provide the wherewithal but see to it that the management worked satisfactorily.

**The Development of the Temple Organisation and Government Control.** With the advent of the Śāluvas as local rulers at Chandragiri, they come into more intimate touch with the administration of the temple and a special stimulus is given to the



institution of new services, and of the making of benefactions and magnificent donations to the temple. It is in this period that we gain an idea of the definite policy more or less, of charitable people making donations to the temple in a form to provide the temple with resources of a permanent character yielding annual revenues. The small donations as well as the bigger now take the form generally of deposits into the temple treasury which were to be applied for effecting improvements of the agricultural resources of the temple, such as they were, and providing for a regular annual income which, and which alone, was to be utilised for the various services instituted, big and small, the simple and the elaborate. It did not mean merely the ordinary organisation of the temple itself, and the small properties belonging to the temple round about and the temple treasury only. It actually created a managing body which had not merely to administer the temple and its immediate surroundings, but had to take over the management of landed properties with irrigation works and all, the maintenance of these in condition, and their administration in proper form. Such would have been duty not far different from that of a civil administration. Provision had to be made for all this, and the body of people, the Vaishnavas of the locality with whom the management was, must have had an organisation perhaps similar to the organisation of the rural communities to manage these various responsibilities more satisfactorily. In these inscriptions as well as in the inscriptions of the Vijayanagar rulers that follow, we do come upon even specialised arrangements, such as the special charge of works, the public works, in the shape of buildings etc., that had to be carried out for the temple; the treasury for instance, the jewels donated from time to time to the God; the looking after of the charity feeding houses, all these figure. As we come upon local organisation and public bodies in charge of the rural localities surrounding the temple such as for instance the village of Tirucchānūr which belonged to the Dēvas-tānam, we might well imagine the temple management having been similarly organised and on the same pattern. The whole body of inscriptions makes one point clear. That is the temple management and the local people, the Śrī Vaishnavas of the locality, had the direct management entirely in their own hands, the government kept altogether away from the day to day management. At the same time, it was jealously watchful and came down with severity whenever mismanagement of any kind was

brought to notice, as in the one drastic case of misfeasance and malversation put on record under Sāluva Narasimha. One of the functionaries engaged in worship, who was a number of families settled in Tirupati for the purpose, happened to steal away a valuable jewel apparently, and then the matter was brought to the notice of the government. An enquiry was ordered immediately, the culprit was punished in the most drastic fashion possible by the confiscation of property, and perhaps even loss of life, and the deprivation of the privilege of conducting worship so far as the family of the culprit were concerned. Ultimately a posthumous scion of the family was restored to his rights one generation after. Their house properties even had been sequestered. This gives the most clear indication that, while the control was exercised efficiently, there was no interference from the government in the day to day management of the affairs of the temple.

Notwithstanding the careful control exercised over the management of the temple affairs, and the efficient protection that the state offered to the temple and its property and other rights, acquired from time to time from the state as well as from other individuals, we have not come upon any record in the large number of inscriptions recently brought to notice, any reference to a claim upon the temple revenues made by the state. These may be incidences of revenue, as in the case of properties owned by individuals, or special rates, etc. In regard to lands made over to temples, there has been a well recognised rule of demand that the temple could make upon cultivators, the lands liable to that schedule of demand were classed as *Dēvadāya* lands that is, lands made over to temples in property. The tenants were there cultivating the land, and had to pay certain dues to the temple in lieu of what an ordinary tenant would have to pay to his landlord and the state, unless the arrangement was that the land-lord paid the state dues. Anyway there were state dues on the land and there were dues to be paid to the land-lord, whatever be the actual manner of the collection. Similarly there was a special schedule of dues in respect of lands granted to Brahmans. These were called *Brahmadāya*. There was some minute difference in the schedule of demand between the two. But otherwise there were comparatively speaking similar. The whole schedule compared to that on lands ordinarily cultivated by the ryot under a land owner, or directly under government, was comparatively lighter. Certain rates and taxes these lands had not to pay like lands held directly of government or through a land-lord. All the lands

made over to the temple at Tirupati therefore seem to have been treated as *Dēvadāya* lands liable only to the schedule of dues to the temple, but otherwise altogether free. As in the case of these two, both *Dēvadāya* and *Brahmadāya* lands, there was no demand from the state upon the recipients of these revenues. The temple of Tirupati therefore enjoyed the full privilege of protection by the state. As a temple it enjoyed simultaneously the privilege of freedom from demands by way of taxes or revenue from the government. That state of things seems to have continued all through Hindu rule. It was not merely the lands and properties of the temple that were exempt; but we have come upon no kind of a demand made upon the temple altogether even in regard to the other incomes which the temple had. The other income of this temple in particular, as in fact of temples in general, were amounts of money paid for the privilege of offering worship, donations made either in cash or kind in fulfilment of vows made, and various other kinds of cash gifts apart from the institution of services of various kinds. These generally amount to a large sum in respect of this temple and make a very substantial addition to the revenue of the temple. In fact, that is, the sole resource of the temple now-a-days, and, notwithstanding the single source of revenue, the temple is regarded as a rich one. The annual collections amount to somewhere about four lacs of rupees. Whether the income was quite so large two centuries ago, or whether it was actually larger, we cannot perhaps be positive about. There is no reason, however, that it should have been less. It is possible that it was actually more; but the modern facilities of travelling might have considerably added to the income. Whatever it be, we would perhaps be safe in concluding that the temple enjoyed about as much of a revenue then as it does now. What has however to be noted particularly is that, notwithstanding this comparatively large revenue which the temple was deriving, the state made no demands upon it, and the temple paid nothing to the state as a holy charitable institution coming under a special classification. The extinction of Hindu rule in the locality brought about a radical change. We shall deal with it in the next period of the history of the shrine when the temple passed actually under Muhammadan authority first, and ultimately under the British. We shall make a slight retrospect and deal with the matter as an incident of changed rule or administration.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### MUHAMMADAN PENETRATION INTO THE "CARNATIC".

**Golkonda** makes the first move in the years following the fatal battle miscalled **Talikota**. The region round **Tirupati** which came to be known generally as the **Carnatic**, somewhat loosely in the British records, or the **Carnatic Payin Ghat**, **Carnatic** below the **Ghats**, perhaps a little more precisely in the **Muhammadan**, refers to the districts comprising the parts of the empire of **Vijayanagar** on the eastern seaboard extending southwards to the extremity of the peninsula from the borders of the **Nizam's Dominions**. This is sometimes limited only to the northern part of it, extending from the **Nizam's Frontier** down to include the **South Arcot District** in it. We shall use the term in this narrow sense, as our concern is merely the districts round **Tirupati** which are essentially what constitute this part of the **Carnatic**. The empire of **Vijayanagar** stood on the northern frontier of **South India** on the **Krishna-Tungabhadra** line, opposing **Muhammadan** expansion into the farther south, as the **Muhammadans** had occupied the **Dakhan** and had constituted an independent kingdom known to history as the **Bahmani kingdom** almost simultaneously with **Vijayanagar**. The two stood face to face, the one looking for an opportunity to extend southwards, and the other watchful to prevent this being done. This opposition grew keener and keener till it reached a crisis in the years following the middle of the 16th century. **Ramaraya** the powerful ruler of **Vijayanagar** gained in influence owing to the internecine jealousies and quarrels among the three southern states of the **Bahmani kingdom**, which, in the last decades of the previous century, broke up into five kingdoms. There was constant rivalry between **Bijapur** the immediate neighbour of **Vijayanagar** and **Ahamadnagar** next across. **Golkonda** which was also contiguous to the northern frontiers of **Vijayanagar**, further towards the east than **Bijapur**, played her own part on the one side or the other, and the divisions and jealousies between these gave **Rama** a distinct advantage, so that about A.D. 1560 or a little later, the **Muhammadan** states began to feel jealous of his dominant position. **Ramaraya's** activities ultimately brought about a union among these states,

and, the decisive battle was fought at a place called Rākshasa-tangadi, in fact two villages whose names are combined in this, about 25 miles, one march on the southern side of the Krishṇa. This was called in older histories by the name Tālikōta which was the camp of the Nizam Shah, 25 miles north of the Krishṇa from which he advanced to battle. After a severe battle in which the advantage seemed on the side of the Hindus, Rāmarāya fell by an accident of war into the hands of the enemies, and the battle immediately went against the Hindus. The Hindu army dispersed after the fall of their leader. The next younger brother Tirumala was able to retire to Vijayanagar in good order with a part of his army, and, finding it unsafe to remain there, removed all the movable wealth in the city and retired to Penugonḍa a fortress farther south. The Muhammadans marched slowly upon the capital, remained there for some time, as it is said six months, plundering and searching for hidden treasure, and retired, so far showing no tendency whatever to take advantage of the victory to march upon the Hindu kingdom and annex either the whole or any part of it to their own territories. This was in the year A.D. 1565, and by 1567 it seemed to an observer that the very capital city of Vijayanagar stood intact and the territory was still in the hands of the Hindus. It was the turn of Gōlkoṇḍa to make an essay first of all at expansion southwards, which Gōlkoṇḍa attempted in the years immediately following. By the time this happened, Tirumala had recovered sufficiently to go forward and oppose Gōlkoṇḍa effectively. The advance of Gōlkoṇḍa into the territory of the Hindu empire and its repulse becomes more or less an important item of policy for Vijayanagar.

**Further Golkonda attempts partially successful against Emperor Ranga.** Under Tirumala's successor, a more successful invasion was undertaken, and the Hindu territory as far south as Ahōbalam had been occupied by the Muhammadans who carried their depredations as far south as the new capital Penugonḍa itself. The Gōlkoṇḍa army was able to take Tirumala's son by name Śrīranga, ruling at the time, prisoner. The war ended however in the release of the Hindu monarch, but left at least a part of the conquered territory including the Vaishṇava holy place of Ahōbalam in the occupation of the Muhammadans of Gōlkoṇḍa. Śrīranga was persuaded to make another effort by the Vaishṇava pontiff of the Ahōbalam *Muṭh*, to recover at least Ahōbalam, and a minor chieftain of the locality, his own disciple undertook the responsibility of conducting the war to success if only he had the

countenance of the emperor. This was the Maṭṭa chief whose territory took into it the districts round Ahōbālam extending southwards almost to the inner borders of Tirupati. The Muhammadan forces were beaten back, and Ahōbālam was recovered. By this act the Maṭṭa chief became in a sense responsible for holding the territory in that region effectively against incursions, and assure protection to the Vishṇu shrines alike of Ahōbālam and Tirupati. After Ranga had passed away his younger brother Venkaṭapati succeeded in A.D. 1565, and did much to recover the empire of Vijayanagar to its previous state of prosperity.

The discussions in the empire following Venkaṭapati's death open the way to Golkonda advance. Venkaṭapati happened to hold the viceroyalty of the south both under his father and elder brother, and made Chandragiri his capital as viceroy. By sheer force of habit perhaps that became his usual place of residence, although we know of occasions in which he was occupying Penugonda the capital, and was there on two occasions when he was forced to stand a siege by the Muhammadans in the course of his comparatively long reign. Being resident at Chandragiri for a long period he became in a way attached to Tirupati, and had shown marked personal devotion to the hill-shrine. Some of his charters say, in so many words, that they were signed, or approved, in the presence of God Venkaṭēṣa on the hill. The districts round Tirupati therefore were intimately associated with the empire and Chandragiri and Tirupati itself, had come to be regarded as one of the capitals of the empire, if not strictly the capital. During the period of his rule, the effort made by Golkonda to extend its authority into this region was successfully checked and the territory continued to remain under the Hindu power effectively. Venkaṭa's death in 1614 proved a misfortune to the empire in more ways than one. He left no son to succeed him and nominated a nephew, the son of his elder brother Rāma, Viceroy of Śrīrangapatam. Rāma died earlier than Venkaṭa leaving two minor sons, whom Venkaṭa brought up at his own headquarters. He sent the elder of the two to take up his father's place of Viceroy at Śrīrangapatam, and the younger continued to remain with him, and seems to have been more or less designed for the succession and given even some training therefor, having been nominated *Chikkarāya*, which may be taken to mean the heir-apparent. One of the Venkaṭa's queens, a daughter of the powerful Gobbūri chieftain related to the ruling family of Vijayanagar, brought up

a child, it is ordinarily taken to be not her own, without Venkaṭa taking any steps to discourage her doing it, or putting matters right otherwise. This queen had brothers, the eldest amongst whom Jaggarāya by name, held an influential position under the emperor, and perhaps found the nephew not up to his liking as successor on the throne. He found therefore his sister's son ready to hand for his ambitious purposes. While Ranga, the Ohikkārāya succeeded, Jaggarāya tried to secure the countenance of the powerful nobles and officers about court and the viceroys away from court, and managed to confine the emperor with the whole of his family in the palace, more or less as prisoners, and carry on the administration himself. To make his position secure beyond doubt, he intrigued to get rid of the royal family by a massacre. His intent on somehow got to be known at court, and a powerful chief whose estate lay continuous to that of Jaggarāya, and not very far from the capital, took steps to baulk this by opposing his machinations. As a necessary precaution, he managed to get hold of one of the sons of the imprisoned emperor, a lad of about ten years, carried out of the prison house by a *dhoby* bundled up in clothes he was carrying for the wash. The possession of this boy gave him what was necessary, a legitimate cause for setting up against Jaggarāya. This naturally led on to a war of succession which lasted two years ending ultimately in favour of this boy prince, Rāma by name. Yāchamanāyaka as protector found support in the viceroy of Tanjore to whom he carried the prince for safety, after suffering a defeat, and that brought about a civil war. This chieftain together with a few other chiefs and the viceroy Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore alone supported the imperial cause; and all the other viceroys and the greater chiefs like Jaggarāya took the other side. This brought a fatal division in the empire which ultimately ended in the downfall of the empire itself. Through the good offices of Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore and Yāchamanāyaka, Rāma was placed upon the throne as a result of the victorious battle fought at Toppūr near Trichinopoly in the year A.D. 1616, or the following year. In the actual circumstances of his accession, the rule of a young boy is likely to be beset with difficulties, and, during the fourteen or fifteen years of Rāma's rule, he had to struggle hard to maintain himself in his position and keep the territory intact. Jagga's paternal estates extended from the Nizam's Dominions, perhaps even taking in a small district within the Nizam's Dominions, and came down almost as far south as the frontier of

the district round Tirupati itself. Yāchamanāyaka's territory lay next to it, and the rivalry between these two men and their parties had shown themselves throughout in constant wars, and the struggles for the territory round about Tirupati. Jagga was certainly dis-satisfied with the succession of Rāma's father. Jagga fell in the battle; and it was a younger brother of his, by name Yatirāja, who held possession of the family estate in succession to him. While Ranga's title was disputed, the accession of a son of that Ranga, and a minor boy at that, was not likely to give satisfaction to all. There seems to have been counter claimants as well who could put forward a nearer relationship, and thus urge a more legitimate claim to the throne. Ranga himself was a grandson of Tirumala. Tirumala's elder brother Rāma, whom Tirumala succeeded, had a number of grandsons among whom two, Pedda Venkaṭa and Chinna Venkaṭa, sons of a prince by name Ranga, perhaps were brought forward at the time, and had influential support. We find, after the first four or five years of struggle, the elder Venkaṭa and son of the younger, by name Śrīranga, both were recognised as heirs to the throne at a time when Rāma was still too young to have had any children. Whether this was not done as a matter of policy, making a concession to the claims, perhaps superior claims, of these princes, remains open to doubt as Rāma was still young. However Rāma had to struggle hard almost up to the far end of his reign to keep the territories nearer the imperial headquarters from falling off, not to mention the Viceroyalties at greater distances. From the correspondence of the East India Company's servants on the Coast, we learn that it was about A.D. 1629 that Rāma was able successfully to assert his authority over the territory nearer home. In the course of the next year or two, Rāma died and was succeeded by one of the two nominees, the elder Venkaṭa in or a little later than A.D. 1630.

**The coming of the European Companies on the east coast.** During this period covering the reigns of Venkaṭapati and his two successors, a number of European Companies had begun coming into India and making settlements in the territory with which we are directly concerned. The Portuguese were there already, and had a settlement at San Thome and at Nagapatam, not to speak of other places elsewhere. Rival companies had started in Europe at the commencement of the new century as a result of political changes there, and among them, the English and the Dutch were perhaps the most active. The French were



also beginning, and the Danes had effected a settlement about the end of this period in Tranquebar. The English Company had their first settlement in Surat, and in the course of their trade they established a factory in Masulipatam. Finding their position in Masulipatam not up to their liking on account of the difficulty of having to deal with the officials of the Gōlkoṇḍa Nawab, they moved southward to Pettapoly, and thence further south to a place called Armagaon a little to the north of Pulicat in the region with which we are concerned. Finding this also inconvenient for a variety of reasons, they moved further south into Pulicat accepting the hospitality of the Dutch, wherefrom they were looking out for a really more satisfactory place where they could ply their trade with advantage and with safety. The Dutch offered them accommodation of some sort, and the English moved there some time about A.D. 1626, almost the same year that the Danes secured a charter from Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore for Tranquebar. The Dutch had made a much earlier effort, and had secured the permission of the great Venkaṭapati to establish a factory in Pulicat and even fortified it to some extent, as the Portuguese were jealous of other European powers establishing factories in India and were giving them trouble whenever occasion offered. Pulicat happened to be in the *jāghīr* of one of Emperor Veakaṭa's queens, popularly known Bāyamma but more formally called Koṇḍamma of the Gobbūri family, sister of the powerful officer Jaggarāya, and his brother Yatirāja, whose name figures in the transactions of these European companies in the reign of Rāma. The permission was given in A.D. 1606, and in proper form in the following year, and a treaty was actually entered into in 1610; so that the Dutch were on quite a formal footing, and could ply their trade with a very considerable amount of security. They were inclined to treat the English with hospitality as being the weakest company at the time. The local rulers often came into contact with these Companies, and it is because of these that we are enabled to draw information from the correspondence of these people, the English and the Dutch, in regard to the history of the times. From these we find that the reign of Rāma was troubled by the wars between his supporter, the Veḷugōti chief Yāchamanāyaka of Venkaṭagiri whose estate was not very far off on the one side, and Yatirāja, the successor-brother of the Gobbūri Jagga, who was practically the author of the war of succession and whose estate must have apparently extended over a consider-

able part of this region, if Pulicat could be within the *jāghir* of his sister. These wars seem to have continued for a considerable length of time after the actual accession of Rāma, and perhaps were brought to a close by an understanding which was sealed by the marriage of Yatirāja's daughter to Rāma who already had a wife. As a consequence of this perhaps, it was reported by the Companies in the last years of Rāma's reign that he had mastered possession of a considerable portion of his empire. His death followed soon after and Prince Venkaṭa already nominated by Rāma, succeeded to the throne in or about 1630. This was the year of the great famine in the Dakhan, one of the severest, and it seems to have extended to a considerable part of this territory also as several of these Company's letters give details of the prevalence of this famine and the selling away of a large number of children into slavery for a small quantity of grain. So the land must have been particularly unhappy.

**Divided Interests in Venkatapati's Reign.** With the accession of Venkaṭa to power in succession to Rāma, things may be said to take a turn for the better, though the administration seems to have been somewhat divided in point of its policy by the division of interests between this Venkaṭa and his nephew Śrīranga, who was nominated along with him. In the conduct of administration, Venkaṭa had to take the assistance of some of his influential feudatories, and he seems to have chosen the chieftains of the Dāmarla family, whose estate lay round Kālahasti to assist him. They happened to be his own brothers-in-law, and this relationship gave them undue influence and made that administration unacceptable to the nephew Śrīranga who perhaps felt he had claims of his own almost as good as those of Venkaṭa himself. To make matters worse, the territory round the headquarters had been in the hands of the minister brother-in-law, Dāmarla Venkaṭa who was governor of the large province of Wandiwash with a very large revenue. He was supported by a younger brother Ayya or Ayyappa, who held a junior office as governor or Tarafdār of Poonamallee under the elder brother. He managed the governorship for his brother, and released him completely to look after the administration of the empire. The nephew Śrīranga was allotted a governorship round Chandragiri and Tirupati which he made his headquarters. At the time of Venkaṭa's accession soon after 1630, this would have made no particular difference except that Śrīranga's government lay to the north, and Dāmarla Venkaṭa's to the south. But as things developed the relative importance

also changed, and we shall come to that. Tirupati, which is much the same thing as saying Chandragiri, was the headquarters of Sriranga and his government. He had charge of the northern frontier and the region round Pulicat, the territory extending southwards beyond it being included in the government of Wandiwash, and therefore in the charge of Dāmarla Venkata, the minister. Venkata's administration went on all right for the first few years till a new influence began to break in from the north. When Venkata came to the throne, important events were taking place in the Dakhan.

**Bijapur and Golkonda Set Free for Aggression by Shah Jahan's Treaty of 1636:** At the commencement of the century when the great Venkatapati was still ruling, the Mughals advanced in the last years of Akbar's reign across the Vindhya-Narmada frontier and effected the conquest of the district now known as Khāndēsh, and perhaps a part of Berar next adjoining. Akbar constituted a governorship or viceroyalty of the south with Elichpūr, afterwards Burhanpūr, as capital. This new province gradually grew under Jehangir and Shah Jahan, and, in the course of its expansion, naturally came into hostile contact with the next neighbour the Nizam Shahi kingdom of Ahmadnagar, one of the five kingdoms into which the Bahmani kingdom of the Dakhan broke up at the end of the 16th century. Prince Shah Jahan under his father, and Shah Jahan as emperor, exerted himself to make the southern viceroyalty of the Mughals an important part of the empire. By about 1635 the Nizam Shahi kingdom was practically put an end to with the assistance of the next neighbour Bijapur. Shah Jahan now thought that it was time that the war ceased and something like permanent peace introduced in this region, where there had been wars for some time continuously. He came to an agreement therefore with respect to his ally of Bijapur who agreed to recognise allegiance to the empire and accept a subordinate position under the empire. Having regard to the fact that Bijapur assisted Shah Jahan in the course of these wars against Ahmadnagar, Shah Jahan was quite inclined to be gracious and he allowed Bijapur and Gōlkonḍa to remain practically independent though nominal feudatories of the empire. A treaty on these terms was ratified in 1636, and Shahji, the Mahratta, the father of Shivaji who had played a prominent part in the recent wars against Shah Jahan himself, in behalf of the Nizam Shahi kingdom, appearing on one occasion as even fighting for securing

the Nizam Shahi throne to one of the heirs of the Nizam Shahis, was allowed to enter service under Bijapur. Thus Bijapur and Gōlkoṇḍa were set free as it were from their preoccupations of war against the Mughals, to turn their attention, if they were so minded towards the south. The condition of the Vijayanagar empire under Pedda Venkaṭa was such as to offer a temptation to these two Muhammadan powers to attack the empire and take as much as they could of its territory in the neighbourhood of both of these Muhammadan states. We shall now consider the position of this southern empire at the time and how it invited the steady aggression of these northern powers.

**Vijayanagar Empire Under Pedda Venkata.** The Vijayanagar empire about A.D. 1630 and the years following, that is the early years of rule of Pedda Venkaṭa, as he was called, cannot well be regarded as the united empire that it was in the reign of the great Venkaṭapatirāya. The separation of the Viceroyalty of Śrīrangapatam and the setting up of the kingdom of Mysore under Rājā Odayar constituted the first stone pulled out of the great structure to its ultimate detriment, although it was done at the time with all the care and caution that statesmanship suggested. If we could speak of it as a viceroyalty yet, it was more or less a semi-independent kingdom, which retained the forms of subordination to the extent called for, for the nominal preservation of the unity of the empire. This state of Mysore, which was, comparatively speaking, small even in comparison to the present day state of Mysore, under its legitimate representative to day, comprised in it only the districts of Mysore, one half of Hassan, less than half of Tumkur, and a considerable part of Western Bangalore. Immediately to the north of it in the hilly parts lay what was the petty chieftainship of Ikkēri or Keḷadi, as it is called, directly subordinate to the empire and holding the districts extending from the Western Ghats eastward to almost as far as the high road from Harihar south. The districts to the east of it were included within the province commanded by Penugoṇḍa which, as the titular headquarters of the empire, exercised authority over this part. Ikkēri and this Penugoṇḍa region were set over against the frontiers of Bijapur. To the east of it extending from Adoni down to the coast were the districts which were under other chieftains; but all of them acknowledged allegiance to the empire more or less, according to the actual vicissitudes of the changing politics of the time. But notwithstanding all the changes the whole region,

extending from the frontiers of Gōlkoṇḍa roughly, corresponding to the present-day Nizam's Dominions, and extending south to as far as Wandiwash through the region directly under the empire was perhaps nominally included in the province of Chandragiri. These petty states and the area covered by them constituted the territory directly under the emperor and his authority. To the southward of it lay the viceroyalty of Gingee extending northwards from the Kāvēri basin up to Wandiwash certainly, but taking in sometimes much more of the Chingleput District. Then came in the viceroyalty of Tanjore in the Kāvēri delta; then the large viceroyalty of Madura with Trichinopoly as a frontier fortress, and taking in the whole region of the Madura District, a pretty large part of the Kongu country to the north, with a varying frontier sometimes reaching up to the foot of the hills skirting the plateau of Mysore. Therefore for the purpose of our discussion at present, Mysore, Madura, Tanjore and Gingee would constitute viceroyalties, and the rest of it may be regarded as territory under the empire, being divided under chieftains owing allegiance to the emperor directly. That was the position of the Vijayanagar empire when the treaty of Shah Jahan of A.D. 1636 was ratified, and Bijapur and Gōlkoṇḍa set free from their embroilments in the north to turn their attention towards the south, and take whatever they could of the imperial territory of Vijayanagar. This was well in the middle of the reign of Pedda Venkaṭa, whose administration from the very beginning seems to have showed itself to be comparatively weak and divided.

**The Relative position of the Emperor and Sriranga.** We have mentioned already that Venkaṭa managed to carry on the administration with the assistance of the chieftains of the Dāmarla family of Kālahasti of whom two brothers played very important parts, Dāmarla Venkaṭa, almost the Chancellor of the empire, or as the Company's correspondence calls it "Lord General of the Carnatic" with a government at Wandiwash, one of the biggest governments with almost the largest revenue next below the viceroyalties. His younger brother by name Ayya, or as he is sometimes called Ayyappa, whose government was a small one, and subordinate to that of his elder brother, ruled with Poonamallee for his headquarters, Poonāmallee being thirteen miles north-west of Madras. These brothers dominated the administration, and this dominance was the principal cause of its unpopularity. Venkaṭa's headquarters seem to have been at Nārāyaṇavaram,

one of the old headquarters of the king-dom, hardly thirty miles from Chandragiri, but distinctly to the south of the region. The region dominated by Chandragiri fell to the share of his nephew, Śrīranga, who carried on the government from there and who regarded a war against Gōlkoṇḍa as his special charge, as his territory lay across the whole way of the southward advance of Gōlkoṇḍa. He thus had an important charge, and was responsible for the formulation of a policy to keep the aggressor out. Perhaps the governors of the territory immediately to the south, that is, the Dāmarla brothers, did not quite see eye to eye with Śrīranga, and hence a coolness sprang between them ripening into a positive misunderstanding and even political opposition as time advanced. Bijapur set forward in its southern expansion towards the district of Śīra in the north-eastern part of Mysore opening out from thence into the plains of the Carnatic leading towards Gingee. Gōlkoṇḍa had perforce to extend its territory towards the south in the region between Adoni and the coast. Here they were met by Śrīranga's forces who were determined to keep them out, and we hear, in the Company's correspondence from Pulicat, that at one time the Gōlkoṇḍa armies had advanced as far south as Venkaṭagiri and Arnagaon from both of which Śrīranga managed to keep them out, and thus effectively prevented their further movement towards the south. The dominating feature of the policy therefore of the latter half of the reign of Venkaṭa was, or at least ought to have been, how best to keep the enemy out of the imperial territory. Śrīranga had a definite and clear cut policy in regard to this, and did his best to keep the enemies out. He probably did not have the full sympathy and hearty co-operation that he would naturally have expected from the principal officers of the empire, particularly the Dāmarla brothers. We see a record of the reign of Śrīranga, coming from Tirupati of 1638, in which he is given already the full imperial titles, as if he was the ruling emperor, and ignoring altogether, as it seems, the position of a senior Pedda Venkaṭa. That exhibits already a division of interests in the ruling family itself.

In such a state of affairs, it would be hardly possible to expect loyal support to any imperial policy from the greater viceroys of the empire placed at great distances from the vulnerable northern frontier. Mysore being about the nearest to this dangerous frontier adopted a policy of opposition to the advance of Bijapur in her own interests thereby incidentally supporting the imperial

policy. Bijapur therefore had to struggle hard and had much fighting to do, to make good her possession of Śīra and advance further southwards into what is now the territory of Mysore not without success. It happened that the territory involved in this aggression of Bijapur belonged to the vicereignty of the Jagadēva-rāyals of Channapaṭṇa, whose charge lay to the east of Mysore, and between the territory of Mysore and the plains below. Gingee, Tanjore and Madura were much farther away, and were hardly concerned in this struggle to begin with. They pursued their own policy irrespective of the empire. They had quarrels among themselves, and sometimes they fought each other for asserting each its own rights. But otherwise they went their way without much molestation from the empire, or showing much regard for its interests.

**European companies and the Foundation of Madras.** It was during this period that the empire had to deal with a number of foreign trading companies in the land, of which the Portuguese at San Thome, the Dutch at Pulicat, the English at Armagaon, were in direct contact with the imperial territory. The Danes were farther south in the territory of Tanjore, and these European Companies had also their factories in Masulipatam in the territory of Gōlkoṇḍa. Śīraṅga had stationed himself at Chandragiri and Tirupati, and had been laying himself out to pursue his policy in spite of the empire, and to carry on the patriotic fight against Gōlkoṇḍa to the best of his ability and keep the enemy out successfully from the imperial territory. The English found their position at Armagaon unsatisfactory from many points of view. The port was not convenient for ships to come close to the shore, and the locality did not offer the kind of goods which they most wanted and at an easy price for commerce, and they were looking out for a better place to serve their purpose more efficiently. They managed to gain the goodwill and hospitality of the Dutch, who provided them with accommodation in Pulicat wherefrom they were carrying on a certain amount of trade, the least powerful, and therefore the most tolerated, of the European Companies as compared with the Dutch and the Portuguese. There were enterprising factors at Masulipatam who were able to look a little farther afield. Various places offered themselves, ports in the Tanjore District, in the vicereignty of Gingee, San Thome itself, a port like Covelong in the Chingleput District. But none of these recommended themselves sufficiently till at last they accepted

the invitation of Dāmarla Venkaṭa, the minister in whose territory he offered to provide the accommodation sought. The site chosen was a piece of neglected land between two rivers and close to the sea southward of the little town of Madraspatam, which itself was situated a little to the south of the recently founded town of Channapaṭṭinam. This town was founded by Dāmarla Ayyappa in honour of their father Channappa, appointed viceroy of the region round Vellore, under the great Venkaṭapati soon after he had put down the rebellion of Lingama Nāyaka of Vellore, and took over the province from him. He was a chief-tain of the first importance under Venkaṭapati, and his sons enjoyed the prestige of the father's position as well. They seem to have been natives of what is now the village of Dāmal, a little to the north of Conjivaram, but they acquired the *jāghīr* or fief of Kālahasti, and became associated with Kālahasti afterwards. Finding that the Dutch and the Portuguese were constantly fighting not only on the sea, but even on the land, these governors of the locality found it necessary to lay out a town and interpose it between these two, so that the imperial power may exercise its authority effectively as against these. That was the Channapatam or Channapaṭṭinam, to the south of which was the small village of Madras or Madraspatam. To the south of this was the bit of land which in contempt the natives called jackal mound (Tam. *narimēḍu*), and which they agreed to make over to the English East India Company with permission to fortify the place from which they could carry on their trade without molestation, and even with the countenance of the local governors and the empire. On Dāmarla Venkaṭa's advice, emperor Venkaṭa issued a *cowle* granted to them on a gilt plate. Francis Day with the countenance of his chief at Masulipatam, Cogan, took it upon himself to lay the foundations of the fortress, and carried it some way, so that they could go into occupation about March 1640. That was the foundation of Madras as a result of the grant of A. D 1639.



## CHAPTER XVIII.

### SRIRANGA, EMPEROR OF VIJAYANAGAR.

**The first years of Sriranga.** During the first five year of its existence, the vicissitudes of fortune of the new foundation depended upon the rapidly changing political condition of the locality round about Tirupati. We have mentioned already that while Venkaṭa was still ruling as emperor, Śrīranga was given a government with headquarters at Chandragiri and Tirupati, and the Gōlkoṇḍa frontier was therefore regarded as almost his special charge. The emperor himself was living at Nārāyaṇavaram, within easy distance of Kālahasti to which belonged his Dāmarla ministers, Chandragiri being a little farther away comparatively speaking. The beginning of activities on the Gōlkoṇḍa frontier on this side coincided more or less in point of time with the visible signs of estrangement between the emperor and his nephew in charge of this frontier. Perhaps there was a certain amount of incompatibility in the views between the two parties in regard to the policy that had to be pursued, and that perhaps aggravated the difference into one of active hostility of interests and of even political outlook. Each was apparently pursuing his own course of action without coming into actual conflict till Venkaṭa died in October A.D. 1642, and Śrīranga was raised to the imperial throne in spite of the opposition of a considerable number of chiefs among whom the Dāmarla brothers naturally played the leading part. Almost the first thing that we hear after this change of rule, from the Company's correspondence, is that Śrīranga did not find Dāmarla Venkaṭa loyal to him, and had reason to be quite dissatisfied with the attitude of the minister. A little later, the latter was discovered intriguing with the Gōlkoṇḍa officers. This could only mean a reversal of Śrīranga's policy and would amount to a betrayal of the interests of the empire. Naturally therefore Śrīranga dismissed him from the offices and honours held by Dāmarla Venkaṭa. These very records speak at the time of the Dāmarla brothers bringing together all the hostile elements with a view to putting pressure upon Śrīranga to restore Dāmarla Venkaṭa to his position. Śrīranga was thus driven to take a more vigorous line of action. He therefore dismissed Venkaṭa from office definitely, and appointed in

his stead another influential person, a merchant who was sufficiently influential in the country to have gained the goodwill of the Dutch, occupying a position of importance in the commercial community, and having influence with even foreign companies other than the Dutch at Pulicat. Mallayya, as he is called in the Company's correspondence, whose real name however was a Chinnappa Chetty, was appointed minister, chiefly with a view to securing the goodwill and assistance of the Dutch, as against the advance of the Gōlkoṇḍa forces now under the foreign merchant known to history under the title Mirjumla. Mirjumla certainly set, as we shall see high value upon the Dutch alliance, and if Śrīranga tried to anticipate him, it is certainly a stroke of wise policy. A commercial man in a position of political influence is likely to be swayed by commercial interests more than by the general interests of the state, and so it proved in the case of Mallayya. Finding his own feudatories turbulent, and Gōlkoṇḍa making successful advance, Śrīranga opened negotiations with Bijapur, and besought the assistance of the forces of Bijapur to help him against Gōlkoṇḍa and the rebel feudatories. He succeeded in the effort and brought the rebels under control, defeated the Gōlkoṇḍa forces, and, for the time, was master of the situation. Śrīranga still found the Gōlkoṇḍa forces holding out in the fortress of Udayagiri, one of the vital defence centres of the empire of Vijayanagar. He sent Mallayya in great force to dislodge them from there. Mallayya betrayed his master and played into the hands of Mirjumla. This undependability of the ministers and officers entrusted with power, proved one of the evil influences that ultimately brought about the downfall of the empire under unfortunate Śrīranga. For the moment, however, Śrīranga was successful and his vigorous efforts against Gōlkoṇḍa drove them to seek assistance of Bijapur, and Bijapur now was quite inclined to assist Mirjumla as against Śrīranga, and bring about a joint invasion of the imperial capital of the time, Vellore. The military activity of the forces showed itself effectively round Vellore, and Śrīranga was very hard put to it to maintain himself in his position.

**The states bordering on Bijapur.** The first move of Bijapur in her southward expansion brought her into collision with the chief of Ikḱēri or Keḱadi, who was still among the minor chiefs of the empire. Next to it in a parallel line were other minor chiefs, the chiefs of Basavapaṭṇa and Chitaldrug, and between them they managed to hold the frontier for a while. Bijapur had inevitably

to beat these into submission, and advanced further forward, and the province of the empire next to be attacked happened to be the province of Śīra, which was a division probably included in the government of Penugonda, and therefore was liable to be attacked as belonging to the empire. The rulers of Mysore for the time felt safe because of the position of these minor chieftains, and the deflection of the course of march of the Bijapur advance that it actually meant. Further south of this lay the viceroyalty of Channapaṭṇa between the territory of Mysore and the line of march of Bijapur. Kanṭhīrava Narasaraḥja Oḍayār, who was the ruler of Mysore at the time extended his territory by almost annexing the viceroyalty of Channapaṭṇa, carrying his arms successfully into the Bangalore district as far as Hoskote. Thus having come into collision with Bijapur, Mysore had to fight against Bijapur in her own interests and render at least indirect assistance to the empire. There is no specific mention in our authorities however for us categorically to say that Mysore did not co-operative with Śīranga, nor that there was actually any understanding between them.

**Sriranga succumbs to the combined operation of Golkonda and Bijapur; Ginjee falls to Bijapur:** In the actual circumstances of the empire, with the headquarters fixed at Vellore as a more convenient centre to oppose the advance of Bijapur and Gōlkoṇḍa forces, Bijapur advanced into the province of Śīra and from there stretched out towards Ginjee, as a more or less fixed item of their policy. The path of Bijapur would lay aside of Vellore through Tiruvannāmalai. They might also take an eastern road, in which case they would have to pass through Vellore and attack the imperial headquarters as a matter of necessity. Śīranga therefore had to divide his forces and make both Vellore and Chandragiri of equal importance for his purpose, sending out forces against Gōlkoṇḍa from Chandragiri and keeping watch over Bijapur from Vellore. We often hear of Śīranga in Tirupati in this connection, and, early in his reign, there is a record which states that he received Mallayya, carrying presents from the Dutch at Pulicat, at Tirupati, and Śīranga was favourably impressed with Mallayya. It was some time after this that he was entrusted with the wars against Gōlkoṇḍa, particularly the relieving of the siege of Udayagiri in the Nellore District. When Mallayya proved false and surrendered Udayagiri, Śīranga had to make the best of a bad bargain and obtain the co-operation of Bijapur as against Gōlkoṇḍa and his own rebel feudatories. He succeeded

largely in that enterprise and was able to beat back both, and bring his own feudatories and the viceroys to a better frame of mind, and thus re-establish his position as emperor. Then came in the Bijapur invasion sent out by Bulol Khan, who stayed behind in Śīra on account of illness, and Śrīranga succeeded in defeating the enemy at the Guḍiyāttam Pass, the Bijapur forces being under the command of Shahji, the Muhammadan officer actually in charge of the forces having been absent and Bulol Khan himself being away. But the defeated forces succeeded in getting through the Salem District and coming round the other passes, debouched into the plains of Vellore by the Pass of Chenṅam. There was a simultaneous Gōlkoṇḍa invasion, and Śrīranga got the worst of it. He had to remain content with the territory round Tirupati and Chandragiri, and had even to give up Vellore. This calamity to the empire seems to have softened the hearts of his own viceroys who showed a ready inclination to support him and promised better behaviour for the future. Śrīranga spent some time with the southern viceroys, dodging the enemy by retreating in the forest tracts between Tanjore and Gingee, and ultimately accepted the hospitality of Kanṭhīrava Narasa, and remained in Mysore for the time. The fall of Vellore was the signal for Bijapur and the great Vijayanagar viceroy, Tirumal Nāyak who played the part of evil genius for the empire invited Bijapur against the viceroy of Gingee. Gōlkoṇḍa took advantage of the opportunity and marched simultaneously upon Gingee. The object of Tirumal Nāyak was to use the assistance of Bijapur to take possession of Gingee. In front of the walls of Gingee, the Muhammadan forces fraternised. Bijapur abandoned the cause of Tirumal Nāyak. Gōlkoṇḍa obtained the co-operation of Bijapur on condition that Gingee would be handed over to them after its fall. It made viceroy Tirumal Nāyak somewhat wiser and cost him a severe struggle which proved quite unequal to dislodging the Bijapur forces from Gingee ultimately. Gingee ultimately fell into the hands of Bijapur and its conquest was made by the Bijapur army under a Muhammadan general Maula, with Shahji as usual second in command. The fall of Gingee marks a definite stage in the decline of fortune of the empire. Then began the serious effort of the viceroys to co-operate with the emperor and in the next two years, the emperor regained a great deal of lost ground for the second time in his history.

A record of 1647 shows Sriranga as ruler of the region north of Tirupati. We have already stated that Śrīranga had successfully beaten back both Bijapūr and Gōlkoṇḍa separately in the years A.D. 1645—46. These successes enabled him apparently perhaps to gain back much of the territory that he had lost, as we find rather an unusual record of the state of affairs in an inscription which comes from a small temple in Nandiyala in duplicate. This record declares openly and formally that Srīrangarāya was the ruler over the empire: that, in his reign, the people agreed to raise a certain amount of money by levying contributions among themselves and a number of allied communities scattered over the district for the purpose of providing a *Dāsari Saruvayya* with the wherewithal to build a festival car and present it to the God at Tirupati. The document mentions at the same time that this important service was for the spiritual benefit of *Kānkāna Sāhebulavāru* meaning thereby the Hon'ble Khan-i-Khanan Saheb. The Khan-i-Khanan, as we well know, is the title of the commander-in-chief, and, perhaps at this time, ordinarily applied to the principal general of the Muhammadan forces of Bijapur. But this region is actually much beyond the limits of Bijapur and directly in the sphere of Gōlkoṇḍa, where the most prominent figure at the time was as yet Mirjumla. Whatever the actual significance of this document in regard to other matters, it is a private document popularly acknowledging the sovereignty of Śrīranga in that region. Similarly after the fall of Gingee, the viceroys of the south agreed to co-operate with him, at least ceased from operating against him, so that with the countenance and assistance of Mysore even, and his other friend, the chief of Ikkēri, he was able to gain a considerable amount of lost ground.

**Clash of Interests between Bijapur and Golkonda.** The fall of Gingee, and its appropriation by Bijapur stimulated the ambition of Bijapur to make further efforts to appropriate the more substantial portion of the empire of Vijayanagar. The westward way towards Gingee would have taken Bijapur along the borders of Mysore, and Mysore under Kanṭhīrava Narasa showed a great deal of enterprise, Kanṭhīrava even intervening in the south against the viceroy, Tirumal Nāyak of Madura, operating against him in the region round Trichinopoly comparatively early in his reign. Between the attacks of Gōlkoṇḍa and of Bijapur, the territory of Vijayanagar was hemmed in as it were, and, with the discontent of the viceroys, Śrīranga was very hard put to it to

defend it. The taking over of Gingee by Bijapur was not looked upon with indifference by Mirjumla, and naturally causes of dissatisfaction grew between the *quandom* allies. Bijapur therefore took the line of attacking one of the main citadels of the Vijayanagar empire, Penugonda, and, after having mastered possession of it, wanted permission to proceed towards Gingee through Gōlkoṇḍa territory. Mirjumla demurred as it might prove to be drawing Bijapur into his own domain. A war broke out between Bijapur and Mirjumla, and Mirjumla had the worst of it and had to enter into a treaty agreeing to pay a very large indemnity to Bijapur. This was a bad blow to the prestige of Mirjumla, and perhaps exhibited even the hollowness of the alliance between Bijapur and Gōlkoṇḍa even as against Vijayanagar.

**Sriranga takes advantage of Mirjumla's defection to the Mughals.**

About this time a certain coolness had sprung between Abdulla Qutub Shah and his all-powerful minister Mirjumla. Aurangzeb was already there in the Dakhan as his father's viceroy operating against the Mahrattas who were hanging round Bijapur. He wanted to make capital out of the distracted condition of the Hindu empire, and made his own recommendations to his father to let these southern Muhamnadan powers more openly to appropriate the territories of this empire, imposing a very big price upon them for the privilege merely to replenish the coffers of the Mughal empire. Mirjumla was found already intriguing with both Bijapur and Aurangzeb in the following year. Śrīranga tried to take advantage of this and extend his authority. He was so far successful that we find him again in the region of Tirupati, and exercising authority over the regions further north. He was benefited by Mirjumla's defection to the extent of having the countenance of Abdulla Qutub Shah for his operations against the recent conquests of Mirjumla, and when Mirjumla felt driven ultimately to go over to Aurangzeb openly, the Qutub Shah's countenance grew into encouragement for Śrīranga. Then Shah Jahan declared all the conquest of Mirjumla in the Carnatic as his own personal conquests to be held directly under the Mughal empire, and thus released Mirjumla from any allegiance to the Qutub Shah; Śrīranga was perfectly free to take advantage of the opportunity without fear of offending his near neighbour, the Qutub Shah. Śrīranga took full advantage of this opportunity to regain a considerable part of his territory.

**Sriranga again suffers by the Treachery of his own Officers.**

It was now that we find Śrīranga at Tirupati much encouraged by Mirjumla's departure from the scene of his late activities, and his being taken away ultimately to a much greater distance. It was perhaps in these circumstances when Aurangzeb was trying might and main to make as much money as he could for himself for eventualities that perhaps Śrīranga wrote, or was induced to write, to Aurangzeb himself a letter of appeal to Shah Jahan begging his good offices and assistance to regain his patrimony, as against his own discontented viceroys within, and enemies subordinate to the Mughal empire without, in the course of which he even went the length of offering to turn Muslim if the emperor should make that a condition of his support. The application apparently was to gain the goodwill of the empire by enrolling Vijayanagar as a state subordinate to the empire like Bijapur and Gōlkoṇḍa. Being thus released from the perpetual preoccupation of a war against his two northern Mussalman neighbours, he perhaps thought he could manage his affairs better and get his own subordinates under his authority. But the letter was written at a time when matters were moving fast towards the war of succession in the Mughal empire, and perhaps did not even reach the emperor. It therefore proved abortive. Śrīranga took advantage of the changes and rehabilitated his fortunes to a very great extent with the alliance and the countenance of the Quṭub Shah, before the latter had time to formulate a policy of his own and think of appointing a successor to Mirjumla in this region. Soon after Mirjumla had been sent away to Delhi and subsequently Shah Jahan fell ill; all the forces of the revolution were set in motion. Quṭub Shah gradually reasserted his authority in what were the conquests of Mirjumla, and Śrīranga probably was pushed back from his advanced position. We see a Hindu general, Tuppākki Krishṇappa, Mirjumla's general in this region, with whom the Vijayanagar general made common cause and betrayed his master. This general Kōnēri Cheṭṭi going over to Mirjumla's side was a serious blow to the prospect of Śrīranga recovering his empire, and this was further damaged by a successful ambush of the Vijayanagar forces by Tuppākki Krishṇappa and its defeat in October A. D. 1658.

**Golkonda retaining her position in the Carnatic:** By this time the whole outlook had completely changed by the outbreak of the war of succession. Aurangzeb's preoccupations with it as also that of Mirjumla whose hand had been all the while visible even

in the troop movements of the Carnatic removed the Mughal menace. Tuppākki Krishṇappa was operating in behalf of Mirjumla, and his successes against Śrīranga were successes in favour of Mirjumla and against the Nawab of Gōlkoṇḍa. Abdulla Qutub Shah now felt clearly that Mirjumla's return and that of Aurangzeb was not likely for some time yet, and therefore took a more pronounced line of action to recover his territory in the Carnatic ostensibly from Śrīranga, but obviously from the officers of Mirjumla, such as Tuppākki Krishṇappa. He therefore appointed his own officers now, and a Gōlkoṇḍa army under Kuli Beg is reported to be operating in favour of Gōlkoṇḍa and against the forces of Tuppākki Krishṇappa, taking advantage of a rebellion by the governor of Poonamallee earlier in the year. There were thus two Gōlkoṇḍa armies fighting for the possession of the territory which Śrīranga was doing his best to recover for himself. The Company's officials complain of the disturbances in the localities round Madras by the presence of two armies, being put to the necessity of having to go to Porto Novo and Pondicherry for purchasing the cotton goods required by them. From the Dutch records we learn that Kuli Beg had succeeded in inflicting a defeat on Tuppākki Krishṇappa, and even surrounding him and taking him prisoner. Then he was able to subdue all the districts round Madras, and even the Dutch at Pulicat had to come to terms within him. Thus Gōlkoṇḍa was coming back to its own certainly at the expense of Mirjumla, but perhaps not quite to the comfort of Śrīranga. These disturbances and what seemed a triangular fight now seem to have discouraged the English Company's servants at Fort St. George so much as to lead them to consider the possibility of abandoning Madras and seeking another fortified place instead. This complaint is made in a letter dated November 1661. In the month previous or thereabouts, the complaint is made that, Shahji, the general of Bijapur had overrun all the territory round Gingee and Porto Novo that the Company's trade was made impossible about that region. Thus we see renewed activity both in behalf of the Nawab of Gōlkoṇḍa and on the side of Bijapur. Between the one and the other, the position of Śrīranga must have become difficult, and we next hear of him in the Company's records as being in the south, amidst the greater viceroys of the empire. But unfortunately we find him exerting himself this time against Bulol Khan of Bijapur, and the Company's servants express themselves rather hopefully of his succeeding. This new activity on the side of



Bijapur must have been due to the same causes as those urged in favour of Gōlkoṇḍa.

**Golkonda records in the Carnatic.** The Sultan of Bijapur was seriously ill as early as A.D. 1654 and his condition was reported to be precarious when Śrīranga's activities were beginning to meet with success. In A. D. 1656 he died, and Bijapur was saved a serious calamity by Aurangzeb's preoccupations in the north. The internal troubles and disputes being satisfactorily arranged for in the following few years, Bijapur could now take a more active line of action, and that is what we find reflected in the records of the English East India Company and in the activity of Shahji round Gingee, and of the advance of Bulol Khan through the territory in the occupation of Śrīranga with a view to the reconquest of what once belonged to Bijapur. Śrīranga was now apparently gathering his resources with a view to beating back the powerful invader and reasserting his authority. To the Company's servants at Fort St. George, the effort seemed so hopeful that they seem to have expected success and consequently the prevalence of peace round about the place with a view to their carrying on their trade undisturbed. This was some time about the year A.D. 1662. One other point that we notice in these reports is that Śrīranga's success was well received in what was Gōlkoṇḍa territory under Mirjumla, and, with the Gōlkoṇḍa general, the general of Abdulla Quṭub Shah, even kept at some little distance from Madras, so that the Company's servants expected that Śrīranga would meet with little opposition. There is a further reference later on, referable to the year A.D. 1664, where it is stated generally that the Hindus were all uniting against the Muhammadans in a common effort, and their success seemed likely as the Company's servants give expression to their concern that, in case they succeeded, Śrīranga might give vent to his displeasure at the Company's agents having helped the Muhammadans against him. So in the course of the years A.D. 1661 to 1664, though attacked all round, Śrīranga managed to hold his own with considerable success. During this period Gōlkoṇḍa officers had succeeded gradually in dislodging the officers of Mirjumla and taking possession of all the territory under his control, among which happened to be some that were in the possession of Śrīranga as well. About the end of the year A.D. 1668, we find that the Company despatched a Brahman by name Venkaṭapati to the officer in charge of the Gōlkoṇḍa territory. He travelled up to Tirupati where he could see only Ohinnappalli

Mirza, as he is called, a subordinate officer, who advised him to proceed to Gōlkoṇḍa itself to see the chief Neknam Khan there. It should be noted here that Raja Kuli Khan, and then Musa Khan had held this office in succession, and then Neknam Khan had been appointed governor almost in the position of Mirjumla. Venkaṭapati had to negotiate business and get Neknam Khan to confirm ultimately the privileges granted to the Company by the Vijayanagar emperors before, and Mirjumla afterwards. This indicates the definite establishment of Gōlkoṇḍa authority in the region known as the Carnatic extending from the Coast down to the borders of the highlands, and extending from the frontier of Gōlkoṇḍa down to Madras at any rate if it did not go beyond.

**Sriranga's last effort to retain the Empire.** Śrīranga's efforts in the south seem to have been primarily intended against Bijapur and in an effort to bring about the final defeat of Bijapur. Śrīranga wanted to unite all the viceroys together. Mysore seemed to have proved irreconcilable. Śrīranga now wanted to bring his combined resources against Mysore to compel the ruler for the time being, Doḍḍadēvarāja Odayār, to fall in with his policy and carry it out effectively. In this combination we see all the viceroys uniting and co-operating, namely, Chokkanātha Nāyaka of Madura, Vijayarāghava of Tanjore and subsequently even the Mahratta Ekōji, Dāmarla Ayyappa and the Nāyaka of Ikkēri. It was such a formidable combination that Doḍḍadēvarāja felt he was too old to lead his armies against them, and did not have a sufficiently distinguished general to appoint to the chief command. It is said that, in this perplexity, Chikkadēvarāja Odayār who, as prince, was still undergoing education as a young man under his guardians in Tirukkaṇāmbi, volunteered his services to lead the forces of Mysore to success along the passes leading from Mysore into Kongu. After detaching Chokkanātha Nāyaka by diplomacy the Mysore General, defeated the combined armies at Erode, and took possession of the more prominent places in that region, if the account given in the *History of Mysore* from the palace records compiled in Kanarese is at all dependable. Thereafter we fail to hear of Śrīranga, though we meet with occasional records in his name almost to the year A.D. 1681. But there is one event of importance which ought to be mentioned, namely, a Vijayanagar invasion of the territory of Mysore immediately after the accession of Chikkadēvarāja Odayār of Mysore in A.D. 1672. The event mentioned in the *Rāmarājīyamu* has reference to the year 1674. It refers to a Vijayanagar

invasion under a prince by name Kōdanḍarāma, which advanced as far as Hassan, and was attacked and stopped there. The leader of the armies there mentioned as the Vijayanagar prince Kōdanḍarāma, is a great grandson of the great Rāma of Vijayanagar, and perhaps this indicates that Śrīranga was perhaps no more, or had definitely retired altogether from politics, which latter seems unlikely. That is about the last effort of Vijayanagar that we hear of.

**Estimate of Sriranga's Achievements and Jesuit Testimony:** Śrīranga, with all his good intentions and ability, fell on evil days, and had throughout been badly served by those whom he selected to fill offices of responsibility. At the time he became emperor, new forces were let loose against the empire in the Muhammadan kingdoms of the north who were prevented from attacking the empire only by preoccupations with the Mughals. The proper policy for the empire was to make a united stand as hitherto against the incursions from the north. Śrīranga apparently understood the needs of the times and appreciated united action and made his best efforts thereto. He could not infuse sufficient patriotism or loyalty among his great viceroys, the one most guilty among them being the great viceroy Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura. Tirumala Nāyaka, notwithstanding great qualities and achievements as ruler of his viceroyalty, showed a short-sightedness and a callous indifference to the interests of the empire, apart from his own, which takes away very substantially from his claims to greatness as an Indian ruler. It is Tirumala's defection and that of others who followed him and occasionally imitated his example, which proved the bane of the empire ultimately. According to the testimony of a contemporary, Father Proenza writing in 1659.—“The old Narasinga (*Pedda Venkaṭa*) dissembled, to avoid the embarrassments of a war”. He makes the statement in regard to the attitude of Tirumala Nāyaka, and Vēnkaṭa allowing him his way without nipping the rebellion in the bud. The letter continues:—“But, after his death, the new king, far superior to his father in talents and courage, hastened to vindicate his rights; without losing time in futile negotiations, he collected a formidable army and declared war. The Nāyak of Madura enlisted in his defection those of Tanjore and Gingee, by concluding with them a league against their common sovereign. The latter, informed of everything through the Nāyak of Tanjore, who had the meanness to betray his allies, marched at the head of his army and advanced on the territory of Gingee. Swayed

only by fury and desire for vengeance, Tirumala Nāyaka secretly addressed the *subah* of Gōlkōṇḍa, and requested it to invade the kingdom of Vellore. The Muhammadan did not require more; at once he entered this opulent kingdom and delivered it to devastation. Narasinga, obliged to suspend his march, turned round and attacked his enemy, who was repulsed with loss". This extract shows clearly how, at the very outset of his reign, the forces against him gathered, and what unequal struggle it meant for Śrīranga. We have already described in detail the various phases of his struggle which ultimately proved too much for him to overcome. It would be difficult for the historian to assess which of the two principal factors had the greater effect in the ultimate results, whether the disloyalty of some and the lukewarmness of others of his feudatories, or whether it was the aggressions of his neighbours both of Bijapur and Gōlkōṇḍa. From the details we have given above, it would be clear that if all his feudatories had but co-operated with him loyally, it would not have been impossible for him to have kept the Muhammadans out of the frontiers of the empire and passed the empire on to his successors with the possibility of a further tenure of existence. This need not be regarded as mere speculation. The united forces of the empire may have proved, as on several occasions these did actually prove, to be equal to the necessities of the position. Primarily therefore the viceroys have to bear the blame. Śrīranga could not be charged with want of vision or failure to formulate a policy well adapted to the requirements of the difficult times in which his lot was cast. For the failure of his schemes again, the responsibility cannot be regarded as entirely his own except perhaps to the extent of his not knowing his men and trusting important responsibilities to people who showed themselves so little dependable. In regard to the part that the foreign Companies played in this denouement, their influence is quite inconsiderable, as they took no active part except to lend some assistance now and again to the one side or the other. They took up the position of waiting upon events and recognising whomsoever had the better of it. They had therefore to change sides several times, and their influence was therefore comparatively little. Another influence, though a distant one, is the policy of Shah Jahan, who recognised Mirjumla's claims as against the Qūṭub Shah, and made the activities of Mirjumla who was already powerfull still more so in contributing to the destruction of the empire. The removal of these destructive influences after A.D. 1656 was clear in the

rapidity with which Śrīranga was able to regain his position as well as the Qūṭub Shah himself. When ultimately Śrīranga was pushed back from the Carnatic proper, the territory round about Chandragiri and Tirupati, it was the successes of the Sultan of Gōlkoṇḍa and his forces that were mainly responsible for it. These successes were in a large measure due to the uncertain attitude of the southern viceroys. Thus we come round to the same position again that the viceroys of the empire proved false, and that was the main cause of its fall. Śrīranga's efforts were noble and patriotic, and certainly deserved well of his feudatories.

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## CHAPTER XIX.

### THE CARNATIC UNDER GOLKONDA

**Transfer of the Carnatic to Golkonda authority.** During the period covered by the reign of Śrīranga, and during the latter part of the reign of Venkaṭa, we have no inscriptional records from Tirupati referable to the reigns of either of these monarchs. There are a number of inscriptions datable in the reign of Venkaṭa, and there is one record of date A.D. 1638 referring itself to the reign of Śrīranga, notwithstanding the fact that the actual ruler for the time being was Venkaṭa not Śrīranga. The next precisely dated inscription in the volumes of inscriptions published by the Dēvastānam takes us at a jump as it were to A.D. 1684, to an inscription by a Maliratta officer. There are a number of other records besides, partly mutilated, perhaps referring to the period, some few of them even mentioning the ruler for the time being, but they are so far gone that we cannot make out either the name of the ruler, or even a precise date. This absence of inscriptional records during the period can be explained by the fact that there was no certainty as to the actual ruler of the locality during the period, as it seems to have been changing hands rather frequently. The date A.D. 1638, the date of the one record referring to Śrīranga is a date just two years after Shah Jahan's treaty, and Gōlkonḍa's aggressive activities must then have had time to have developed sufficiently and to have reached the region of Tirupati. We have pointed out the various occasions in which Tirupati passed from the hands of the Hindu rulers into those of the Muharradans, and when Śrīranga actually recovered possession of Chandragiri and Tirupati. In this uncertainty it would not be strange if the transactions in the temple ceased to be as regular as usual. It would also have been impossible for pilgrims to visit the place regularly as before and make their donations; the more so for well-to-do pilgrims because of the uncertainties of travelling in safety. It is therefore nothing strange that inscriptional information ceases. We are enabled however to gather together the facts of the history of the period relating to this locality in some form because the officials of the European Companies had to write to their masters informing them of the changes taking place in the locality. The region round Tirupati, in fact the territory comprised within what are now called the

Ceded Districts and what became afterwards the province of Arcot, that is the territory extending more or less from the Krishna down almost to the Kāvēri, between the Ghats and the sea, became the bone of contention between Gōlkoṇḍa and Vijayanagar. Gradually the bulk of it was passing, not all at once, but in parts into the hands of Gōlkoṇḍa, so that by the time that we cease to hear of Śrīranga's activities in this locality, we find a Gōlkoṇḍa governor securely appointed and in charge of the place. Taking a date like A.D. 1672, we find Neknam Khan is the Gōlkoṇḍa governor of the locality who could renew the charter of Fort St. George as indicating that Fort St. George had definitely passed under the authority of the Nawab of Gōlkoṇḍa from that of the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar. That date corresponds also to the change of ruler in Gōlkoṇḍa. Abdulla Quṭub Shah died in that year or earlier, and was succeeded by a son-in-law, Abul Hasan Quṭub Shah, Tana Shah as he was otherwise called, the last Gōlkoṇḍa Nawab. With his accession affairs on this side assumed more or less a settled form and Gōlkoṇḍa authority actually prevails in the locality. An event of great importance that follows soon after was the invasion by Śhivāji of the Bijapur Carnatic and the part that Gōlkoṇḍa plays in that is but a very subordinate one. Śhivāji came to an understanding with the Quṭub Shah, and sought and obtained his permission to pass through the Quṭub Shahi territory to march upon Gingee, and conquer Gingee and other places dependent upon Bijapur. So he was not called upon to do any fighting in the territory under Gōlkoṇḍa. That was in A. D. 1677. Śhivāji travelled across the whole country round to Vellore, and marched further on to Gingee and Tanjore; and, after futile negotiations to bring his brother Ekōji of Tanjore to place himself in subordination to Śhivāji his elder brother, returned. In the course of this march of Śhivāji down to the south, Śhivāji's armies marched through both Kālahasti and Tirupati, as it is stated. This would mean that the Mahratta army marched by the two roads, and perhaps joined again past this particular region upon Conjivaram or before that. That is all the mention that we get of Tirupati as the extract following shows:—

#### Fort St. George Consultation.

'Sevagee (or be it his sonn)' being entertained in the king of Gōlkoṇḍas service, and now upon his march to fall upon Chengy<sup>1</sup>

1. Sambhaji, who succeeded his father Śhivāji in 1689.

2. Chengy, Gingee.

with an army of 20,000 Horsemen and 40,000 foot, the van where of (being about 5,000 Horse) allready past Trippaty and Calastry, 9 and 8 leagues Gentu from hence, and this night expected at Cangiawaran, about 4 leagues Gentu hence'. a distance which it is very usuall for his horse to march in a night time: And the sad experiences of all countries and places where he has used to frequent obliging us to take care for the security of the Hon'ble Companys Fort and Estate in our charge. It is resolved to list what Christian souldiers we can gett as far as fifty, and what peons as far as 100; the former, with our auxiliariys, to strengthen our outguards; the latter chiefly to send up and down to the severall quarters of his army to observe his motion, and to attend our Bramany<sup>2</sup> for the better obtaining of intelligences and prevention of surprisalls.

As likewise to make two large Tents for shelter of our outguards when upon duty abroad at the passages and foords of the river, having found the want of them in our late troubles, and this to be done with all possible expedition'. (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.* Vol. I, 9th May, 1677).

The East India Company however continued to have their business transactions with the Gōlkoṇḍa rulers, and Tirupati figures in the course of these. There is a reference dated in A.D. 1680 in which the Brahman agent of the Company Virarāghava Ayya is said to have returned from Madanna at Gōlkoṇḍa to Akkanna then in camp at Tirupati to present him the peishcush, and negotiate with him in regard to the position of the English at Fort St. George. In another record of the same year just a few days after, there is a note of a peon coming from Kālahasti reporting that Akkanna had returned to Gōlkoṇḍa from Kālahasti after having had a stay of seven days at Tirupati. That would show that Tirupati still remained a place of importance not only as a place of pilgrimage but as a centre of administration. Early in the following year there is again a reference to Akkanna at Tirupati to whom the English as well as the Pulicat merchants failed to send complimentary presents. In consequence the new Tarafdar holding charge of Poonamallee, Linganna, a nephew both of Madanna and Akkanna, ordered an embargo upon goods being taken into Fort St. George, and a dispute followed with

1. Tirupati, Kālahasti, and Conjivaram being 75. 66, and 40 miles from Madras a Gentu league must have measured between 8 and 10 miles.

2. Our Bramany, the native political agent.



reprisals, etc., by Streynsham Master, the head of the Company at Madras. This shows that Tirupati had definitely passed under the Government of the Sultans of Gōlkoṇḍa and remained in their possession even as an administrative centre of some importance.

**Administrative position of Tirupati uncertain.** We have already noted several occasions in which this region had been taken possession of by Mirjumla and his forces. But whether on any of these occasions any change of an administrative character was introduced in regard to Tirupati itself and the locality round it we have no information. If it had become a regular administrative centre, the change of government cannot have been altogether without any change in regard to the town of Tirupati itself, the revenues of the temple, and such property as the temple may have possessed. But in an utter absence of any statement, direct or indirect, we are hardly in a position to say what exactly took place. If we can draw an inference in the absence of records of inscriptions in the temple during the period, there must have been a certain amount of suspense of perhaps pilgrim activity and other such activities in the town. There are a certain number of other references in the East India Company's correspondence of a later period, in the thirties of the eighteenth century. They all refer to the existence of what are called town brokers and a person by name Guru Chetty, who plied their trade and paid annually eight hundred pagodas to the Company either in one payment, or in two half-yearly payments sometimes. Again what these agents were, what exactly was the character of the business that they conducted we do not know for certain. A few years later we are in the full flood of the invasions of the Carnatic by the Mahrattas and the Nizam, and Tirupati figures pretty frequently in the transactions. That really belongs to another chapter of the history of this locality.

**Historical retrospect down to the Foundation of Arcot.** Before taking up an account of the Carnatic invasions by the Mahrattas etc., it would be well to make a slight retrospect of the changes that came over the Carnatic since the Mughal conquest of the Dakhan in the last years of the 17th century. We noted already that the region dominated by Tirupati was gradually conquered and brought under the rule of Gōlkoṇḍa, and the whole process occupied the period from the treaty of Shah Jahan in A.D. 1636 right down to Mirjumla's transfer to the Mughal court in A.D.

1656, and therefrom again to A.D. 1672 when it may be said finally that the Nawab of Gōlkoṇḍa took peaceful possession of it. It was regarded as peculiarly the possession of Mirjumla under Gōlkoṇḍa first, and under the Mughal empire after A.D. 1656 when he transferred his allegiance to the Mughals. It was then that Gōlkoṇḍa played an active part and took the territory from the officers of Mirjumla, who still struggled to maintain their position there, although a great deal weakened by the recovery of Śrīranga. First Kuli Beg, otherwise Rāja Kuli, then Musa Khan and then Neknam Khan successively were appointed to the charge of this locality, and, under the last, the English got their charter renewed as they felt the Gōlkoṇḍa conquest of the locality was final. It remained under the authority of Gōlkoṇḍa till Gōlkoṇḍa itself was conquered by Aurangzeb, Śhivāji's invasion through the territory having been more or less an incident of the Gōlkoṇḍa regime. Soon after, the territory passed to the possession of Akkanna when the two Brahman brothers, Madanna and Akkanna became the principal responsible officers for the government of the territories of Gōlkoṇḍa. All these officers governed the territory through subordinate officers who had their headquarters within the region, and conducted the government from there; and Tirupati figures as the headquarters of this subordinate government, where Chinnappalli Mirza, the local governor had to be seen by the English agent, who was thence directed to Gōlkoṇḍa itself to see the Nawab, Neknam Khan. When Akkanna had actually become the successor to Neknam Khan in this locality, he probably had a subordinate government there; but the principal subordinate, a nephew of his own by name Podili Linganna, figures as the Tarafdār of Poona-mallee, while Tirupati seems to have retained its importance as a centre of Government. Akkanna himself is said to have paid a visit to Tirupati, where he stayed for a week on official business before he returned to headquarters in A.D. 1681. Thereafter Akkanna's activities had to be transferred towards the Bijapur side. Nevertheless Linganna was carrying on the administration in behalf of Akkanna. Linganna's territory must have taken in Tirupati as well as he claims to have effected the conquest of Śīra from Bijapur, perhaps against the possibility of Mysore taking it, in behalf of Gōlkoṇḍa. The years following were years of active efforts in Gōlkoṇḍa and Bijapur to resist the advance of the Mughals, as in that year Aurangzeb transferred himself to the Dakhan from Rajaputana to bring the never-ending struggle

against the Mahrattas, Bijapur and Gōlkoṇḍa to a conclusion. He attacked Bijapur first, and after a prolonged siege put an end to that kingdom. While prosecuting the siege of Bijapur, he also carried on a war against the Mahrattas whose power was to a considerable extent broken by Sambaji being taken prisoner by the Mughals, and put to death afterwards by order of the emperor. Then the whole resources of the empire were turned upon Gōlkoṇḍa, and Gōlkoṇḍa in its turn fell. With the fall of Gōlkoṇḍa naturally the Golkonda Carnatic passed into the possession of the Mughal empire. Having conquered the two southern kingdoms and crippled the Mahrattas at least temporarily to the extent of making them powerless for inflicting much injury upon the Mughal territory, Aurangzeb is said to have sent forward ambassadors to the south demanding the allegiance of the Indian states. Mysore is said to have saved itself by sending a timely embassy, while the distant viceroy of Madura defied the authority demanding submission. Aurangzeb felt that he should send forward Zulfikar Khan to take possession of Gingee first of all, and there-from operate to bring the other viceroys to subordination. The activities of Zulfikar Khan before the walls of Gingee occupied more than ten years, in fact it is counted twelve, when ultimately Gingee fell in the last days of December 1698, Zulfikar Khan not having prosecuted the siege seriously to its completion, till, on receipt of a complaint from a subordinate Hindu chieftain, Aurangzeb sent in a peremptory order. Gingee fell and with it the Mahratta resistance from that side. Rājarām was allowed to retire with all his troops and belongings into the Mahratta country to begin what was called the people's war of the Mahrattas which proved far more detrimental to the Mughal empire than the previous activities of the Mahrattas. With the fall of Gingee a southern province of the Mughals was established, but not being sufficiently distinct and having been more or less regarded as a fief of Zulfikar Khan, no capital is mentioned specifically as that of the Mughal Carnatic. But Zulfikar Khan's services were wanted elsewhere. He had to leave behind his lieutenant Daud Khan in charge. Daud Khan resided for some time in Gingee, and then in Arcot, and then for a short time in Madras. The camp that he made for himself on the other side of the Pālar river on the highroad to Vellore became Arcot of later history, and was actually made the recognised capital of the Carnatic, when his own civil officer, Sayyad Muzafar became Nawab in his turn as Sedat-ulla-Khan of Arcot in A.D. 1710. We

might date the foundation of the province of Arcot with this officer, a man of administrative capacity, having had this training under Aurangzeb and of good feeling towards his subjects, irrespective of caste or community. He belonged to the famous community of Newait, to which community belonged Hyder Ali, and in which we could mention many of the Muhammadan officers distinguished for sympathetic administration. With Arcot for the capital, Vellore would naturally become the citadel of the province. Chandragiri and Tirupati would normally figure also as important centres and headquarters of divisions under the bigger province. This province of Arcot as it may hereafter be called, the territory that really was the Gōlkoṇḍa Carnatic, enjoyed a measure of prosperity and good administration under Sadat-ulla-Khan, and his successor Dost Ali for a period of more than thirty years.

**The Early years of the Province of Arcot peaceful.** In the meanwhile, great changes were taking place in the Mughal empire, and as a consequence of the revolutions at Court, the province of the Dakhan, the richest under the empire, was also changing hands rapidly. At last an officer of great promise under Aurangzeb, had forged his way to prominence; and on the death of the Sayyad brothers in bringing about which he had to play the principal part, this officer, Chingli Khan, obtained possession of the viceroyalty of the Dakhan with the title Asaf Jah. He took charge of the province in A.D. 1724 and settled himself down in the Dakhan once for all in the following year, and that was the foundation of the Nizamship of Hyderabad. With the foundation of the Dakhan Subha, the relation between the Dakhan and the Carnatic or the Nawabship of Arcot as we might now call it, changes. We have already pointed out that after the fall of Gōlkoṇḍa, the whole of the Carnatic passed into the hands of Zulfikar Khan, who appointed the Afghan Daud Khan as his deputy. Daud Khan in his turn handed over charge to Sadat-ulla-Khan when he was called away to take charge of Mālva in the north. Sadat-ull-Khan ruled as Nawab from thence onward till 1732 when he was succeeded by his nephew Dost Ali as the Nawab of the Carnatic. It is his death in 1740 that throws the Carnatic into a vortex of wars. During the period, however, the Nizam was occupied with the growing power of the Mahrattas under the Peshwas on the one side, and the important changes that were developing also in the Mughal empire in the north. The confusions in the Mughal empire had come to a close by the

time that the Nizam definitely settled down in the Dakhan paying but slight attention to affairs in the empire. The Subah of the Dakhan consisted of six provinces, and was, from the point of revenue, a very large fertile province bringing in as much as 12 lacs of pagodas as against 1,60,000 or 1,70,000 of the twelve other provinces of Hindustan constituting the Mughal empire. There was the Carnatic besides the six provinces, perhaps the richest of the Dakhan possessions. His predecessor in the Subah, Hussain Ali in the reign of Farruksiyar had agreed to a treaty with the Mahrattas in order that they may cease harassing his viceroyalty. He obtained the imperial sanction recognising Sahu as independent sovereign of the Mahrattas, and assigning to the Mahrattas the right of collecting *chauth* (fourth) and *surdekmukhi* (tenth) in the six provinces of the Dakhan and of the tributary states not only of the Gölkonða Carnatic, but also Tanjore, Mysore and Trichinopoly. This arrangement of Hussain Ali with the Mahrattas followed close upon the first period of Asaf Jah's efforts as Nizam-ul-Mulk, Subahdar of the Dakhan. When again he came into the position permanently, he had naturally to recognise this arrangement, and had also wisely compounded with the Mahrattas that their armies should not be sent into the actual territory of the Nizam for collecting *chauth* on condition that he made an annual payment as equivalent therefor. That saved him much annoyance within his own territory; but the same relief had not been stipulated for for the other provinces dependent upon Dakhan, but outside the limits of the Nizam's territory proper. Sahu's rule was disturbed at the commencement and had been brought into some kind of an order gradually till at last soon after this treaty, the Peshwaship got to be established, and the Peshwas conducted the administration in the name of Sahu. This change in the administration increased the activity of the Mahrattas a great deal, and, by the time that the Nizam established himself permanently in his Subah, Baji Rao was the Peshwa. While Baji Rao respected the treaty so far as the actual territory of the Nizam was concerned, he showed himself extremely active in the outlying provinces of the Dakhan Subha itself, and in the provinces of the Mughal empire next adjacent. This activity on his side called for the attention of the Nizam who had to keep a constant watch.

**Invasions of the Carnatic by the Mahrattas and the Nizam.**  
All this while the Carnatic was well-governed and quietly administered by Sadat-ulla-Khan, and his nephew successor Dost Ali

whose administration was generally beneficial and therefore popular. The death of the first in 1732 and the accession of his nephew in his stead without any reference to the Nizam gave the Nizam offence. With his preoccupation with the Mahrattas and the troubles in the Mughal empire itself, the Nizam did not wish to embroil himself with a wār nearer home. So he encouraged the Mahrattas invading the territory of Dost Ali and demanding the usual inevitable *chutah*. Dost Ali, though ordinarily peacefully inclined found the decadent viceroyalty of Madura with headquarters at Trichinopoly, too attractive to be left alone. A war was undertaken against Trichinopoly, and the conduct of it was entrusted to his son-in-law, Chanda Saheb, who first occupied Trichinopoly by a perfidious act which ultimately drove the last Nāyak queen to commit suicide, and took possession of Trichinopoly. This event is generally dated 1739, and the invasion of the Mahrattas followed close on this in the following year. The Mahrattas under Raghoji Bhonsle advanced into the Carnatic at the head of a force of 10,000, on the ostensible plea that the *chauth* and *sardēshmukhi*, the authority for collecting which they obtained, had remained in arrears for years, and they wanted to collect the arrears. The Nizam found in this a convenient excuse to set them upon Dost Ali. It is also believed that Chanda Saheb's occupation of Trichinopoly brought about this invasion, as the son of Dost Ali and his minister did not like that Chanda Saheb, son-in-law of Dost Ali, should establish himself in power at Trichinopoly, and therefore invited the Mahrattas. In whatever way it happened, it actually came about that the Mahrattas invaded the Carnatic, and, before Dost Ali had intimation of it they were already at the head of the pass leading into Chittoor. Dost Ali made the best of a bad bargain, and took his stand at the pass of Dāmalcheruvu through which the Mahrattas had to descend by the Kallūr Pass to get into the plains. Notwithstanding the strong defences, Dost Ali suffered a defeat both himself and a son of his by name Hussain Ali failing in the battle in 1740. Sufdar Ali had come up in obedience to the commands of the father; but the battle was by then over, and he had therefore to take up a defensive position and negotiate the terms of a treaty with the Mahrattas through his father's Minister Mir Asad, a prisoner with the Mahrattas. After plundering the country to their heart's content the Mahrattas under Raghoji Bhonsle agreed to withdraw on the payment of a crore of rupees, which Safdar Ali agreed to pay. Safdar Ali now

became Nawab, and, for greater safety, shifted his capital to Vellore, where his cousin Murtaz Ali or Murtiza Ali was at the time holding the Governorship in succession to his father. He had accumulated much wealth and had married a sister of Safdar Ali. Safdar Ali thought he could exploit his wealth for paying the indemnity to the Mahrattas; but Murtiza Ali was not the man to part with his wealth easily. Provoked by the evasions of his cousin Safdar Ali immediately threatened drastic action. Smarting from the public disgrace, Murtiza Ali brought about the assassination of Safdar Ali. Murtiza in his turn placed himself on the throne, and his anxiety to keep his money made the mutinous army rebel against him as he did not pay the arrears due to them. Murtiza Ali managed to escape, and the army placed upon the throne Muhammad Ali, the infant son of Safdar Ali in charge of his mother at Madras. An uncle of the baby, Tukya Saheb by name, Governor of Wandiwash, was entrusted with the Government. The Nizam had information of these changes and found it a good opportunity to interfere, having been unable to do so all the time that Dost Ali was alive. He invaded the Carnatic at the head of a very large army. The government at Arcot submitted and the Nizam confirmed the infant Muhammad Ali as the Nawab appointing Anwar-ud-Din, a much trusted official of his as guardian to the young prince. Anwar-ud-Din removed the prince to Arcot and was carrying on the administration from there, when the occasion of a marriage in June 1744 was taken advantage of to assassinate the young prince. A Pathan soldier who killed him was immediately killed in his turn, and no one knows as yet definitely who was really responsible for the assassination, the blame being thrown upon both Anwar-ud-Din and Murtiza Ali. Anwar-ud-Din satisfied the Nizam as to his innocence and was rewarded with the Nawabship of the Carnatic in 1744, Safdar Jung having been assassinated just two years before.

Just about this time, the English East India Company and the French Company which had been founded afterwards had both of them attained to a settled position and a flourishing trade, and for the first time, these Companies went to war against each other in consequence of a war between France and England in Europe. The initiative was taken by the French Government. The English had the worst of it to begin with. As they were unprepared, Madras was taken in 1746, and was restored in return for a heavy payment. It was unusual hitherto that these

Companies fought against each other on the territory of the Nawabs of Arcot, though they sometimes did fight on the sea. Naturally therefore Anwar-ud-Din, the Nawab objected to the French having attacked Madras and sent a force against the French. A small detachment of French soldiers defeated his army of 10,000, and thus gave the first indication to the European Companies themselves that they could fight against Indian powers with advantage. Now the French Governor Dupleix negotiated with Anwar-ud-Din and induced him to change sides and get into a French alliance as being the more advantageous, and this was the beginning of European interference in the affairs of the country powers. Soon after peace was concluded in Europe by the Peace of Aix-la-Chappelle in 1748, the war in India must have come to a close. It did not.

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## CHAPTER XX.

### CARNATIC WARS.

**Muhammad Ali Nawab of the Carnatic.** The year of the treaty of 1748 is of importance in South Indian History as in that year the great Nizam died in Hyderabad and there was a disputed succession. The Mahratta Raja Sahu also died at Satara; but the Peshwa's regime continued without change and hardly affected the history of the Carnatic with which we are concerned. What is really more important notwithstanding the treaty between France and England is, Dupleix conceived the idea as a result of the defeat that he was able to inflict upon Anwar-ud-Din's forces, that the French might play their part in the changed history of the Carnatic, and thus establish something like a French empire in India ultimately. Another important circumstance also tended to encourage Dupleix in this notion of his. Chanda Saheb, the son-in-law of Dost Ali had taken possession of Trichinopoly from the last Nāyak queen which brought down an invasion of the Mahrattas almost at the invitation of Safdar Ali, the Nawab, and Chanda Saheb's brother-in-law. The Nizam also encouraged their coming in as it were. The invasion resulted in the capture of Trichinopoly, Chanda Saheb being taken prisoner. But since Chanda Saheb's family remained in Pondicherry for safety, Dupleix worked through them with Chanda Saheb to come to an understanding. The death of the Nizam-ul-Mulk led to a war of succession, Nazir Jung being the nearest on the spot and already enjoying some authority during his father's administration, seized the throne. But a grandson by name Muzafar Jung seems to have been the nominee of the Nizam, and had much other support besides, among which that of Chanda Saheb. So Chanda Saheb threw in his lot with him and wanted to bring about Muzafar's accession in the Dakhan and his own in the Carnatic. There was therefore a combined invasion which debouched into the plains of the Carnatic by way of Āmbūr. Anwar-ud-Din had timely intimation of it and prepared himself to resist by placing himself at the head of the Āmbūr valley. A battle was fought in July 1749, and notwithstanding the large army well placed in a good situation, Anwar-ud-Din was defeated by the allies, chiefly through the assistance of the French and fell

in the battle. Muzafar Jung and Chanda Saheb marched upon Arcot after the victory, and Muzafar Jung was declared Subahdar of the Dakhan, and he invested in his turn Chanda Saheb with the title of the Nawab of the Carnatic. In the meanwhile, Nazir Jung collected as large an army as he could and marched rapidly down, coming upon the allies near Pondicherry at the village of Vaḷudāvūr. In the battle following the allies were defeated and Muzafar Jung was taken prisoner, thus dealing the first blow to the machinations of Dupleix. Nazir Jung however committed the mistake of retiring to Arcot and neglecting further action necessary. Chanda Saheb who was more active, besieged Muhammad Ali, son of Anwar-ud-Din, in Trichinopoly, and the French operating against Gingee took the strong fortress. Instead of proceeding to take the field, Nazir Jung opened negotiations with Dupleix who demanded the release of Muzafar Jung and the acknowledgment of Chanda Saheb as the Nawab of the Carnatic. In the course of these negotiations, while Nazir Jung himself was pusillanimously on the point of yielding, he was assassinated by some of the Pathan chiefs in his own army with whom Dupleix successfully intrigued against him. In the very thick of the battle, while the fortunes of it were wavering, Nazir Jung had been shot dead by the Nawab of Cuddapah, one of the conspirators, resulting in Muzafar Jung being proclaimed Nizam and Chanda Saheb Nawab of the Carnatic again. On the return journey to Hyderabad, however, another of the conspirators, the Nawab of Kurnool, assassinated Muzafar Jung, and through the exertions of Bussy, the French General, Salabat Jung, the third son of the late Nizam was acknowledged as ruler. Chanda Saheb was pressing the siege of Trichinopoly, and the famous diversion by the attack of Arcot by an English force under Clive, was undertaken. Arcot was surprised by the English troops, and was in its turn besieged, and the siege ended in failure. A battle however had to be fought against the son of Chanda Saheb who was laying waste the country between Arcot and Conjivaram, and this son Rāja Saheb was defeated in the battle of Kāvērippākkam some way north of Conjivaram. Clive thence marched through Āmbūr to Trichinopoly, and Trichinopoly ultimately surrendered, Chanda Saheb being later on murdered, as it was believed, at the instigation of Muhammad Ali. Muhammad Ali thus became Nawab of the Carnatic.

**Anarchical condition of the Carnatic.** The strong fortress of Wandiwash under the government of Tukya Saheb was not

attacked, and it finally surrendered. Finding that Rāja Saheb had not the money to defray the expenses of the army, Dupleix now changed over, and wanted to negotiate with the rich Murtiza Ali to make him governor. Murtiza Ali saw through the game and escaped from Pondicherry back to Vellore. The defeat of Kāvērippākkam and the dispersal of Rāja Saheb's army set up numbers of free bands of military men under commanders of ability who took it upon themselves to harass the country. One of these by name Muhammad Kamal at the head of a compact body of troops wandered about and mastered possession of the territory round Nellore and pillaged the country round about to his heart's content. In 1753 he marched upon Tirupati. Tirupati had already been given over to the British by Muhammad Ali for their assistance in the recent wars, and was yielding a large revenue. Muhammad Kamal's attack was opposed by the despatch of English troops from Madras. But the small force sent was defeated by him, and with further reinforcements, the English got the better of their enemy by the accident of Kamal's elephant being killed, and his own troops abandoning him at the nick of time owing to fright. He was captured and executed immediately. It is about this time that the European governments in England and France got tired of these costly wars between the Companies, and the French government in particular recalled Dupleix and sent in another officer Mons, Godeheu, who arrived in Pondicherry in 1754. As a result of this Muhammad Ali was recognised as Nawab of the Carnatic and it was further agreed that neither the English nor the French should interfere in the affairs of Indian states for the future. Neither of the Companies however was inclined to respect the treaty. The English went on helping Muhammad Ali to reduce his territory to subjection, and the French were equally active on their side attacking various points in the territory of Arcot against Muhammad Ali. The region round Tirupati came into the possession of three zamindars generally called Western Poligars in history. These were Venkatagiri in the north, Kālahasti in the middle and Kārvēṭi-nagar, sometimes called Bommarāzupālayam, in the south covering practically the whole of the open frontier on the eastern side. The English assisted Muhammad Ali with troops to bring these Poligars under control. These were put under tribute. The next attack fell on Vellore. Murtiza Ali besought the good offices of the French at Pondicherry who objected to the English operating against Vellore as a breach of the peace, and a French

force was sent to enforce this protest. Muhammad Ali was not willing to try his strength against the French, and Vellore was abandoned on payment of 20,000 rupees by Murtiza Ali.

**Tirupati under the Nawab of Arcot in Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary.** Since the death of Dost Ali, there has been confusion in the territory of the Carnatic and the region round Tirupati shared in this confusion. We have reference to Tirupati in the course of the Nizam's invasion to which we made reference in 1743. The diarist Ananda Ranga Pillai notes that the officers of the Mahratta contingent, Rāja Chandra Sen and Rāja Nimbali Siyudosi visited Tirupati at the head of their 20,000 troops for worship. This would mean that Tirupati continued under some kind of administration, and worship was being conducted peacefully. The next reference is to the year 1746 and the diarist, Ananda Ranga Pillai, notes the receipt of presents from the zamindar of Kārvēṭinagar who is called Rāja Narasinga of Bommarāzupālaiyam and among the presents was *prasādam* from Tirupati. He also notes he was requested to pay a visit to Tirupati. There is also another note later in the year in October of a certain Ārumuga Paṇḍāram, a physician sent over to treat this Rāja, returning after visiting Tirupati and Kālahasti. About the same time he also notes that a sowcar (banker) of Pondicherry paid a visit to Tirupati. There is an interesting reference to the year 1747 when an English Dubash by name Mutiyāl Nāyak visited Nasir Jung and was returning from Hyderabad by way of Tirupati. It must be noted there that, as we have already noted in the case of the English agent going to Neknam Khan visiting Tirupati first, those that had to go to Hyderabad from the south passed through Tirupati as though it were on the highways to Hyderabad. The diarist here notes that an attempt was made to waylay this English agent and take possession of all that he carried by way of presents, etc., from the Nizam. There is another note in April 1748 referring to an ascetic coming from Tirupati carrying 300 pagodas with him for celebrating the *Vaikāsi* festival at Tiruvēndipuram near Cuddalore. The next following reference is a very interesting one, and is dated 3rd October 174<sup>9</sup>. The note says that one Śrīnivāsāchār who was Amaldar of Tirupati did not pay the stipulated rent and fell in arrears. He fled from the place, and another person by name Vāsudēvāchār was appointed on condition that he paid a lac of pagodas for the outstanding dues up to the end of the year 1749, and was given a further tenure of office for three years at 47,000

pagodas a year. This was apparently an arrangement made originally by the Nawabs of Arcot. In a later entry the diarist mentions the death of a certain Dūmalli Krishṇāji Pandit. He is described as the Dewan of Nawab Sadat ul-la Khan, and is said to have died on the 22nd November 1749. He is further described as a Gōlkoṇḍa *vyāpāri*, a sect of Telugu Brahmans generally officials, who enjoyed the confidence of the Nizam, apparently the first of the name, Nazir Jung and Muzafar Jung alike. He is said to have attended the *Brahmōtsavam* at Tirupati soon after Anwar-ud-Din Khan's death, and it was on that occasion that he leased out the Amaldāri to Śrīnivāsāchār. He is said to have joined camp at Udaiyārpālayam and died there. He is said to have demanded, from Arcot, crude camphor, musk and Malacca sandal wood for the use of the temple at Tirupati which the diarist states he had forwarded. It becomes clear from this that the Nawabs of Arcot had farmed out Tirupati to particular officials for yearly payments. The entries in the diary make it clear that, after the death of Anwar-ud-Din, a fresh lease was given to Śrīnivāsāchār, who failed and had to give up his position; and another Vāsudēvāchār was appointed in his stead as Amaldar. In this appointment, the specific annual revenue to be paid by the Amaldar is stated to be 47,000 pagodas a year, and one lac in payment of arrears to the end of the year 1749, and he was given the tenure of office for three years following 1749. This makes it clear that it was the usual practice to farm out this revenue for a stipulated annual payment, and that was being done by those who got possession of the locality as a result of the battle of Āmbūr. The person actually referred to, Dūmalli Krishṇāji Pandit, seems to have been an official of the Arcot Nawabship who enjoyed the confidence also of the Nizam. Therefore this arrangement must be in behalf of the victors. Here the editor of the Diary, Mr. Dodwell adds<sup>1</sup> that "the Tirupati revenues consisted of the dues collected from the pilgrims at the three annual pilgrimages, and amounted to 45,000 pagodas plus Rs. 52,000. I suppose the runaway Amaldar to be the same as the man who managed the Tirupati revenues for the English later on." Mr. Dodwell does not quote the authority for this, but we might take it that he found it in some kind of English record, Country Correspondence or something like that, as he notes in respect of other details in that volume. But the two items he entered 45,000 pagodas and 52,000 rupees cannot be altogether the same kind of a revenue. Of course

Rs. 45,000 pagodas is obviously not an error. It would seem as though the 45,000 pagodas were the revenues of the temple from its landed properties, etc., and Rs. 52,000 the amount from the contributions made by the pilgrims. But we cannot be sure till we know Mr. Dodwell's authority for the statement. If it should however turn out to be well authenticated, it would mean that the first Nawabs of Arcot settled the revenue of Tirupati by farming it out to persons specifically appointed, perhaps Vaishnavas, who had to pay a part of the revenues collected yearly, and the two separate items would, in those circumstances, mean revenues assessed in pagodas from lands etc., and the other sums collected from the contributions of pilgrims which is set down in rupees as a matter of convenience. This would make a total demand of nearly 2½ lacs of rupees annually. Śrīnivāsāchār's running away was because of this heavy assessment. We shall presently note the changes that came over this in the coming years.

**Revenues of Tirupati assigned to the English; Muhammad Kamal's Adventure.** The above note in the diary is important as giving us an insight into the actual character of the administration of Tirupati under the Nawabs of Arcot. Changes were coming rapidly over this soon after. The victory at Āmbūr was followed soon by the relief of the siege of Arcot, and ultimately by the relief of Trichinopoly. The siege of Arcot was relieved in 1751, soon after in the September of the year. That only relieved the garrison to return to Madras. But Rāja Saheb at the head of his army was still hanging round. Clive marched up again, and coming upon Rāja Saheb at Kāverippāk between Conjivaram and Arcot, defeated Rāja Saheb's army and, dispersing it, put it beyond mischief as a united force, and then marched on, by way of Āmbūr and Wandiwash, to the relief of Trichinopoly. All this took place in the year 1751, and at the end of it, the English received the grant from Nawab Muhammad Ali of certain revenues from the Carnatic, among which happened to be that of the temple at Tirupati, so that after 1751, the English had the right to receive from the renter the money that was due to the Nawabship at Arcot. They became the beneficiaries, as it were, of the arrangement made by Dūmalli Krishṇāji Paṇḍit. They were not however allowed the enjoyment of it for long. The dispersal of Rāja Saheb's forces destroyed undoubtedly the army against the Nawab; but the sections constituting the army, some of them at any rate, held together, and spreading themselves

through various parts of the province squatted upon localities, and taking the revenues and levying other contributions, not only maintained themselves but even went the length of enlarging their contingents and consequently their sphere of operations. The most audacious among these was an officer by name Muhammad Kamal, who marched at the head of his division through the best part of Arcot, and, for safety, launched himself upon the district of Nellore in the north-eastern extremity of the province and squatted upon the division governed by Nazibullah, one of the brothers of Muhammad Ali. Successfully turning him from there to Arcot for refuge, Muhammad Kamal made himself master of the province and descended upon Tirupati, the revenue of which was so certain and steady that it proved an attraction to every adventurer. He moved down by way of Karakambādi and marched upon Tirupati, the revenue of which at the time is stated to be 60,000 pagodas a year, or 24,000 pounds sterling as Orme sets it down. The English forces, which were the only active ones in the whole of the Carnatic, were all of them otherwise engaged round Trichinopoly, and places in the south. Muhammad Kamal therefore had his own way. On information of his marching upon Tirupati, the Presidency Government was alarmed for its revenues, and sent a contingent of 40 Europeans, two companies of Sepoys and three pieces of cannon towards the pagoda at once, ordering that Nazibullah and his troops may be sent over to join them. This force did not arrive in time, and when the English force came to Tirupati they had to meet Muhammad Kamal without assistance. They fought till they exhausted their ammunition, and lost their chief officer, and then retreated. They were joined on the following day by Nazibulla's army. They marched again upon Muhammad Kamal. The two met on the plains at the foot of the hill, and the timely fall by the enemies' shot of Muhammad Kamal's elephant made their victory certain, as his army fled at the sight of the fall of his standard with the elephant. He was taken prisoner, and, by order of Nazibulla Khan, he was beheaded. The death of Muhammad Kamal removed the most powerful and active enemy of the government of Arcot, the others being much less considerable.

**French efforts to secure the Revenues of Tirupati.** Before this incident however of Muhammad Kamal, we must note that, about the September of the year 1751, some time after the appointment of Amaldar Vāsudevāchar referred to above, Madame Duplāix

sent out an Amaldar of her own, who is named Rājagōpāla Paṇḍit. Vāsudēvāchār stood his ground and not merely declined to hand over office to him, but actually turned him out thus successfully asserting his right as Amaldar properly appointed, whose term had not come to a close. This was about the end of the year 1751, and Muhammad Kamal's operations against Tirupati took place in 1753. Soon after this incident of Muhammad Kamal, a change came over in the French Company's affairs. The French government, disapproving of the policy of Dupleix, sent out Mons. Godehu as Governor, and he took charge at Pondicherry in the middle of the year 1754. Soon after his arrival a treaty was entered into acknowledging Muhammad Ali the Nawab of the Carnatic, and a condition was imposed upon both the Companies that neither party should interfere in the affairs of Indian states. Both of them, however, showed little inclination to respect this. Muhammad Ali was in no condition to rule his own province, and the English had to lend him troops to enforce obedience to his rule. The French had to send assistance to other states in the south. Since neither party showed sufficient inclination to respect their own treaty, the state of constant war between them continued as if no treaty had been entered into. One of the occasions when Muhammad Ali required English assistance was to bring his tributaries, the eastern zamindars of Venkaṭagiri, Kālahasti and Kārvēṭinagar into obedience to him. Having beaten the recalcitrant zamindars into submission and putting them under tribute, the English army marched upon Vellore to the support of Murtiza Ali. The French objected and promptly marched with troops. As Murtiza Ali was unwilling to fight, the French force was persuaded to depart on payment of 20,000 rupees by him. Tirupati and the surrounding zamindars continued therefore nominally under the rule of Muhammad Ali, but Tirupati was actually paying its revenues to the English. Early in the year 1753 the diarist Ananda Ranga Pillai notes a march of the Nāna, Bālāji Rao Peshwa, and Muzafar Khan towards the Carnatic. At the same time, Narasinga Rao is said to be marching against Tirupati against Morari Rao's invasion. There follows a battle between the Nizam Salabat Jung and the Peshwa in which the Peshwa had the worst of it. The diarist however notes that these rumours were not altogether credible. That is early in the year 1755. But a later entry dated October 24 gives the interesting detail that the whole of Muhammad Ali's territory was worth 24 lakhs of rupees, of which the English have already



been granted a *jāgīr* worth three lakhs besides the revenues of Tirupati, Chingleput, Tiruppāchūr, and other countries yielding about 9 lakhs. It is further stated, that, out of the rest, the English had taken again 8 lakhs worth of country leaving Muhammad Ali only a revenue of 4 lakhs for the expenses of his household. Further down he notes that Trichinopoly, Madura and Tinnevely newly conquered were to remain with them, so that it is clear from this that according to the diarist, Muhammad Ali was ruler in name, the English took practically all the revenues. He notes elsewhere that Muhammad Ali had only the government in name, while the English have had to supply all the troops. There is an entry in the month of December that the family of Muhammad Kamal removed to Madras with Muhammad Ali's permission and a request was preferred for a sum of 20 pagodas for Muhammad Kamal's tomb at Tirupati. About the end of the same month, there is another entry that Madame (Godehu) had promised to give 18,000 rupees to Madānanda Paṇḍit "in the Tirupati affair" and that this was divided equally between him and the Mysore Agent, Venkaṭa Nāraṇappayyan. It is noted that they wrote again apparently in regard to the matter of renting Tirupati. All this writing is about a rumour that Dupleix and Madame were returning to India and that the French government was going to be made over to them again. There is some correspondence in regard to the matter with Mysore, both. Dēvarāja and Nanjarāja his brother, being then actually in power.

**Further Muhammadan efforts against Tirupati.** The year 1756 again shows Mahammadan activity against Tirupati. Nazibulla brother of Muhammad Ali rebelled against him, and took possession of Nellore wherefrom he was committing raids all round. In the course of it, he marched upon Tirupati. This attracted no attention, however, as it did not threaten the Company's interests as yet. In the following year, Nazibulla showed more aggressive activity. He is said to have seized the fort of Salāva, which belonged to the Nawab. It is regarded as a fortified place near Nārāyaṇavaram identifiable with either Mārkarāzudurg or Akasārjukōṭa. It is stated that it is probably the latter. This is an important position as it was on one of the main roads to Tirupati for pilgrims and others. This made his motive clear, as the *Brahmōtsavam* at Tirupati was approaching. A detachment was therefore immediately despatched from Madras which occupied the town of Tirupati at the foot of the hill. Thus balked in his designs, Nazibulla retired from the

neighbourhood, at the same time doing the utmost he could to turn back as many of the pilgrims as he could from going to the hill shrine, making the revenues for the year suffer. The following year 1758, Tirupati was again threatened, this time by another brother of Muhammad Ali by name Abdul Wahab. He was appointed *Killadār* of Arcot, and his fidelity was suspected in the course of the later wars. Fearing danger he and his mother fled to the fort of Chittoor for protection as it belonged to his mother. Efforts at compromise proved useless Abdul Wahab maintained himself at Chittoor plundering the territory round about. This Abdul Wahab was called in to assist the Nawab's army against Amṛta Rao attacking Tiruppattūr. After Amṛta Rao's defeat and death at Tiruppattūr, Abdul Wahab returned to the fortrees of Chandragiri with a view to take possession of the town of Tirupati, "because its revenue equals to 30,000 pounds a year arising from the contributions of devotion is always more certain than that of any harvest in the Carnatic" as Orme puts it. Another incident of importance took place soon after this. Two officers of distinction, Rāghavāchāri and Bālakrishṇa Śāstri came with a commission from the Peshwa to superintend the collection of the *chauth* from the Carnatic, and they asked the Mahratta officer Balwant Rao commanding the army of the South then at Cadappanattam for a contingent to assist them. Balwant Rao refused on the ground that he had settled the matter of the *chauth* satisfactorily and there was nothing more to be done. Thus disappointed these two officers raised a body of 500 horse and a thousand foot from the recently disbanded army of Cuddapah, and proceeding to the country of the Maṭlavār between the territories of Venkaṭagiri and Kālahasti, advanced through the pass of Karakambādi upon the town of Tirupati itself. The renter of Tirupati stood his ground with his own sepoy and peons. In the course of the engagement, Rāghavāchāri was shot dead by the garrison just where Muhammad Kamal was five years before, and the besieging army broke. It was soon after this that Abdul Wahab thought of trying his fortunes attempting to capture Tirupati. He raised a considerable force and threatened the Lower Town. But the rumours of the advance of an English force made him retire. He seized possession of Chandragiri however, and there waited for a favourable opportunity. It was then that Bussy was returning from Hyderabad under orders from Lally to effect a junction with him in his operations against Madras. On the way from Hyderabad the contingent he left

with Moracin at Nellore halted at Tirupati seizing possession of the Company's renter, and intimidated him into resigning to him the revenues of the temple in October 1758. Both Nazibulla from Nellore and Abdul Wahab from Chandragiri joined him and accompanied him to the south. Finding that Bussy was inclined to retain the revenues of Tirupati, Abdul Wahab left the army once for all, and took up his residence in Chandragiri.

**The Mahrattas and Tirupati.** Tirupati had all the while been regarded as an attractive possession as the diarist Ranga Pillai notes under date 29th August 1757 that the French had promised possession of Tirupati to Amṛta Rao, Nāna's (the Peshwa's) *gumastah* for 2 lakhs of pagodas annually as the latter was not able to come to terms with the English. But nothing seems to have come out of it. The Commander-in-chief of the Mahratta forces, Balvant Rao, during his stay on this frontier, wished to pay a visit to Tirupati and came at the head of his army. The renter would not allow the army to approach; and Balavant Rao had to stop his army with strict orders not to ravage the country, and paid a visit to worship at Tirupati with his own personal following. After Balvant Rao left for the Mahratta country under the Peshwa's orders, there was another Mahratta adventure in 1759. While the siege of Madras was progressing under Count d'Lally, a Mahratta officer by name Gōpāl Rao, encamped himself in Dāmalcheruvu, marched from there to Tirupati, ascended the hill and took possession of the shrine in the March of the year. He had to retire, however, in response to the orders of the Peshwa calling back the Mahratta forces from the south. But he left a detachment under one Nārāyaṇa Śāstri with a comparatively slender force. This was overpowered by Abdul Wahab attacking from Chandragiri. Lest he should be taken to task by the English he reported the matter to them, only requesting that he might be allowed to farm the revenues of Tirupati. His request was not granted all the same. Nārāyaṇa Śāstri had, in the meanwhile, only retired to Karakambādi, and returned at the head of a considerable force, raised with the assistance of the *Poligārs* of the territory. An English force was sent this time to dislodge him. As on previous occasions the force sent consisted of people other than caste Hindus who alone were allowed to go up the hill. Only 80 out of the total number being thus eligible, a fight took place in which a number of people were killed on both sides, some of them even within the precincts of the temple. Ultimately Nārāyaṇa Śāstri succeeded in driving

back the sepoys. A fresh force was again sent presenting the same difficulty as a large number of them were Mussalmans and other classes who could not go up the hill. The English force under Calliaud therefore created a diversion by attacking Karakambādi, killing the *Poligār* and burning the village. A subsequent attack on the temple succeeded, and Nārāyaṇa Sāstri retreated with the remnant of his force. A small body of English troops was left there to guard the temple; but these were so badly harassed by the *Poligār's* troops that another raid on Karakambādi was undertaken which proved disastrous to the English, and the sepoys returned to Tirupati. There is a reference to this in Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary under date August 14, 1759, and that is about the last reference of any value to Tirupati in his valuable diary.

**Muhammad Ali, Nawab of the Carnatic.** Soon after the war in the Carnatic came to a close with the fall of Pondicherry which left Muhammad Ali as the Nawab of the Carnatic beyond question. He gained this position through the assistance of the English entirely who had not merely to do all the fighting, but to pay the expenses as well. To meet the latter, the Madras Government demanded of him 50 lakhs of rupees. As the historian Marshman says "The Carnatic had been without any settled government for twenty years. Every invader had desolated its districts, and the poligars paid no revenue but at the sword's point. The country, was moreover, now in the hands of a court at once wasteful and neglectful, which had been subsisting for years on loans raised on exorbitant terms at Madras, which impaired the strength of those who borrowed the money and the morals of those who lent it". This gave rise to the question of the notorious Carnatic loans, which does not concern us. In response to this demand by the English, the Nawab requested, the assistance of the English to enforce payment of the subsidies from his tributaries at Vellore, Tanjore and Madura. Vellore was compelled after a three months' siege to pay a large sum. After long negotiations Tanjore undertook to pay 22 lakhs in four instalments, and an annual tribute of four lakhs. Notwithstanding the payment of these into the Company's treasury to the credit of the Nawab the Company's Government at Madras found that they had to incur the expenses of protecting this Nawab indefinitely, and, as a way out of this perpetual difficulty, a certain number of districts yielding an annual revenue of about 16 lakhs of rupees were assigned to the Company in October 1763,

and a *farman* was obtained from the Emperor at Delhi ratifying this arrangement. The treaty of Paris which brought the war to a close in 1763 recognised Muhammad Ali as the Nawab of the Carnatic and Salabat Jung as Subahdar of the Dakhan. But Nizam Ali had already taken possession of the Dakhan since 1761, throwing Salabat Jung into prison. Nizam Ali on hearing of the treaty put Salabat Jung to death and undertook an invasion of the Carnatic. The Nawab called upon the English now to defend him. The two armies came against each other in the plains of Tirupati and were ready for battle. Nizam Ali was in such a strained condition that overnight the whole army beat a hasty retreat and the danger was over. As a result of this, and, through the good offices of Clive, Muhammad Ali obtained a *farman* from the emperor confirming him as the Nawab of the Carnatic independent of Hyderabad. A *Sanad* was granted accordingly, and along with the *farman* came the titles Wallajah and Anwar-ul-Hind.

**Carnatic wars of Hyder Ali and the passing of the Northern part into English hands.** About the same time another person had come into prominence in South India, whose rise to power affected the Carnatic, and incidentally Tirupati also. We have already referred to a note in the Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary that Madame Godehu paid a certain sum of money to Venkaṭa Nāraṇappaiyan, the Vakil from Mysore, in respect of the renting of Tirupati, and that apparently led to nothing. That shows that Mysore maintained an agent of theirs at the court of Arcot or with the French, who attempted to play his own part in regard to the affairs of the Carnatic and Tirupati as well. This person Venkaṭa Nāraṇappaiyan was the agent of Nanjarāja who, owing to the illness of his brother Dēvarāja, was managing the affairs of Mysore. Under him a military officer Hyder Ali gradually worked his way up to prominence, and was Fouzdar of Dindigul with considerable power and large revenues at his disposal. As the administration at headquarters degenerated, and Nanjarāja made himself unpopular, Hyder gradually found his way to gain the supreme power, and by quietly setting aside the ruler assumed real power in his own hands. This took place in 1761. The assumption of authority in Mysore by this masterful man brought down the Mahrattas upon him in 1765. This invasion necessitated the Nizam and the English taking sides, and the Carnatic was drawn into the struggle along with the latter. That brought on the war between Hyder and the English, which brought Hyder

down upon the Carnatic. In the course of the war, the English committed themselves to assisting the Nizam and even conquered the Carnatic Balaghat from Hyder holding it subject to a tribute being paid to the Nizam and promising to help the Nizam's Government whenever attacked. This brought them into a position of hostility to Hyder, and Hyder's invasion of the Carnatic became more or less regular. The first Mysore War which came to a close in 1769 did not affect Tirupati; but the treaty bringing the war to a close committed the English to the impossible position of assisting Hyder Ali against his enemies as they had already agreed to assist his enemies in previous treaties. A Mahratta invasion brought forward a demand from Hyder Ali for assistance. The English rendered him no assistance, and, for his breach of faith, he nursed his resentment against them. When war broke out in 1778 between England and France, the English took Pondicherry and projected an attack of the French town of Mahe on the West Coast. Hyder threatened an invasion of the Carnatic in case the English attacked Mahe. The Mahrattas were not pleased with the treatment they received from the English and they joined Hyder. Notwithstanding a warning of this alliance by Muhammad Ali, the English disregarded the warning and they heard of Hyder already at the pass of Changam in the Carnatic in July 1780. Hyder this time resolved to destroy the English, and drew, according to his plan, a belt of destruction round Madras from Pulicat to Pondicherry. The plan was to destroy all vegetation even, for a belt of about twelve miles between him and the enemy. This was generally done by warning the people to clear out of the locality on pain of their being turned out of their houses and all their belongings being appropriated. This is what is generally known by the term *Hyder Kalabam*. The sight of burning villages visible from St. Thomas Mount woke the English to their position, and they hurried a contingent from the north under Col. Baillie asking him to come to Madras by way of Kalahasti and Tirupati which had become infeasible. So Baillie marched along the road nearer the coast and successfully evaded Hyder's efforts to prevent him from joining the main British force. The war proved unsuccessful at the beginning. Arcot was besieged and places fell rapidly into the hands of Hyder before the British army under old Sir Eyre Coote was in a position to move forward. While the course of the war does not concern us and its story is generally well known, the zamindars round Tirupati, particularly the *Poligars*

of Chittoor and zamindars of Kārvēṭinagar, Kālahasti and Venkaṭagiri were in a difficult position. Most of them joined Hyder but professing friendship to the English, except Venkaṭagiri. The English won a victory at Shōlinghur, which brought the zamindars of Kālahasti and Kārvēṭinagar to the English side. This was followed by the siege of Vellore in the course of which Coote advanced as far as Chittoor and took possession of it. As the monsoons were liable to break out violently there was need of a cessation of hostilities. The English army retired to Madras. During the campaign of these two years, Muhammad Ali was able to render no assistance. His officers made efforts only to betray the English, their allies. Among these happened to be his own brother Abdul Wahab, who was given the government of Chittoor, but who had since appropriated Chandragiri and was holding the fortress. He handed over the latter fort to Hyder. It was in this state of circumstances that the English were induced to take over the administration of the Carnatic for a period of five years allowing the Nawab a fifth of its total revenues for his maintenance, which, for the time, proved to be beneficial. During all this campaign so near, the English army did not come anywhere near Chandragiri, and Abdul Wahab who had already entered into correspondence with Hyder was allowed to remain there quietly. But, after taking possession of Chittoor, when Hyder marched upon Chandragiri, Abdul Wahab submitted without a struggle, and Hyder transported the whole of Abdul Wahab's family to Seringapatam excepting two young daughters of his whom he retained in his camp breaking his promise to permit their returning to Madras with Abdul Wahab. Thus Chandragiri fell into the possession of Hyder and Tirupati along with it. Hyder's treatment of the holy place, it must be noted in passing, was remarkable, and shines brilliantly in contrast with those of his predecessors. Wilks notes, in the course of his narration of the ignorance of this fortress and the resources of the country about it both in Sir Eyre Coote and in the Madras Government, that "Hydar's more than half-Hindoo propensities had induced him to grant unqualified indemnity to the sacred temple of Tripaty, only nine miles distant from Chandergberry, to the extent of not even interfering with the payment of a tribute to Mohammad Ali for similar indemnity." Subsequently changes came over, and the whole of the Carnatic was made over to Muhammad Ali by a new treaty in 1785 which proved again unsatisfactory, as Muhammad Ali was hardly in a position to

administer his territory satisfactorily, or meet the almost impossible demands of his creditors upon his resources. This brought about a fresh agreement in 1792 by which the collection of the revenue was again made over to the English Company, and among the conditions, the northern half of Arcot was assigned to the English for shortage of revenue, while Muhammad Ali managed to pay the British demands by raising money therefor by raising loans and assigning the revenues of large portions of the Carnatic to creditors which reduced the administration of the Carnatic to a grinding tyranny. With the outbreak of the war against Mysore in 1799, there was no alternative left but to assume government of the country again. The Court of Directors therefore resolved upon taking over the Carnatic on the terms of the treaty of 1792. But Wellesley was not willing to shoulder the responsibility, and ultimately, with the end of the war, the whole of the Carnatic was handed over to the English, the new ruler agreeing to be satisfied with a fifth of its estimated revenues for his maintenance. This was in 1801 when the whole of the Carnatic, including the region round Tirupati, passed into the hands of the English.

**The Muhammadan aggressions following Talikota.** The further history of Tirupati will have to be Tirupati under the British administration. Before proceeding to that, it would perhaps be well to make a short retrospect of the region round Tirupati, and Tirupati itself in the period of confusion ending in the establishment of British rule. We may well begin this period with the epoch making treaty of Shāh Jahan, which would correspond roughly to the active life of the last Vijayanagar emperor Śrīranga. We have noted that the attempted advance into the south by Muhammadans was stopped by the establishment of the Vijayanagar empire in the generation following 1336, the traditional date of its foundation, and Vijayanagar more or less successfully held out till the combined forces of the Muhammadan kingdoms of the Dakhan overthrew the forces of the empire in the battle of Rākshasatangadi, hitherto called Talikota, in 1565. Except for the temporary occupation of the city of Vijayanagar itself, no general advance of the Muhammadan forces is recorded as an immediate consequence of the battle. Tirumala, one of the three brothers who took part in the great battle, retired to Penu-gonḍa, and established himself as ruler in succession to the emperors of Vijayanagar, and continued the traditions of that rule with almost undiminished power. It was in his reign that



the state of Gōlkoṇḍa attempted an invasion of the south which, in his time, was successfully turned back. Gōlkoṇḍa invasions thereafter did take place as opportunity offered without achieving any success; that is, these invasions were made whenever an opportunity offered itself by the weakness of the Hindu empire. Tirumala's successor, though he suffered defeat and imprisonment even in one of these invasions, managed to recover completely, and his younger brother who succeeded him, Venkaṭa, was much more successful than his brother in keeping back the Muhammadans.

**Advance of the Muhammadan rule into the Carnatic.** The real weakness of the Hindu empire however showed itself, not so much after the battle of Talikota, but only after the war of succession which followed the death of Venkaṭa, and which we described fully, in 1614. The internal strife that continued during the years immediately following, and of which we have much evidence even from foreign sources, invited these invasions from Gōlkoṇḍa. This was however deterred effectively by the advance of the Mughal power in the Dakhan and the danger to the existence of the separate Muhammadan kingdoms as independent kingdoms showed itself to be quite real. The destruction of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar however in the reign of the emperor Shah Jahan put matters on a definite footing between the Mughals and the southern Muhammadan kingdoms of Bijapur and Gōlkoṇḍa. It released these two kingdoms from their preoccupations in the north and set them free, as it were, to pursue a more active policy of aggression in the south. That was the beginning of the new aggression, and dates from 1636 from which date almost Śrīranga, the last of the emperors of Vijayanagar, has had to play an active part in the defence of the empire, though he was not exactly emperor as yet. For the next five or six years, the emperor happened to be Pedda Venkaṭa although Śrīranga had the northern province of the empire facing Gōlkoṇḍa to administer. By the time that the Gōlkoṇḍa forces and those of Bijapur were in a definite position to advance southwards into the territory of Vijayanagar, Śrīranga had really succeeded as ruler, and then began a repetition of the efforts of the Muhammadan powers to conquer the territory of Vijayanagar, and Śrīranga's efforts as emperor of Vijayanagar to stop them from realising this ambition of theirs. For a whole generation, Śrīranga struggled manfully to keep the enemies out, although gradually he was being pushed back, and the Muhammadan hold on the northern portions of the empire became more permanent.

The fall of Gingee to the Muhammadans of Bijapur in 1649 marks a definite stage in the progress of these Muhammadan conquests as about the same time Golkonda extended southwards almost as far as the town of Madras. In the period immediately following the same struggle continued and something like a definite success in the occupation of these localities by the Muhammadans could be postulated for a date, say, some time about 1672. Thereafter the Muhammadan occupation of the territory of Vijayanagar takes a more definite form.

**The Carnatic under the Mughal Empire.** The overthrow of the two kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda by Aurangzeb put the conquered provinces of the south directly under the Mughal empire, more particularly the portions in the occupation of Golkonda to begin with, and ultimately of those of Bijapur as well. The dislodgment of Rājārām from Gingee by Zulfiqar Khan almost at the end of the century marks the next stage in the conquest of what was the empire of Vijayanagar by the Muhammadans. In the course of the next few years a new province came to be organised from out of these new conquests, and that is symbolised by the foundation of Arcot in the early years of the next century, and this may be dated in 1705 or 1710 according as we date it with the foundation of Arcot, or with the setting up of a regular Muhammadan government. The region round Tirupati gets involved in the history of the Nawabs of Arcot thereafter. The setting up of the rule of the Nawabs of Arcot seems more or less to mark a revolution in the administration of the locality, though brought about more or less peacefully perhaps. This continued under the first Nawabs of Arcot till, as a result of the establishment of the Subah of the Dakhan under Nizam-ul-Mulk, the Nizam moved down into the Carnatic to assert his authority about 1742, and thereafter followed a period of wars which almost continued with short or long intervals down to the end of the century and the fall of Seringapatam, as a direct consequence of which followed the assumption of authority over the territory by the East India Company. But what concerns us here to note is not these political changes merely, which were detailed in the previous pages, but the changes that this brought about in the administration of the locality, and incidentally of the properties belonging to the temple at Tirupati. We have noted in the previous pages that during the period of early Hindu administration, and, far more, in the period of the later administration under Vijayanagar particularly, the holy shrine at

Tirupati was the recipient of benefactions in large numbers and even of great value in very many cases. Through the two and a half centuries practically the shrine at Tirupati acquired vast wealth not only in the shape of money and jewels, but also in the shape of property in lands. Of the latter, there are records of gifts of a number of villages which may come up to a total of twenty, some of which were even outside the limits of the district round Tirupati. But the really substantial portion of these happened to be in the locality round about Tirupati itself, and these are noted in the large number of inscriptions in the temple itself and elsewhere, constituting a comparatively large landed estate for the shrine.

**Tirupati was the centre of a Sub-Government under Golkonda.** We do not hear any details regarding what happened to these, or in fact to the temple itself, in the earlier period of Muhammadan advance into the Carnatic except for an occasional reference here and there that Mirjumla's riches grew enormously owing to the plunder that he acquired from the temples of the south which in his case could have meant no other than those in the region known as the Carnatic. We have no specific details as to what was done in respect of this region by him. In the course of these accounts, we find mention of Tirupati often as lying directly on the highway between, say, Madras and the territory of Golkonda and later of Nizam-ul-Mulk. In fact travellers on official missions seem generally to have passed through Tirupati on the way up to Golkonda, the headquarters, or down from there to the south, say, Fort St. George, the head-quarters of the East India Company. Mirjumla must have come into the possession of this region some time before the fall of Gingee, or about that date and must have brought it under his own government. But what arrangement he made exactly for the conduct of the government of this, and how it affected the position of Tirupati we have no reference to in our sources of information. From what is stated, we may be certain that he had some kind of an organisation for conducting the government of the locality which included the region of Tirupati. A little subsequently to this, we find the Golkonda ruler, Abdulla-Qutub Shah, organising a government of this region under governors of whom the most distinguished was Neknam Khan, from whom the English East India Company at Fort St. George received a renewal of the charter granting them the fort and the privileges of trade in it. We have also the information that, under this Neknam Khan, there was some government at Tirupati,

and we have already noted an English Agent going to Neknam Khan for the purpose of securing this charter, who in the first instance proceeded to Tirupati, and, after seeing the sub-Governor Chinnapalli Mirza there, was ordered to proceed to Neknam Khan himself at Gölkoşda. This shows clearly that Tirupati did become the headquarters of a sub-government, and there must have been arrangements corresponding, for the conduct of the administration not only of the dependent territories at greater distances but of all that depended upon Tirupati itself. We have however no information what the kind of organisation actually was. The revenues of Tirupati, however, could not have escaped the Muhammadan conquerors whether it be Mirjumla or his successors. Mirjumla particularly, and those who followed him naturally, were not moved by motives of mere pride in the conquest and extension of territory; much rather it was acquisition of wealth which was their primary concern. This could be said definitely of Mirjumla at any rate. He must therefore have put the temple at Tirupati under some kind of an arrangement by means of which he could benefit to the maximum extent from the income of the place, consistently with conducting the administration and contributing to the undiminished revenue of the region from time to time.

**Revenue administration during the period passes to Palaiyagars.** The revenue of the Tirupati temple must, from the information that we have so far collected, obviously have consisted of two large and distinct items. The first, revenue derived from lands which consisted of two kinds, as we have noted already; a number of whole villages, the revenues of which were granted to the temple, some of which were even outside the limits of the district formed the first; but the far larger portion really was landed property in the vicinity of the temple and between it and the river Svarnamukhi which had been brought under cultivation through the application of the necessary resources from the temple treasury to which the pious devotees made specific donations for the purpose, large as well as small. There was a considerably large area of lands therefore which might, in a sense, be said to belong directly to the temple, which played the part of landlord, cultivating the lands by tenants on a footing more or less of permanent occupancy. The tenants were there to cultivate. The temple provided the funds for creating irrigation facilities, for improving facilities such as already existed, and provided facilities for even bringing hitherto uncultivated lands into culti-

vation, so that the temple did what the ordinary capitalist landholder is generally expected to do. For all practical purposes therefore Tirupati was as much of a landlord as any individual holder of large acres of land would be. In regard to the collection of the revenue, etc., the temple had its own machinery for its own purposes where it owned villages entirely. In respect of villages which were included in units having its own organization, such as for instance, several villages round Tiruchchānūr under the control of the Tiruchchānūr *Sabhā* and others like that in the immediate vicinity, there must have been some kind of an arrangement between these *Sabhās* and the temple. The *Sabhās* must in this case as in the other cases, have made the arrangements for the collection of the revenue as in very much else, and played the part of an intermediary, partially at any rate, so that we may say generally that, so far as the landed properties of the temple went, the temple stood in the position of land owner, and the tenants were cultivating tenants with occupancy rights more or less of a permanent character liable to be disturbed only for default of a bad character. The intervention of an authority like that of a Muhammadan government brought about a re-arrangement which almost unconsciously created a revolution in regard to the matter. In this instance, the Muhammadan government came in not after the place had been reduced to some kind of an anarchy as in the period of the Carnatic wars. In such a case what happened was that the central power under Hindu Governments had become extinct either because of conquest or because of gradual decay. In either case, the central administration ceased to exist and exercise effective authority, and such machinery as this administration had established for the purpose of collecting revenue and doing various other administrative duties for her own conveniences, had to do duty on an independent footing which gave them freedom to alter and amend the time-honoured arrangements to suit their own convenience. That is one kind of a general change that actually came over later. What seems to have happened earlier, was that the arrangements which the governments had instituted for purposes of giving protection to the inhabitants by means of middle men in place of petty officers of government, themselves undertook the duty of collecting the revenue and policing the area originally put in their charge. They were doing it ordinarily under the control of the government as long as there was a central government. When however for some reason or other, the central government went out of

existence they continued to discharge those duties, but often on their own terms to which the inhabitants had to agree as almost the only alternative open to them. This is how, what are called *Pāḷaiyams* arose. The arrangement come to, in the anarchical period just preceding the establishment of Vijayanagar, is some times called the *Pāḍikkāval* arrangement, and we have a number of documents where villages entered into this kind of an arrangement with a powerful chieftain in the neighbourhood who had the machinery to offer efficient protection. These documents are generally found in number in the State of Pudukkōṭṭai, and in the bordering district round about. When the central government went out of existence definitely, these established themselves in their own position and rendered the service on terms of their own. They came to be called *Poligārs* (*Paḷaiyakkārans*), and the estate which they held *Pāḷaiyams*; and many of those *Pāḷaiyams*, of which we hear of as many as a dozen to twenty in the region round about Tirupati, probably came into existence that way. Another possible arrangement is where there were big Zamindars in the locality who had large estates acquired in various ways by service or otherwise, took the neighbouring villages under their protection, in return for payments in consideration thereof. These would be zamindaris as distinct from the *Pāḷaiyams*. The distinction between the lands constituting the zamin and the villages that had come in otherwise under their protection would gradually diminish, and these would become more or less zamindari villages.

**Muhammadan Government changes the character of Land holding.** When the Muhammadan governments got established, and, having regard to the circumstances in which they actually came into existence, the readiest method for them to adopt would naturally be to deal with these people, Zamindars or *Poligārs* where they existed; where they did not, they could not, and perhaps would not, take the trouble to find out the owners, make surveys and rent registers and so on. They would much rather readily deal with individual middle men, such a *Poligārs* not only for villages included in their estates, but even for the surrounding villages, leaving the relationship between the actual cultivators and these middle men to be settled between themselves. The actual landlords in such cases would be neglected. That is the state of things that is expounded in the following sentences in the *Manual of the North Arcot District* by A. F. Cox, the new edition revised by the late Sir Harold Stuart. "The privileges of the

village proprietors were first abridged by the Muhammadans. By them the assessments imposed upon the land were greatly increased, and eventually became so high that the *pāyakāris* could not afford to pay their '*swānubhōgam*' to the *mirāśidars*. Those having no power to enforce the payment gradually ceased to demand it. Losing their '*swānubhōgam*' it became no longer worth their while to employ *pāyakāris*, and they accordingly refused to allow these to cultivate, while at the same time they failed to cultivate the lands themselves. The waste lands were, under these circumstances, summarily confiscated by the Government, which granted them to tenants of its own, at first as a temporary measure, but the arrangement in course of time became permanent. The creed of the conquerors was that all land was the exclusive property of the State, and they scouted the idea that the *mirāśidars* enjoyed any rights which the *pāyakāris* did not equally possess. Both were the tenants of the State, and the State was the landlord of all. Most of the distinctive features of the old system were in this manner gradually effaced, and the Collector of the district reported soon after the cession of the Carnatic that the *mirāśi* system had no existence in North Arcot. It is also noted that the lands held by the Muhammadans and the Brahmans as such were allowed to be enjoyed on their own rights, but it is the class of the *mirāśidars* generally that suffered. It seems as though the temple of Tirupati lost its *mirāśi* rights over these lands in this manner, and ceased to be recognised as owner of land pretty early in the course of this change. It looks as though the shrine of Tirupati lost all its landed estates with the establishment of the Muhammadan power in the locality. Whether it was under Mirjumla, or under the latter Gōlkoṇḍa administration, or whether it was adopted under the later Nawabs of Arcot, we are not in a position definitely to state as yet.

**Tirupati under renters of Amaldars specially appointed.** It is on record that Mirjumla amassed vast wealth in the region that he conquered for Gōlkoṇḍa nominally, by appropriating the wealth of temples, as it is set down generally. Tirupati is in the heart of the districts that Mirjumla first of all acquired, and Tirupati was the shrine, whose wealth must have been well-known to people about. It must have come to the notice of Mirjumla; but what actually he did with respect to the temple

we do not know. Early in the history of the Nawabship of Arcot, we find Tirupati already recognised as a shrine with a vast income, and it was put under contribution by having to pay a certain portion of its annual income to the state. This contribution is set down at 60,000 pagodas by Orme, and at 45,000 pagodas and 52,000 rupees in early British records, as we have already noticed. The arrangement made seems to have been, as in the other cases we have detailed above, to hand over the temple to a renter, whose business it was to manage the collection of the revenue and pay what was stipulated to the government, manage the affairs of the temple and make his own profits on what was left. That seems to have been the early arrangement introduced under the Nawab Sadat-Ulia-Khan and his successor, Dost Ali. In the period of confusion of the Carnatic wars under Mulammad Ali, Tirupati did prove to be a source of steady revenue, and was an object of attraction to the various parties that had influence. The English East India Company wanted it badly. The French Company coveted it. The Nawabs perhaps would gladly have had it if they could. We find notes in the Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary where both Madame Dupleix and Madame Godehu tried to rent it out and make large profits by the process. We have noted a number of instances in which the anxiety of the English Company was expressed for the revenues of it, and they took steps to defend the temple against attacks. We have also noted that the Nawab's subordinates, Nazibulla and Abdul Wahab, were equally drawn to it. The Mahrattas several times attacked the place, and the revenue that could be got out of it was possibly part of the attraction for the one or two unsuccessful attempts at taking possession of the temple by them. It was only Hyder Ali who seems to have been a shining exception when, as Wilks states it, he left the temple entirely to itself with its revenues and payments as they were. That was the condition in which it came into the hands of the British. They continued the old arrangement of appointing an Amaldar from among the Brahmans, perhaps even Vaishṇava Brahmans, as we hear of two appointments one following the other, of a Śrīnivāsāchāri and a Vāsu-dēvāchāri by the Dewan of the Arcot Nawabs, Dūmalli Krishṇāji



Pandit. The British continued that arrangement and perhaps obtained the rent of 2 to 2½ lacs of rupees a year coming in steadily and regularly. This is nothing improbable seeing that the average annual income of the temple is now about a thousand rupees a day, and it is not impossible that the visitors to the temple and the payments made there, were about as much or more, a little more than a century ago. We are not enabled to give the details of the administrative arrangements under the English East India Company since 1801, as the information accessible to us does not take us beyond that date.

*End of Volume II.*

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